ART
IN
ENGLAND

The Saxons to the Tudors: 600–1600

SARA N. JAMES

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ART IN ENGLAND

To my late parents and grandparents, for their encouragement and support:

Sara Brooks Nair and Dr. William Duer James
Lillian Duer and Dr. William Daniel James
Sara Logan Brooks and Charles Perry Nair, Jr

And to those whose teaching, inspiration, and hospitality transformed this book from a dream to a reality:

The late Dr. Mabel Margaret Morrison
Peter and Bridget Rowe
Clare Rowe and the late Keir Smith
Dr. Cynthia Haldenby Tyson

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Sara N. James

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Front cover: *Tomb of Richard Beauchamp, the First Earl of Warwick, Beauchamp*

Chapel, facing east, 1437ff., gilded latten. Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick, England. Photograph: author

CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction

Chapter 1. Missionaries, monks, and marauders: Pre-conquest England … the Heptarchy–Edward the Confessor, *c*. 600–1066

The heritage of Roman Britain: 43 BC–410 AD
Early Anglo-Saxon England *c*. 450–830
The book as art: Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination
Hiberno-Saxon sculpture
Migration of Hiberno-Saxon designs
England under the late Saxon kings
The Anglo-Saxon legacy

Chapter 2. Propaganda and power, innovation and influence: Norman art and architecture before and after the Conquest… Edward the Confessor and the Norman kings, 1042–1154

Pre-conquest Romanesque architecture: the origins of the style
Post-Conquest ecclesiastical Romanesque architecture in stone
Architectural ingenuity in the parish church
Monastic contributions to the development of the Romanesque style
Romanesque architectural sculpture
Romanesque painting: religious manuscript illumination
Romanesque painting: secular books
Romanesque painting: murals
Interior church furnishings and decorative arts
Royal castles and halls
The Norman legacy

Chapter 3. Variations on an imported theme: Early English Gothic under the Angevins and the Plantagenets. Henry II–Henry III, 1154–1272

Plantagenet ascendancy: the character of the monarchs
Origins of Gothic stone architecture and vaulting
Early Gothic architecture in northern England: the Cistercian connection
Early Gothic architecture in the south of England: the French connection
Stained glass windows
The ecclesiastical patronage of Henry III and French influence
Royal castles and fortifications
Early Gothic architecture in London
Timber frame construction
Vernacular architecture in timber frame
Manuscript illumination: 1154–1272
Early Gothic painting: murals and altarpieces
Early Gothic decorative arts
Summary of Early Gothic art in England

Chapter 4. Distinctively and decidedly English: the Decorated Gothic style under the Plantagenets. Edward I and Edward II, 1272–1327

Late Plantagenets: the character of the monarchs
Decorated Gothic architecture: the Geometric phase (*c.* 1250–1290)
Decorated Gothic architecture: the Curvilinear phase (*c.* 1290–1350)
Innovative Cathedral towers and spires
Stained glass windows
Sculptural embellishments
Church furnishings of carved wood
Royal works
Defensive works
Fortified manor houses and timber frame construction
Evolution of timber frame and hammerbeam construction in non-domestic buildings
English sculpture: tombs and effigies in England
Painting at Westminster
Manuscript illumination
Textiles: *opus anglicanum*
Summary of Decorated Gothic art in England

Chapter 5. Particularly, peculiarly, and perpetually English: the Perpendicular Gothic style and Wars of the Roses. The last Plantagenet, the Lancasters, and the Yorks, 1327–1485

The catastrophic fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the character of the monarchs
Origins of Perpendicular Gothic architecture
The Perpendicular style in London and royal circles
Ecclesiastical Perpendicular
Perpendicular style in parish churches
Remarkable works in timber: noble houses and great halls
Remarkable works in timber: ecclesiastical and royal great halls
Fortifications and engineering works in the Perpendicular style
Institutional architecture: universities
Perpendicular Gothic sculpture
Cadaver tombs
Painting in England: later Gothic books
Panel painting: the International Gothic style
Mural painting in England
Magnificence in tapestry

Chapter 6. The art and architecture of magnificence: the Tudor ascendancy. Henry VII, 1485–1509

The character of the monarch: Henry VII and the victory at Bosworth Field
Early Tudor architecture
Early Tudor ecclesiastical residences in London
Early Tudor ecclesiastical residences outside London
Vernacular architecture: black and white Tudor buildings
Architecture of the nobility following the Wars of the Roses: prodigy houses
Monastic architecture in the early Tudor period
Royal patronage of institutional architecture
Sculpture in early Tudor England
Painting in early Tudor England: manuscripts and the royal library
Panel painting in early Tudor England
English portraits
Portrait sculpture
Royal tombs
Textiles: tapestries as a display of magnificence
Textiles: *opus anglicanum* as a display of magnificence
Conclusion

Chapter 7. Image making and image breaking: Art under the Tudor monarchs. Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I, 1509–1558

The character of the monarch: Henry VIII
Patronage of the Cardinal Lord Chancellor
Royal architectural projects before the fall of Wolsey
Sculpture in the early reign of Henry VIII: a brief encounter with the Italianate
Ecclesiastical tomb designs: the perpetuation of the Perpendicular Gothic
Royal architectural projects following the fall of Wolsey
The Dissolution of the Monasteries: a turning point in Tudor domestic architecture
Architectural magnificence of the court: Tudor prodigy houses
Civic and institutional architecture
Magnificence in tapestry
Tudor painting: religious paintings in early sixteenth-century England
Secular painting in sixteenth-century England
Portraits
Illuminated manuscripts, documents, and books
The private audience: portraits in miniature during the reign of Henry VIII
Henry VIII’s progeny: Edward and Mary, 1547–1558
Portraits under Edward and Mary
Architecture under Mary and Edward
Conclusion

Chapter 8. Gloriana and her court: the art and architecture of Elizabeth I, 1558–1603

Architecture under Elizabeth: the prodigy house
The emergence of the architect: Robert Smythson
William Cecil, Lord Burghley: *pater patriae* and his patronage
Late Elizabethan prodigy houses
Public buildings in the age of Elizabeth
Secular architecture and theaters
Elizabethan painting: the portrait
Images of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth I
Conclusion

Bibliography

PREFACE

My enduring fascination with England began in early childhood, but without a mandate from the graduate program in Shakespeare and Performance at Mary Baldwin College to create an art history course that complemented their curriculum, I would never have taken the path that has led to this book. Since my students' backgrounds rested primarily in English history, literature, and theater performance and mine in Italian Renaissance art and Medieval Studies, I felt a broad, contextual approach would serve everyone best. To form a context for pre-Jacobean English history and literature, I planned a study of art, architecture, and material culture covering the medieval millennium in England, 600–1600. As I began my research, I found that no such overview existed in manageable book form. I also discovered that English scholarship concerning the medieval millennium tended to be organized into either monographs or focused categorical, periodic, or thematic topics. In light of this dearth of contextual and chronological studies, I have committed 16 years to the daunting task of writing this book from my research, lecture notes, student responses, site visits, and many stimulating conversations. The bibliography, even in its edited form, bespeaks of the extensiveness of this effort.

The images presented another challenge. A new art history course usually requires adding new images to a college slide collection – or today, a digital image data base. In 2000, the college packed me off to England to do research, visit sites, and acquire more slides. To my surprise, slides had suddenly become obsolete. The most efficient way to gather the necessary images, I realized, was to update my technology. Thus, without warning, I catapulted myself into the digital age. Armed with a digital camera, I photographed as many English sites from as many angles as I could. Some of these images illustrate monuments in this book. I am now grateful that this project pushed me into twenty-first century, technology skills. My teaching resources and research skills have benefitted tremendously, as has this book. So has the ArtStor database, which, like our slide collection, was low on images of English art, architecture, and architectural sculpture. I have donated 2137 of my images to the ArtStor, forming the Sara N. James European Architecture and Sculpture Collection and making the images available to a larger academic audience.

Although I hope this book will expand the horizons of students and educators, I have envisioned it as having broader horizons than a textbook. I also aim to reach enthusiasts of art history, architectural history, English literature and theater, and/or the early history of the British Isles. I hope that they find that this book, with chronological organization and a contextual view, will enrich their specific areas of interest. My primary goal in this study is to demonstrate that England has a strong but under-recognized artistic tradition throughout the medieval millennium that both ties to, yet stands distinctively apart from, the art of the continent. In so doing, I highlight extraordinary achievements and monuments both by looking at peculiarly English intentions and media that have separated England from the European mainstream and by placing these achievements in a broader European context. I hope to leave readers with new ideas to ponder by presenting a fresh perspective and offering new insights. Finally, and most importantly, I intend for this book to celebrate the largely unsung exuberance, brilliance, ingenuity, and invention in English art that I have come to love.

What fired my imagination and has sustained me through the long and arduous struggles of gathering slivers of information from many disparate sources, deciphering architectural plans, then amalgamating, winnowing, organizing, editing, illustrating, and transforming notes into an engaging narrative is my personal journey with England. This odyssey extends back to my childhood in the early 1950s, with my earliest memories of watching our new television set. On 2 June 1953, at almost 6 years old, I sat riveted to the broadcast of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. I was spellbound by the pageantry, the splendor, the traditions, the soaring ancient buildings, and the somber road to leadership. This indelible childhood fascination led to a lifelong fascination with England and anything or anyone English. I made scrapbooks, savored courses in English history in high school and in college, but, to my disappointment, no college or university that I attended offered even one course in early English art. Later, I turned my scholarly interests to medieval studies, and then in 1989, I settled on the Italian Renaissance for my doctoral degree, another passion that continues on a parallel track.

In July 1968, I first set foot on English soil as a college student. In March 2001, I returned to meet with a publisher regarding a book manuscript on Italian frescoes entitled *Signorelli and Fra Angelico at Orvieto,* since published, but the trip also reawakened my interest in England. In July 2002, serious studies on English art ensued, the first of several occasions upon which my expatriate relatives in London, Elizabeth and Tommy Long and children Stewart, Rawlings, and

Thompson, graciously hosted me. Dear friends Peter and Bridget Rowe in Cranbrook, whom I met first in 1990 in Orvieto, and their daughter Clare in Greenwich and her husband, the late Keir Smith, have graciously hosted me on countless occasions and chauffeured me to many sites in London, Kent, and Sussex. In 2004, the Gothic Art for England exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum and an exhibition of Renaissance Manuscripts at the Royal Academy inspired me to take my younger son, Clark Laster, abroad for the first time. In experiencing England through his enthusiastic eyes, I met my match for packing the most possible into five days. I have returned to England subsequently, each time coming home with greater insight and enthusiasm and an appetite whetted for more.

A portion of my research, travel, and photography in England was supported by funds from Mary Baldwin College, including Faculty Development Funds, a portion of a Jesse Ball DuPont Grant to the Program for Shakespeare and Renaissance Literature in Performance, the Yum and Ross Arnold Faculty Research Fund, and sabbatical leave. Additional funds for travel to England came from the Mednick Memorial Foundation and an ArtStor Travel Grant. Much of the funding, however, I owe to my own carefully hoarded resources and the prudence of my late parents, Sara and Dr William Duer James, and my late grandparents, Sara and Charles Perry Nair, Jr, and Lillian and Dr William Daniel James. Given their shared commitment to education, especially the education of women, and their enthusiastic fostering of curious minds, I believe they would view their hard-earned resources and mine as well invested and the project worthwhile.

My debts only begin here. In England, I am indebted to: former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams and his staff members Andrew Nunn and Milly Skene for access to interior spaces in Lambeth Palace; the Reverends Wesley Carr and John Hall, dean and former dean of Westminster Abbey and their staff, including librarians Tony Trowles and Christine Reynolds, for allowing me access to special places in the abbey church and the photograph archives; Sir Paul Nicholson and Anne Heywood at Durham Cathedral; and Brian Allen, Emma Floyd, and the staff of the Paul Mellon Centre and Library in London. In addition, I am grateful for enlightening consultations with Dr Tarnya Cooper, Dr Catherine Daunt, the late Peter Fairweather and his wife Edith, Dr Andrew Girr, Dr Karen Hearn, Dr Susan Jenkins, Dr John Schofield, Dr Jessica Sharkey, the Rev. and Mrs David Twinley of Hardham, and countless unnamed scholars, docents, guides, hotel and B&B owners and staff, and other kind souls who helped me navigate sites, rails, and highways. I am grateful to Gillian Malpass, art history editor and publisher at Yale University Press in London, for recognizing the uncommon nature and worth of the broad view and for her many years of encouragement. I especially thank Clare Litt, Publishing Director at Oxbow Books, for recognizing the value of this project, the unique analysis it offers, and for seeing the book through to publication. At Oxbow, Samantha McLeod and Mette Bundgaard have designed a beautiful layout and Sarah Ommanney has been enormously helpful with the images.

Americans to whom I owe special debts of gratitude include: the founders of the Mary Baldwin College Program in Shakespeare: Dr Cynthia Tyson, then president of Mary Baldwin College; Dr James Lott, then Dean of the College; Dr Ralph Cohen, Dr Mary Hill Cole, Dr Virginia Francisco, Dr Marlena Hobson, Dr Lydia Petersson, the late Dr Frank Southerington, and Theresa Southerington. I am grateful to the librarians at Mary Baldwin College, especially Carol Creager, Sean Crowley, Paula Kiser, Anaya Jones, and Elaine McCarrick. I also am grateful for the advice, assistance, and inspiration from Dr Kathleen Arthur, Dr Paul Barolsky, the late Dr Fletcher Collins, Marifrances Hardison, Perry Hurt, Dr Sarah Kennedy, Dr Fawn Knight, David Mims, the late Dr Mabel Margaret Morrison, Dr Kathleen Nolan, Sarah and Tom O'Connor, Deborah Patton, the Rt Rev. Neff Powell, Dr Kimberly Rhodes, Dr Marion Roberts, Mark and Virginia Shelley, the late Dr Pamela Simpson, the late John U. Tate, and Dr Larry Tise. Mary Baldwin students who assisted and inspired me include Kristine Ayers, Simone Daleo, Anna Gonzalez, Sara Hodges, Katie Robbins, David Santangelo, Christina Sayer, Olivia Sicignano, and Glenn Schudel. The exceedingly gracious offers of Dr Robert Cox, C. Robert Dickerman, and Dr Philip O'Mara to read my entire manuscript and offer candid editorial suggestions, corrections, valuable comments, lively conversations, and encouragement gave it greater accuracy, better organization, improved readability, and new life. I am grateful to Mary Lou Sousis, Robert Hanna, and James Hanger IV for tending the hearth fires and gardens so I could write. I also thank numerous friends and family members, especially my children – Stewart, Brooks, Margaret, and Clark – who listened and engaged in dialogues, lent encouragement, gave thoughtful insight, and maintained keen interest. Not only have they boosted my spirits, but the book is better for their contributions. The remaining foibles, errors, and deficiencies are my responsibility.

Sara Nair James
April 2016

Gospel Hill, Staunton, VA

INTRODUCTION
Art in the margins: The paradoxical canon of early English art

Ralph Waldo Emerson once remarked that: “The great metropolitan English language is the sea which receives tributaries from every region under heaven.”[1] The analogy also applies to English art and architecture, as well as to the national character of the English people. Artistic traditions in England, like its linguistic and political histories, have a lengthy and multi-faceted past. Geography probably has played the most significant role in shaping British life. The British Isles are separated from Europe by the English Channel and the North Sea, giving them a natural frontier. Yet the waterways also brought the people into contact with foreigners. This island position has given the people detachment and independence but not isolation.

To really understand and appreciate art in England, one must begin at the beginning and place it in a broad context. Side by side with the eclectic language, the individuality of the English people and their distinct artistic traditions developed from indigenous independence and resolve, Celtic zeal, three incursions of Nordic and Germanic peoples, a cultural revolution, and the Norman Conquest. The intermingling of these diverse tributaries undergirds the brilliance, exuberance, idiosyncrasy, innovation, and originality of the English language, art, and architecture and both reinforces and reflects the building of an English national character.

English art never appears as rigid, somber, or structured as the Byzantine, as naturalistic yet prescribed as the classical, as ordered and monumental as the Italian, as delicate, refined, and sumptuous as the French and Flemish, or as brutally truthful or as tender as the German. English art is synthetic, inventive, engaging, and warm. As with English literature, some of the art, especially manuscript illuminations, while highly sophisticated, retains an empathetic human quality, a cleverness, a whimsy, even a sense of humor and an earthiness.

For all these endearing traits, however, English art in the medieval millennium, which forms the foundation upon which later developments in English art and architecture build, has stood on the margins of fame. Extraordinary originality and remarkable feats of engineering emerge in England that rarely receive adequate notice, as most often they are studied in isolation, rather than being compared with other developments in England and on the continent. These individual accomplishments, as well as the extraordinary whole, merit celebration.

Unlike other nations, the English, proud as they may be of being English, tend not to celebrate themselves. They have no Independence Day to celebrate, no annual national holiday that remains constant regardless of monarch. With the separation of the church from Rome in the sixteenth century, they, as a nation, do not even celebrate a patron saint's day. St George's Day has regressed into a social occasion, reveled mainly in the pubs. Instead of recounting their past glories and traditions, national events celebrate someone or something specific, such as a royal wedding, birth, funeral, or a coronation.

Likewise, the English tend to favor specificity, a focused view of the world, which the organization of scholarship reflects. Scholars tend to address either a precise time period or a theme, in what I call "vertical" studies. Although the bounty of fine specialized studies contribute importantly to English scholarship, their specificity supersedes breadth and suppresses the "horizontal" grounding in chronology and context, often concealing the continuities, the distinctiveness, or, in many cases, the magnitude of English innovation and achievement. Horizontal surveys such as this one, on the other hand, follow chronology and note broad trends, continuities, and progression, complementing thematic studies and showing that the cultural web of England is more multi-faceted than often realized. Chronology facilitates narrative – and art in England does have a rich story to tell – one, in fact, that is greater than many realize.

Artistic traditions in England, like the linguistic, social, and political history, endure as products of the nation's lengthy and diverse past and the animating spirit that shaped it. Thus, this book aligns stylistic development, insofar as possible, to reigns of monarchs – and most often they coincide – for as patrons, monarchs frequently establish taste and style. The broad view of both chronological and stylistic development brings attention to continuous threads, themes, developing forms, and the distinctiveness of the English artistic tradition, ideas that go unnoticed in focused studies. Examples of ongoing threads include the interest in linear design, faces, details of everyday life and human foible, or the English facility with building in timber and the corresponding architectural engineering. This contextual view also ponders the interplay among the visual arts and other forms of creative expression, such as the impact of literature, music, and drama on art and architecture. Breadth and context also offer the further benefits of observing the influence of non-artistic issues on art and architecture, such as theological and devotional aspects of Christianity, religious strife, political power, patronage, geography, climate, economic growth, demonstrations of loyalty, and social issues.

Moreover, the creativity, continuity, and distinctiveness of early English art stand out best when representative buildings, paintings, illuminated manuscripts, tapestries, decorative arts, and works of sculpture are not only examined chronologically, but also within the broader context of the cross-connections with the European cultural web. Although touched by continental traditions, the art and values of the medieval millennium in England remain decisively and distinctively different. Unique aspects of the English character dominate and define the art.

Unlike the large "canon" of generally accepted major images one expects in a chronological survey of Medieval and Renaissance art in Italy, France, or Northern Europe, the English "canon" lies largely underdeveloped. Several unique factors contribute to this phenomenon. The geographic position of England played – and still plays – a vital role in forming the character of the English nation, its language, and its art. Its insular position allows the English to maximize resources at hand, develop independently of movements on the continent, and remain detached – or at least selective. The current English positions on the Euro and the European Union are cases in point. At the same time, rather than serving as an isolating barrier, as bodies of water can, the English Channel is a highway that has facilitated exchange. The Channel is a relatively small body of water, the smallest of the European seas – smaller than North America's Chesapeake Bay or Lake Michigan. The Strait of Dover is but 21 miles (*c.* 39 km) wide. On a clear day, its white cliffs stipple the Norman horizon. This dramatic sight apparently beckoned curious invaders, who, in successive waves, braved the seas, bringing new ideas, skills, and customs to the island that the ever attentive English minds either assimilated or thoughtfully rejected. Artistic exchanges that accompanied these political and religious interchanges often had greater consequences than most scholars have noticed. Such largely overlooked exchanges include those the between the Anglo-Saxon missionaries and the Franks or the late Saxon and Carolingian courts.

In exploring the canon of Early English Art, I pondered what might have fired English imaginations. I considered the threads of continuity and the monuments that contributed to the various artistic movements. I noted the influences of politics beginning with the Anglo-Saxons through the sixteenth century and including politics, geography, religion, economics, and authors of literature and theater. Wherever possible, I discussed monuments that still exist. Wherever appropriate, I included important objects I had seen, monuments I had visited, and what might be most accessible to others. For example, nothing makes one so appreciate the English skill with timber construction and their daunting engineering feats as climbing the tower at Ely and peering down into the spidery spokes that support it; nothing makes one appreciate the English adroitness with painting as looking through a microscope at the National Portrait Gallery at such extraordinary touches as a red lake glaze over silver foil, used to make a costume shimmer. I hope that such experiences enrich and enliven my text and will encourage others to make similar journeys. Yet selectivity must dictate. A single volume covering 1000 years limits the savoring of details. Many readers will note omissions or the reliance on architectural forms, and perhaps rightfully so. A book such as this one presents breadth rather than depth, a synthesis rather than discovery, is representative rather than comprehensive, and manageable rather than overwhelming, with the aim to whet the appetite rather than to engorge. Moreover, some images and monuments discussed in the book are omitted because of practical factors, such as access to sites, availability of images, fees to purchase and reproduce images, costs of production, manageability, and editing. Today, with a plethora of digital images available on the internet and accessible on lightweight portable electronic devices, such as mobile phones and tablets, one can find the missing images, as well as different views of some of the architectural structures. Most of the manuscripts and paintings come from libraries, museums, churches and cathedrals, royal palaces, and other historic sites that maintain websites with high quality images.

In organizing the chapters, I found, unsurprisingly, that boundaries and rules that mark continental divisions and developments in art, initially devised by sixteenth-century Italians, apply less to England. Sixteenth-century Italians viewed their relatively recent economic prosperity and the intellectual revival that accompanied it, inspired by classical literature and art forms, as distinctly different from their past; thus, they envisioned their own period as a Renaissance, or period of rebirth, and the time between their own Golden Age and that of classical antiquity as the “Middle” or even “Dark” Ages – an abyss when learning, art, and civilization in general were considered inferior because they drew upon sources outside of the ideals of classical antiquity. Today, with greater historical perspective, contextualization, and respect for the different points of view of others, we see such views as narrow and naïve. We now recognize that this 1000 year period abounds with the political, social, economic, religious, cultural, technological, and artistic innovations that set the stage for the Modern Era, but the names and categories persist. In England, in fact, one of the most vibrant periods in their artistic tradition occurs at one of the "darkest" and most turbulent times on the continent.

Defining the boundaries of the roughly 1000 years of the medieval period is a moving target, depending on geographic area and discipline. Historians who judge by military events might begin with Constantine's victory at Milvian Bridge in 312 and end with the Hundred Years War (1337–1453), when gunpowder drove armored knights and feudal warfare into obsolescence. Theologians might begin with the birth of Christ or the formation of the first Christian creed at the Council of Nicaea in 325 and end with the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. Political historians might begin with the sack of Rome by the Ostrogoths in 476 and end with the forming of the Florentine Republic. Art historians might start with Constantine moving the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople in 330 and end at 1300 with Giotto and the rebirth of naturalism or at 1400 with Brunelleschi's dome and the reintroduction of classical forms in architecture and intellectual thought. Few of these defining events, however, apply to developments in England. Even recent British publications on art and architecture categorize a later span with different boundaries as "medieval." For example, the 2004 exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum entitled *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547* and the accompanying catalogue clearly label this period as medieval. Similarly, David Bindman, the general editor of the three-volume *History of British Art*, published in 2008, refers to the first volume, which covers 600–1600, as the "medieval volume." Even before I knew Bindman's book, I chose to begin with the Hiberno-Saxon civilization and end with the Tudors.

As for English beginnings, the art left by prehistoric Britons at such places as Stonehenge and Skara Brae exudes mystery and gives isolated glimpses into ancient people, but these works do not fit into a continuum. Likewise, the impact of England's initial brush with classical antiquity was largely a foreign veneer, even though Constantine allegedly assumed the imperial throne in England. Roman architecture must have seemed just as imposing and out of place in ancient Britain as eighteenth-century British Imperial buildings did in the capital cities of their African, Indian, and even American colonies. Nor did the Ostogothic invasion of Rome directly affect the British. With the withdrawal of Roman troops (410–449 AD), Britain was no longer an outpost of the Roman Empire. Instead the peoples acted as independent tribal territories, already defending themselves against new unwanted intruders. Similarly, the first brushes with Christianity, which had come first with the Romans and later through the efforts of St Patrick (387–461), retreated into remote areas.

The Anglo-Saxons, on the eve of the reintroduction of Roman Christianity in the late sixth century, rather than prehistoric societies or the Romans, mark the beginning of a continuous and distinctive tradition of art in England. Their art does not look Roman nor does it embody Roman aesthetic values, although occasionally an awareness of the classical figurative tradition or Roman construction and building types emerges. Only after 1066, with the success of the Norman invasion under William the Conqueror, do artistic developments run more or less parallel with those on the continent, especially the Romanesque and the Gothic, which England tenaciously embraces, reinvents, and perpetuates. In the sixteenth century, as Henry VII builds a pantheon for the Tudor monarchs at Westminster Abbey in the lavish Perpendicular Gothic style, classically inspired projects in Florence and in Rome for Pope Julius II were well underway – Bramante begins the new St Peter's, Michelangelo wrestles with the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and Raphael transforms rooms in the Vatican Palace. Although Italians that Henry VII attracts to court introduce various Italianate ideas, the Protestant practices sanctioned by his successors suppress them. Thus, to apply the term "Renaissance" to art of the Tudor Age presents a conundrum, if Renaissance means a conscious reliance on classical forms, elements, and theories that promote a sense of harmony, symmetry, order, stability, and unity. Not until the architecture of Robert Smythson, late in the reign of Elizabeth, does a mature, consistent, well-understood, classically-inspired architectural style emerge in England. By that time on the continent, the period called the Renaissance had evolved into a more exuberant, albeit classically inspired, period of a different order that we call the Baroque. Thus, the close of the reign of Elizabeth I, with the resolution of the Protestant Reformation on the advent of the Age of Discovery, as England enters a more global arena and embraces classicism more fully than ever before, marks the end of this study.

Chronological organization helps bring out the interrelationships among various facets of English civilization. England's word based culture, grounded in its rich, varied, and vivid, language, stretches back to literature of Anglo-Saxon days; that love of language transfers into art. Mark Girouard notes in his book *Elizabethan Architecture* that Elizabethan architecture, like Elizabethan literature, reflects the literary love of artifice and devices. With his specific focus, however, he fails to note that the Elizabethan interplay of literature and art, artifice and devices, builds on a long tradition. Beginning with the earliest examples, art and literature share common bonds, including a love of intricate games, a delight in surface pattern, a love of complex rhythms and forms, clever devices, and a sublimity. At the same time, art and literature share an odd mix of macabre and playfulness, full of innuendo and ambiguity, whether in poetry or prose, painting or sculpture. As with the clever riddles and elaborately contrived poems that depend on circular or parallel patterns, part of the engagement with the art is in the game of analyzing, deconstructing the linear forms, and looking for hidden surprises.[2]

As with literary works from *Beowulf* to Chaucer and Shakespeare, English art paints a vivid picture of everyday life and sympathy with human foibles. The boundless range of subjects includes pre-Christian legends, Biblical stories, and clever jokes that can even suggest the devilish, the bawdy, the scatological, or the macabre. Many of these art forms originally were designed for the enlightenment and amusement of the limited few who read books, walked monastic cloisters in quiet contemplation, or sang the liturgy from choir stalls. Marginal illustrations in such books as the Luttrell Psalter (1340) presented with straightforward truthfulness and often with humor, are indispensable to the modern understanding of medieval life. Whether in spoken language, literature, or theater, English humor is, and has always been, notoriously clever, dry, understated, and full of imaginative devices and witty asides. Word drolleries appear in unusual places, such as in the lines of the fabled litany:

> From ghoulies and ghosties, long leggitie beasties and things that go bump in the night:
> Good Lord deliver us.

These same imaginative creatures lurk in the borders of manuscripts, leer out from column capitals and wall brackets, gaze down from sculpted decorative ceiling bosses, and coil and recoil in the carved woodwork of choir stalls. Who but the English would design overhead bosses to cleverly join ribs in the ceiling vaults and then envision them not only as spaces to decorate, but also as devices to inspire contemplation or tease with humor? Who else would decorate a misericord, the shelf-like seat on to the underside of upraised choir seats that subtly relieves the tired haunches of a singing monk, with a clever, even risqué, joke?

The love of faces, facial expressions, and human personality fuel English literature and drama; the same fascination appears in English art. Beginning with the earliest Anglo-Saxon decorative objects, faces enliven such objects as the Sutton Hoo purse lid, letter designs in the Book of Kells, drolleries in manuscript borders, and sculptural heads in churches. The English lead the way with individualized portraits, from the self-portrait of Eadwine the scribe at Canterbury (*c.* 1160) to life size monarchs and nobles of the sixteenth century. One of the first known independent painted portraits in Europe is the earliest known image of an English monarch: the youthful Richard II (1377–1399). A later portrait of Richard, the Wilton Diptych, blends the sacred and the secular for the first time. In addition to the English role in reviving the ancient Roman tradition of portraiture, the use of the image of a monarch as powerful propaganda also materializes in England ahead of the rest of Europe in the hands of Hans Holbein the Younger (*c.* 1497–1543) with the swaggering figure of Henry VIII. Contemporary portraits of power in continental Europe pale in comparison. Henry's daughter Elizabeth exploits the idea of the propagandistic image further by adding personal symbolism inspired by imagery of the Virgin Mary. The new fashion of portrait collecting causes the English to adapt their newly invented galleries, which gave dry passage in inclement weather throughout their prodigy houses, into spaces for display of family lineage and social stature.

Aficionados of tradition, the English bind themselves together through rituals, ceremonies, and rich traditions of music and liturgical dramas, all of which determine much about the art and architecture. Ceremonies interact symbiotically with the art and buildings in which they take place: churches, castles, halls, and palaces serve as settings for ceremony and ritual; at the same time, the rituals determine art and architectural forms and give them life and meaning. Decorative objects in precious metals bedecked with jewels, rich clothing, textiles, armor, and furnishings also play a part, as do illuminated books and paintings. Art forms in England, like traditions, grow from eclectic sources and once established, hold fast, yet evolve so that they never stand static or stale.

Architecture offers equally interesting but rarely noticed examples of synthesis and innovation. Anglo-Saxons are the first in Northern Europe to assimilate Roman construction, often using recycled Roman materials.[3] The technology and knowledge of brick-making practiced by the Romans disappear after Roman troops withdrew and do not reenter England until the fifteenth century; thus, when the Anglo-Saxons cannot use recycled Roman materials, they use fieldstone. As their missionaries traveled to Gaul, the Anglo-Saxons share their creative modification of Roman construction, which, though seldom noted, appears in important Carolingian buildings in Germany. The English experiments in late Norman Romanesque engineering at Durham Cathedral lead to unique seven-part groin vaults in the nave ceilings supported by flying buttresses, resulting in greater heights and better lighting. Although the vaulting pattern never repeats, the engineering innovation continues and improves. Gothic innovations bring especially under-sung, yet brilliant and influential developments. By 1178 at Canterbury, artisans are experimenting with stained glass window production and four-part groin vaulting to roof a narrow rectangular bay (the section between the columns), supported by high, solid buttresses. These achievements laid groundwork for post-1194 innovations at Chartres. Even before Chartres is underway, at Lincoln (*c.* 1192) developments in vaulting and Chapter House design change the course of English Gothic architecture. In the new variation of sexpartite vaulting in the choir at Lincoln, a ridge rib runs along the center like a spine, unheard of in France, with six intersecting tiercerons (ribs) that camouflage the lines of structural support. This “Crazy Vaulting,” is not just for visual effect. This supportive innovation admits more light and inspires further variations of surface patterns in vaulting, which becomes a distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture in Britain.

Moreover, with vast forest resources at hand, now sadly depleted, English timber construction produces extraordinarily innovative engineering achievements that even today are not fully appreciated. Legend recounts that in the days of Robin Hood, trees grew so large that once two men on horseback riding along opposite sides of a felled tree could not see even the hat of the other man. A rhyme reputedly dating back to the tenth century records that in Northwestern England near Wales the forest around Wirral was so thick that:

From Blacon Point to Hilbre
Squirrels in search of food
Might then jump straight from tree to tree.
So thick the forest stood![4]

The English dependence upon ships of such timber to trade with the outside world surely contributes to the indigenous facility with timber construction. At York, the Chapter House (*c.* 1280–1291) ceiling, with hidden beams above, spans the 59 ft (18 m) wide interior like a virtual Gothic dome without the supporting central column used in other Chapter Houses. Such innovative construction inspires the solution for covering the space left by the collapsed tower Ely Cathedral (1320s), where a 74 ft (22.55 m) wide octagon joins the nave, transept, and presbytery. Not until the early 1400s in Italy, when Filippo Brunelleschi finished his brick dome in Florence, did anyone in Western Europe since the Romans exceed Ely in covering such a wide span. The synthesis of artistic forms that develop in England over the medieval millennium is unparalleled elsewhere in Europe.

From the beginning, whether actively sought after or politically imposed, imported art forms, like imported political ideas, customs, religion, and social organization, shape the basis of English practices. The English were, and remain, consummate connoisseurs and great collectors, with discerning eyes for imported objects, architectural elements, and artists, choosing the best from a variety of sources, absorbing the ideas, and blending them into something new and original. English travelers abroad, whether missionaries, soldiers, diplomats, political pawns, or churchmen, return with fresh ideas – or even the actual art, artisans, and architects – and then modify the imports to suit the English taste. Hans Holbein the Younger (d. 1543) gives the perfect example. Although Holbein was German by nationality and training, the British market transforms his art. His later and increasingly abstract portraits especially embody the characteristic British sincerity and reserve.

Perhaps because England's insular position and independence lie at the heart of every aspect of the nation's identity, the English have less concern with the opinion of the outside world. While medieval and Renaissance artists in Italy produced self-laudatory signatures, flattering biographies, and obsequious contracts, the English pragmatically and steadily focused upon business at hand for their own sake with confidence, along with a wink, a swallowed smile, and a quick quip, but without fanfare or aggrandizement. Herein lies some of the mystery of English art.

Another contributing factor to the marginalization of English achievements in the medieval millennium is a later Italian-inspired point of view that labels the period between the ancient classical past and the dawning of the Renaissance of classical forms and ideas in fifteenth century Florence as a "Dark Age". Almost all of the remarkable achievements outlined in this book would fall into that abyss. A reading of just one chapter not only proves that outdated assessment false, but also that the English often march to a different drummer. However, when the visual arts, architecture, architectural engineering, and material culture in England are evaluated in a broad, sequential context, mindful of traditions, developments, values, and ideals, both in England and on the continent, this distinctive and innovative millennium may well shine as England's finest era.

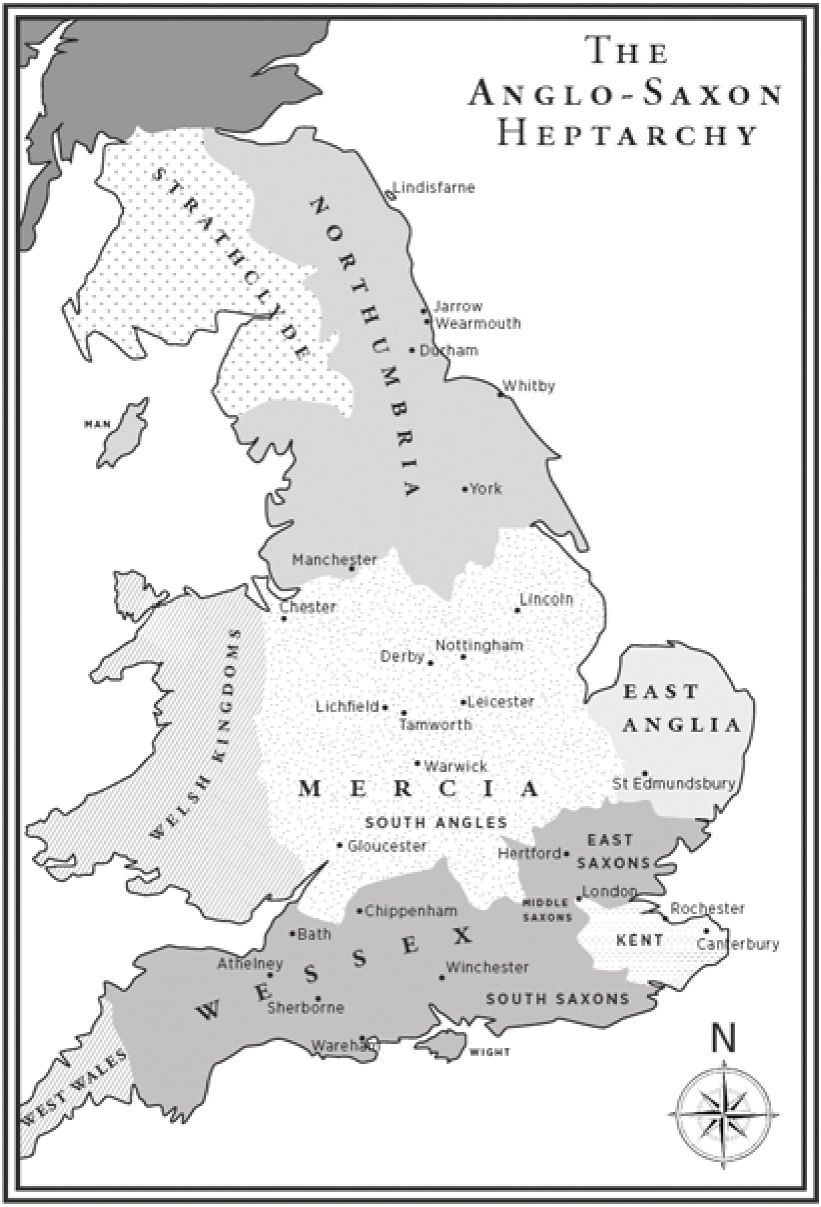
Notes

1 Robert McCrum, William Cran and Robert MacNeil, *The Story of English* (New York, 1986), 11.

2 Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture* (New Haven, CT, 2009), xix; McCrum Cran, and MacNeil, *Story of English*, 62–4.

3 John Goodall, "Patronage, Function, and Display: The Secular World", in *The History of British Art, 600–1600*, Tim Ayers ed., (London, 2008), 118; Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), 44–6; See also Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, CT and London, 1985), chap. 4.

4 *Undiscovered Scotland* Robert Naylor and John Naylor, "From John O'Groat's to Lands End: Friday 13 October 1871", http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/usebooks/naylor-johnogroats/39.html (accessed 17 August 2013).


THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY
STRATHCLYDE
NORTHUMBRIA
Lindisfarne
Jarrow
Wearmouth
Durham
Whitby
MAN
York
Manchester
Chester
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
EAST ANGLIA
WELSH KINGDOMS
Lichfield
Tamworth
Leicester
Warwick
St Edmundsbury
MERCIA
SOUTH ANGLES
Gloucester
Hertford
EAST SAXONS
London
MIDDLE SAXONS
Rochester
Chippenham
KENT
Canterbury
Bath
WESSEX
Athelney
Winchester
Sherborne
SOUTH SAXONS
Wareham
WIGHT
WEST WALES
N

Map of England during the Heptarchy (c.600).

Chapter 1

MISSIONARIES, MONKS, AND MARAUDERS: PRE-CONQUEST ENGLAND … THE HEPTARCHY–EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, *C.* 600–1066

Throughout the early Middle Ages, politically driven foreigners, from missionaries to marauders, landed on English shores. Each influx brought new ideas, words, customs, religion, social and political organization, art, and architecture. The English people selectively absorbed foreign elements into their indigenous culture. This fascinating amalgamation of ideas, in turn, shaped the basis of English thought, language, traditions, religion, society, government, and art and architectural forms. At the same time, the English culture remained distinctively different from those from whom they absorbed ideas and customs. This ability to synthesize selectively and successfully without losing their own voice distinguishes English art, as well as the practical-minded English people.

The exit of the Romans in 410 AD left the British to defend themselves against the fierce migrant invaders who pressed every boundary of the Roman Empire. With the Romans gone, vulnerable England was fair game for them, and come they did, Picts from Scotland, Celts from Ireland, along with three waves of Nordic invaders. However, the departure of the Romans opened other doors of opportunity and creativity. Out of the turmoil came a cultural revolution, which included extraordinary aptitude for timber framing, metalwork, literary works, governmental organization, and the re-introduction and propagation of Roman Christianity. By the late seventh century, this melding of peoples, customs, and ideas generated the most brilliant civilization in contemporary Europe and perhaps the most transformative in English history. These defining developments occurred well before Normans set foot on English soil.

The heritage of Roman Britain: 43 BC–410 AD

The transition from prehistory, an age of oral tradition and artifacts, to that of history with written texts, creates enormous consequences in the understanding of any civilization. Written history about Britain begins with Julius Caesar’s two campaigns to Britain in 55–54 BC. In addition to recording the details of military operations in book six of his Commentaries, Caesar brought Britain to the attention of Rome, and Rome to the attention of Britain. Full Roman conquest, however, arrived later, in 43 AD, under the Emperor Claudius. The Romans quickly established control over the tribes of southeastern England and proceeded northward to Scotland. Following the patterns of conquest on the continent, as the Romans conquered, they laid a veneer of Roman civilization. The invaders introduced the Latin language; Christianity; Roman government; currency and trade; city planning; civil engineering; brick and cut stone construction; metal tools, including the rake (toothed) angle saw blade; defensive walls; Roman building types, including public baths, forums, basilicas, theaters, and private houses; and a system of well-maintained, paved roads that connected cities.

Londinium Augusta (London), founded *c.* 43 AD, sat in a strategically located valley along the Thames River where it served as a port, trading center, and a crossroads. A wooden bridge built across the Thames to present-day Southwark, a few yards down-river from the present London Bridge, facilitated trade. Many Roman military camps, such as Eboracum (York), subsequently became towns. In fact, York, where, in 306 AD Constantine was crowned Emperor of the West, developed into the northern counterpart of London. Scattered Roman ruins remain in other parts of England: among them, Canterbury, Bath, Chester, and Lincoln. Dover retains a Roman pharos, or lighthouse, strategically built on the white cliffs overlooking the harbor, which the Anglo-Saxons incorporated into a church, St Mary in Castro. Modern Winchester, along with about ten other cities, retains some of the gridiron street patterns, a configuration that conforms to the Roman custom on the continent. Monastic chronicler Gildas (*c.* 500–570) reported 28 walled towns, reiterated by later chroniclers, the Venerable Bede (*c.* 672–735) and Geoffrey of Monmouth (*c.* 1100–*c.* 1155). While later generations eradicated some Roman structures by pillaging them for stone building materials, the great defensive Wall of Hadrian miraculously survived relatively intact. Perhaps the remote location, along with the people who lived in and along the Wall, impeded total cannibalization. By the Elizabethan era, English aristocrats recognized its importance to British history and ardently strove to preserve it.[1]

Early Anglo-Saxon England *c.* 450–830

When the Romans troops and government officials left Britain in 410 and later withdrew from northern Europe, they left behind the fundamentals of urban planning and defense, networks of aqueducts, bridges, and roads, and efficient mining techniques for metals. As with the lighthouse at Dover, their system of defenses, such as the fortified wall at Pevensey in Suffolk or the city wall at London, were preserved and often incorporated into later structures. The Roman departure caused a gradual decline in government and population, changes in the social order, and the disappearance of basic conveniences of life once taken for granted. In fact, since the Romans had governed for the benefit of the empire, the English felt no sense of nationalism. No standing army stood ready to enforce laws or to defend against invaders; instead, tribal chieftains waged warfare. Education declined, as consequently did record keeping: the Romans had kept written accounts; the remaining people left little, until Gildas in the sixth century and the Venerable Bede in the eighth gathered stories and recorded what they had gleaned.

Over the first two centuries following the Roman withdrawal, the formation of the cultural identity of the English nation began with the first of three waves of Nordic invasions, some possibly by invitation, most not. The remarkable English propensity for absorption and synthesis began here. Legend holds that in 449, the first stream of Teutonic sea raiders – mainly Angles and Saxons, but also Frisians and Jutes – came into English waters from the North Sea and Baltic coasts of Europe – from present-day Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, and Denmark. The constant warfare waged against invaders defined many aspects of life and culture. Tremendous energy and imagination went into the manufacture of weapons.

Eventually, however, the marauders turned into settlers. These Teutonic and Nordic people, strong, self-reliant, and capable in government, side by side with the indigenous people and the remnants of Imperial Rome, introduced a pagan world with different customs. With intermarriage, Germanic traditions, gods, and language permeated, but did not totally supplant the indigenous ones. This blending of Roman, Celtic, Germanic, and Nordic cultures produced a brilliant, revitalized civilization with new political forms, based not on Roman law and imperial rule, but on honor, loyalty, and courage, the ancestor of English and continental aristocratic hierarchy and chivalry. It also formed the basis of England’s synthetic language.

The blending also yielded fascinating new artistic traditions and architectural forms. The indigenous people continued to use some Roman buildings and roads, but they were less apt to emulate Roman methods of construction because the Romans had tended to import builders rather than train the local workforce. Knowledge of Roman engineering therefore gradually faded from memory, and with it, tools, structural repairs to the buildings, aqueducts, bridges, and roads. The ruins reminded the English of Roman construction systems, including the arch, stone and brick construction, and classical form, ornament, and building types. New settlements appeared away from the fortified Roman cities – mostly simple farmsteads that were curiously unfortified. The hall served the Anglo-Saxons as the primary residence type – a modest single-story structure of split timbers covered with a thatched gable roof. Some later Anglo-Saxon buildings incorporated Roman building materials and evoked imperial Rome in ways that, at first glance, are not readily apparent. In spite of their warring culture and unpretentious dwellings, however, the early Anglo-Saxons appreciated luxury goods. Archaeologists have unearthed graves with exotic items such as coral, shells, and ivory from as far away as Africa and India. The people traded with the continent, importing precious metals, gemstones, and salt. They built kilns and understood the manufacture of iron, essential for making weapons.[2]

By about 600, Teutonic tribes, each with its own chief, occupied nearly half of England. With the consolidation of rule into seven large kingdoms – Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Wessex – called the Heptarchy, the people of England had a more stable, sophisticated government and civilization than their continental counterparts, who later would call upon the English to share their expertise. The kingdoms persist in the English mindset, perhaps because they reflect the rich, distinctive variations still apparent in the English language and culture (frontispiece). The Germanic Angles settled the east coast. In the northeast, the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deria merged in the seventh century to form Northumbria, which stretched along the North Sea from the Firth of Forth in Scotland south to the River Humber and west to the Pennine Mountains. Mercia, located between the Humber and the Wash, extended west to the River Severn and Wales. East Anglia, made up of North Folk and South Folk (Norfolk and Suffolk), lay south of the Wash to the River Stour and east to the North Sea. Kent, in the southeast where the Channel joins the North Sea, spread north to the River Thames and southwest to the River Rother. Bede attributed Kent and the Isle of Wight to the Scandinavian Jutes. Some scholars question that ethnic origin, but Kent retains many distinct linguistic, social, and artistic features. Saxons, the latecomers who migrated from both sides of the River Elbe in Germany, settled the south, surrounding Kent on three sides. The East Saxons (Essex) extended northeast of the Thames to the River Stour, while South Saxons

(Sussex) settled south of the Thames and along the English Channel eastward to Kent. Of all, the West Saxons (Wessex) would generate the richest civilization. They entered England *c.* 500 at Southampton Water and pressed inland to settle along the Channel coast west to the Polden Hills and the River Parrett in modern Cornwall and north to the River Severn. This Early Saxon political unification contributed to a cultural and artistic synthesis and shared visions. The surviving artifacts exhibit a strong sense of design, broad areas of color, and the love of intricate line. For the most part, the art was non-figural. Most remaining artifacts are small and widely scattered, with two significant exceptions located at considerable distance from each other: the Sutton Hoo ship burial mound in Suffolk and the Staffordshire Hoard in the west.

Pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon art

Sutton Hoo

As will be typical of the later English, whose literary tradition generally reigns above the visual in the arts, the flavor of the post-Roman pagan world of the fifth through the mid-seventh centuries endures best in the mixture of pagan and Christian imagery in the great Anglo-Saxon epic poem *Beowulf*. The story complete with the Scandinavian-style hero's burial atop a funeral pyre loaded with treasure, does have visual support. In 1938, at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk, near the North Sea coast, archaeologists unearthed an 86 ft (*c.* 26.2 m) long East Anglian burial ship filled with rich ceremonial objects such as weapons, helmets, decorative arts, and jewelry, which at death were placed with the deceased for use in the afterlife. A silver salver from Constantinople (*c.* 500) and coins struck at various mints between 575 and 620 prove contact between east and west and aid archaeologists in dating the burial, as they provide a *terminus post quem* – a date after which the burial must have occurred. Scholars now associate the find with the East Anglian king Rædwald (ruled 593–624/7).

Many of the gold and silver objects show sophisticated techniques of repoussé, filigree, and cloisonné enamel, some of which bears striking resemblance to contemporary Scandinavian art. Among the most elaborate objects are a golden belt buckle and a purse lid (Fig. 1.1). The bilaterally symmetrical designs contain an unusual combination of both animal figures on a solid background and dense, interlacing lines. Rather than seek naturalistic representation, as classical artists had, Anglo-Saxon artists favored abstract suggestion, perhaps with symbolic meaning. The purse lid, made of bronze with gold overlay and decorated with abstract animal and human figures in garnet and glass, has a pair of cloisonné eagles that grasp their prey of ducks; to each side, a man, shown frontally, courageously stands between a pair of attacking wolves, shown in profile. This lavish lid fit onto a leather coin purse, which hung from a waist belt secured with a golden buckle. The ornamental pattern of a buckle, also found at Sutton Hoo, contains twisting snakes and two birds' heads with curved beaks that bend around the pair of round bosses. Below, two interlocking four-footed composite animals bite down on a little dog-like creature. Not only were the materials expensive and the interlocking mechanisms complex, but the surface decoration shows a high degree of sophistication and artistry. In early Anglo-Saxon society, wealth and its public display indicated rank and social position, much as it will in later, more sophisticated societies.[3]

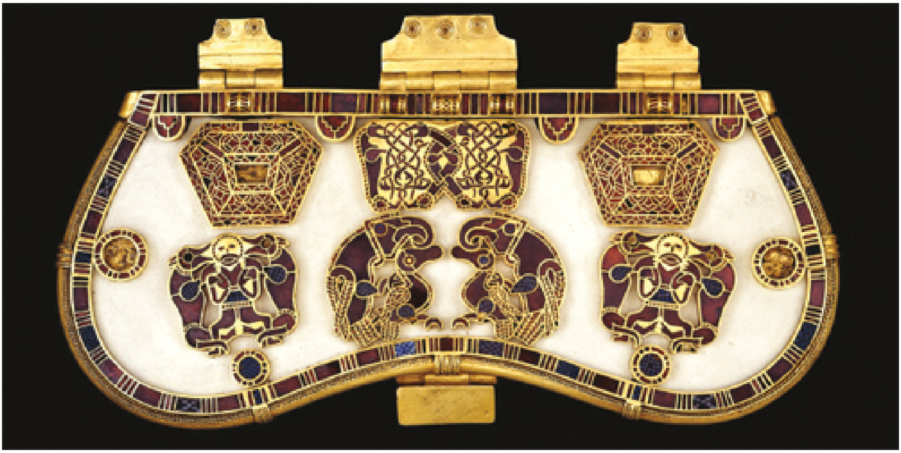


Fig. 1.1 Purse lid from the Sutton Hoo ship burial, early seventh century AD, from Mound 1, Sutton Hoo, Suffolk. Photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum

The Staffordshire Hoard

In July 2009, near Litchfield in Staffordshire, a metal detector hobbyist discovered a trove of approximately 3500 objects currently dated to *c.* 650 AD, which greatly enhanced the modern perception of the Anglo-Saxons. With at least five times the amount of gold, it replaced Sutton Hoo as the largest and the richest find of Anglo-Saxon tribal art in northern Europe. The luxurious hoard also intrigues scholars for the absence of feminine, domestic, and utilitarian objects. Whereas the Sutton Hoo treasure is unmistakably funerary, the hoard in Staffordshire represents spoils of battle – including sword, shield, and helmet fittings, saber hilt plates, buckles, and saddle pieces of members the warrior aristocracy. These precious objects were ripped from the original mountings on arms and armor. They were then twisted to fit into pouches and purposefully buried, perhaps with the intention of retrieving them later. The mutilation also may denote the deliberate desecration of Christian symbols, which could indicate that a pagan army defeated and despoiled a Christian one. Victors in battle routinely humiliated the enemy by looting their weapons and battle gear, as described in *Beowulf*: "Weapons of war and weeds (clothes) of battle, with breastplate and blade – a heaped hoard." *Beowulf* also describes objects of precious metals and the mythic magic powers that held within it: "That huge cache, gold inherited from an ancient race, was under a spell …".[4]

The designs of these painstakingly rendered objects reveal a fascination with stylized animals and faces as well as a love of surface pattern to the point of *horror vacui* – the seemingly obsessive need to fill the surface. Complex, sinewy lines twist and curve endlessly throughout and sometimes terminate in stylized heads of eagles, snakes, or dragons. Some items, such as a cheek piece fragment from a helmet, have stylized human figures alongside interlacing animals; others objects, such as the scabbard bosses and knife hilts, have garnets set in cloisonné.

Unlike Sutton Hoo, the Staffordshire hoard includes recognizably Christian objects, including two embellished jeweled crosses and a mysterious gold strip with a crudely engraved and misspelled Latin Biblical verse, Numbers 10:35, which translates: "Rise up, O Lord, and may thy enemies be dispersed and those who hate thee be driven from thy face." One cross has a loop, indicating that it was worn as jewelry; another larger one probably served as an altar or processional cross. Archaeologists and historians debate the tantalizing but scant evidence, eager to attach it to specific circumstances. Found near the ancient capital city of Tamworth in the kingdom of Mercia, the cache could result from a battle near the River Winwæd fought between the mighty Mercian pagan warrior king Penda (d. 655) and Oswy (Oswiu; *c.* 612–670), the Christian king of Bernicia, who, according to Bede, was the unlikely victor. Perhaps the hoard represents a victory offering Oswy had vowed to make. The Welsh poem *Marwnad Cynddylan* (*The Death Song of Cynddylan*) tells a different and slightly earlier story of extensive spoils, the presence of a bishop, and a Welsh victory near Anglo-Saxon Litchfield, in which Penda allied with the Welsh ruler Cynddylan.[5] Whatever the source and however brutal life may have been among the warring tribes, these treasure troves demonstrate that by the seventh century, the Anglo-Saxons had well-established workshops with finely trained artisans who produced sophisticated precious metal objects embellished with jewels and intricate designs. The successors to these skilled artisans would later apply their distinctive designs to manuscript illuminations, Bible covers, and stone sculpture.

Celtic Christianity and monasticism

In addition to leaving an enduring and transformational legacy in architectural monuments and good roads, the Romans also left vestiges of Christianity, which came to Britain by the early fourth century and survived among scattered pockets of Celts in remote areas of Wales, Cornwall, Strathclyde in Scotland, and in Ireland at such places as Glendalough. In 325, British bishops had attended the Council of Nicaea. In 397, St Ninian established a church in Scotland. On 26 March – Easter Sunday – 433, as Roman influence, including Christianity, was waning, St Patrick (387–493), the son of a British deacon, returned to Ireland to preach the Gospel. Patrick had spent his youth enslaved in Ireland and had managed to escape Ireland for France, where he received a monastic education that emphasized chastity, obedience, poverty, and a hermit-like existence. Now an ordained bishop steeped in Christian doctrine and missionary zeal, he undertook the mission to convert his pagan captors and establish monastic communities that would continue his work.[6]

Legend states that St Patrick's most zealous follower, St Columba (521–597), a native Irishman, established approximately 35 monasteries in Ireland, including Durrow and Kells. He then left Ireland and took Christianity to England, first to Kent and later to Northumbria, where, in 593, he established a monastery on the isle of Iona off the west coast of Scotland. Other monastic centers emerged near the Northumbrian coast at Whitby, the isle of Lindisfarne, and along rivers at Hexham, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth (or Wearmouth). Slightly farther south, monasteries grew up at Durham, Ripon, and York. Thus, as remote as it may seem, Northumbrian England bloomed into a vibrant center of Christianity, with close ties to Celtic practices. From these unlikely origins would stem enduring and transformational developments in English history and art.

Celtic monasteries: Glendalough

Celtic monasteries, with their roots in the solitary practices introduced by St Patrick and his followers, were austere and self-sufficient. A typical monastery consisted of little round beehive-shaped huts, built of either waddle and daub or dry stone, one for each ascetic monk, clustered loosely within a circular wall around a simple church, often with an independent round stone tower. Founded in the sixth century by St Kevin, the surviving eighth-century structures at the monastery at Glendalough in the Glenmalure Valley include such a tower, 112 ft high with a base 52 ft in circumference (34 × 16 m).

Unlike their cloistered continental counterparts, these monasteries played an integral role in regional life, serving as centers of economic, spiritual, and educational activities, as well as refuges in time of trouble – little pockets of stability in an otherwise chaotic world. The rugged locations of Celtic monasteries spared some from the second wave of Nordic/Germanic plunderings in the eighth–tenth centuries, which focused mainly on towns. The autonomous rule fostered independence from Rome-based diocesan jurisdiction and the regulation of a specific monastic order. No Celtic monastery recognized an ecclesiastical superior to its abbot, who also might have been a local noble; thus, Celtic liturgy and other practices developed independently from those of the Roman church. Such organization could never accommodate the Roman hierarchy, so eventually the pope looked askance at their non-conformist practices. By the late sixth century, the zealous Celtic missionaries especially Columbanus (d. 615), Willibrord (d. 739), and Gallus (d. 645), had established monasteries in England, Scotland, and Gaul.[7] Their scriptural and literary manuscripts formed the basis of monastic libraries in Britain and abroad. By the end of the fifth century, England emerged from the backwaters into a major religious, academic, and artistic center boasting the most famous monastic schools in Europe.

Roman Christianity

In 597, the same year in which St Columba died, missionaries arrived in southeast England from another direction: Rome, at the behest of Pope Gregory the Great (tenure 590–604). In contract to the bellicose invasions of the Norsemen, this quiet intrusion also produced momentous consequences, but of a cultural rather than a combative nature. As far as scholars know, Gregory's missionary effort was the first directed toward either pagans within or populations beyond the boundaries of the former Roman Empire. Bede later retold the charming legend of the pope's first encounter with Englishmen, first noted by the anonymous Whitby biographer of Pope Gregory I. Seeing beautiful fair-haired youths in the slave market in Rome, the pope inquired about their homeland. Upon learning that he learned that they were *Angli* (Angles) from Britain, he made a play on the Latin words saying that the *Angli* had the faces of *angeli* (angels), "… and such men should be fellow heirs of the angels in heaven."[8]

Assuming his duty to gather the heathen under the auspices of the

Roman See, in 593, the pope dispatched St Augustine, the reticent prior and librarian of the Benedictine monastery of St Andrew in Rome, along with 40 companions, to evangelize in the wilds of England. The mission led eventually to more uniformity – in fact to full acceptance of Roman standards throughout the British Isles in ecclesiastical organization, Benedictine monasticism, and liturgical practices, as well the Latin language, literature – Christian as well as classical – and lasting consequences for architecture and the arts.

Four years later, with considerable trepidation, the missionary band came ashore in Kent, initially at Thanet, and settled at Canterbury. To assure the assimilation of Christianity, the pope directed that the missionaries not only convert what he perceived as savages, but also to turn heathen shrines into Christian churches. Accordingly, Augustine and his band recast Christian ideas to capture the Anglo-Saxon mindset. Priests reframed conversion under the sign of the cross as spiritual warfare between good and evil. Christian relics and holy water replaced heathen amulets and spells. Old words gained new meaning as the Anglo-Saxons embraced abstract ideas, and, conversely, as abstract Anglo-Saxon artists transformed the classical forms of Christian figures into clever, even witty, flattened patterns.

Upon his arrival, Augustine found England remarkably more enlightened, tolerant, and open-minded toward his missionary efforts than he had expected. Royal supporters in England, especially the women, had proselytized and spread Christianity, as they had in the cultures surrounding the conversions of the Emperor Constantine and King Clovis in France. In Kent, King Æthelbert, a pagan, had married Bertha, a royal Frankish Christian. She arrived in 580 from Paris with her chaplain, Bishop Liudhard, and the provision that she could practice her faith. Through Queen Bertha's efforts, Æthelbert converted. The king's baptism, in turn, motivated many of his subjects to follow his lead in religious matters, a practice that would recur in medieval Britain and again under the Tudor monarchs.

Augustine died in 604, but this new papal-mandated missionary enterprise led eventually to more uniformity, in fact to full acceptance of Roman standards, in liturgical and monastic practice throughout the British Isles, as well as to lasting consequences for architecture and the arts. This successful mission also had lasting political ramifications. The pope himself, rather than fellow clergy or a king, appointed Augustine the first Archbishop of the English with a home base at Canterbury.[9] Subsequent archbishops of Canterbury continued to perceive the manner in which the pope bestowed this office as a mandate for strong authority and accountability directly to the pope.

Centuries later, this papal directive would have transformative ramifications for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the English church, and the English government that neither the pope nor Augustine could have anticipated.

In 604, Pope Gregory dispatched reinforcements. Mellitus and others arrived at the East Saxon capitol, called Lundenwic, or London, with the express mission of converting Roman temples into Christian churches and integrating pagan rituals into Christian rites. Augustine consecrated him as the first bishop of London. With the support of King Æthelbert, Mellitus established St Paul's Cathedral, the first documented building constructed within the city walls after the departure of the Romans. At the south end of Lundenwic lay the city of Westminster, where it appears that within a century the Saxons established a royal abbey and church. Indeed, the incorporation of the word "minster" defines the church as large and connected to a monastery.[10] Within a decade of Augustine's arrival, Christianity had taken hold and supplanted pagan practices in Kent and Essex, with Canterbury, London, and Rochester serving as important monastic centers.

Meanwhile in the north, Æthelburga, daughter of King Æthelbert and Queen Bertha, married the pagan Northumbrian King Edwin. As with her parents, the king converted, was baptized at York, and his subjects followed his lead. In 633, in a wave of pagan resistance, Edwin was killed and Æthelburga fled south, leaving the reins of power to Oswald and his brother Oswy, Christian rulers of Bernicia. In 634, at Heavenfield, in a maneuver reminiscent of Constantine at Milvian Bridge, Oswald, fighting under the sign of the cross, successfully recovered his kingdom from the pagan Mercians. The victory initiated the Northumbrian fascination with the imagery of the cross, which would lead to freestanding sculpted crosses, cruciform manuscript illuminations, and the epic poem, *The Dream of the Rood*. For the following century and a half, Christianity in Northumbria flourished.[11]

In 635, King Oswald brought Aidan, an Irish monk, missionary, abbot, and bishop from the Celtic monastery at Iona into Northumbria. Aidan (d. 651) founded a monastery and scriptorium, or book fabrication center, at Lindisfarne, an island amid the tides of the capricious North Sea. The great preacher, healer, and miracle worker St Cuthbert (*c.* 634–687), carrying the head of St Oswald as a relic and symbol of royal patronage, followed Aidan. Those schooled at Lindisfarne traveled as missionaries throughout Britain and to the continent, converting pagans and establishing monasteries. Around

650, monks Benedict Biscop (*c.* 628–690) and Wilfrid (or Wilfrith, 634–709) made a pilgrimage from Lindisfarne to Rome, where they embraced Roman Benedictine practices, which they brought back to Northumbria. Aidan's disciple Hilda headed the famous double Benedictine house (men and women) at Whitby (*c.* 657).[12]

The encounter between Roman and Celtic Christianity

The influx of Roman Christianity also presented challenges with existing Hiberno-Saxon Christians. As Roman liturgical practices and Benedictine monasticism spread to Northumbria, they collided with long-standing Celtic customs. The Celtic lack of uniformity exasperated the followers of the structured Roman order. More importantly, the pope wanted full allegiance throughout Christendom. By 664, the differences had become sufficiently problematic for King Oswy to call a Synod at Whitby to resolve matters. The outcome confirmed the efforts of Augustine, Biscop, and Wilfrid: Oswy chose Roman practices and papal allegiance. Although Celtic practices waned under Benedictine domination, Celtic missionary zeal and artistic traditions persisted and permeated into English and continental traditions.

In 669, to solidify decisions made at the Synod of Whitby, Pope Vitalian consecrated Theodore of Tarsus as archbishop of Canterbury and sent him to England with Hadrian, an African monk, and Benedict Biscop as advisors. By 625, Archbishop Theodore established a Roman See at York for lands between the River Trent and the Scottish border. In 735, Pope Gregory III designated York as an archdiocese (the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St Peter) and appointed Ecgbert (Egbert) of York as the first archbishop.[13] English church governance was then divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York, each designated with the honorific title of a "primatial see," meaning that each has an archbishop. York governed northern England. The archdiocese at Canterbury retained southern and central England and Wales, along with supreme authority in England.

The combination of the contributions of the Roman missionaries, including Christianity, Roman law, organization, and classical literature, with Celtic scholastic and missionary vigor proved to be a fine incubator for the resurgence of scholarly pursuits. The church in England quickly assumed responsibility for the preservation, continuation, and dissemination of classical culture, learning, theology, and Roman ecclesiastical traditions. Bede and the monks at the Northumbrian monasteries led the way, followed by the monks at Canterbury. Bede's commentaries reveal the richness of the libraries at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, and that the monks made pilgrimages to

Rome to buy, sell, and trade books.[14] Above all, British inventiveness and enthusiasm stimulated learning, architecture, and bookmaking that surpassed anything on the continent. In fact, in 754, British missionaries helped introduce Roman organizational and liturgical practices to Gaul.[15]

Between the late fifth century and late eighth centuries, England was the most highly developed and urbane region in Northern Europe, as well as its intellectual and artistic center. Through the trade center in London, goods as well as ideas traveled both ways. The energetic blending of new ideas gleaned from foreign settlers with the indigenous traditions produced a strong, organized government, and increasingly refined, inventive, cohesive art and architectural forms. The English remained unrivaled until the late eighth century, when, as Nordic invaders stormed England, Charlemagne (*c.* 742–814) amassed a larger, stronger "empire" in northern Europe and established his court at Aachen.

Early Anglo-Saxon churches

Material remains of early Anglo-Saxon culture consist mostly of vestiges of architecture and manuscript illuminations. Of the architectural remnants, ecclesiastical remains are considerably greater than fortifications, residences, and civic buildings. From the early Anglo-Saxon period until the dawn of the thirteenth century, about half of the economic resources and workforce in England poured into ecclesiastical projects. The church in England, as on the continent, was a more organized institution than the secular kingdoms and had the resources to finance architectural projects and commission church furnishings. Since the monasteries held a virtual monopoly on learning, they were also centers for making and distributing books.

Timber buildings

From early times, the English were proficient with timber construction, a proclivity that persisted even after stone construction became more widespread for fine buildings. Anglo-Saxon invaders had introduced timber framing to England from northern Europe, where timber frame construction dominated the building scene. In fact, the only verb the Anglo-Saxons ever used for "to build" was their verb "to timber."[16] Because of the perishable nature of wood, buildings from this period do not survive. In addition to simple lean-to and post and lintel dwellings, they built churches, barns, castles and their great halls, and market halls using complex methods of timber frame construction. Great halls in England probably resembled a fourth-century three-aisled example whose foundations have been excavated at Ezinge in the Netherlandish province of Groningen and a slightly later one found in Germany at Elisenhof, Schleswig. Postholes remain that indicate lengths from 13 to 33 ft (4–10 m). Rafters and trusses supported thatch roofs. In his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Bede mentions a speech of 627 by one of King Edwin's men and a meeting of 798 that give fleeting allusions to the king's hall. His descriptions imply a hall with a high beamed ceiling, a fire in a central hearth, a hole in the ceiling to allow smoke to escape, and a raised platform at one end for the lord's high table. The description of King Hroðgar's high, wide, gabled Heorot Hall, where Beowulf encountered Grendel, follows similar lines. Entrance usually was through a porch set at the far end of one long side. Later, louvered towers topped ventilation holes in the roof to protect the hall from the elements. Recessed wall fireplaces with chimneys appeared around the thirteenth century, but remained the exception. Trestle tables, easily dismantled, lined the halls for meals. Such living arrangements, with the entire household accommodated under one roof, continued for many years.[17]

ST ANDREW'S CHURCH AT GREENSTED

The single surviving tenth-century English building is St Andrew's Church at Greensted (also called Greensted-juxta-Ongar) in Essex (*c.* 800–1000), the oldest part of which is of stave construction, a type seen more often in Scandinavia (Fig. 1.2). Stave buildings consist of palisaded tree trunks, rounded on the exterior and planed on the interior. The timbers are aligned upright, side-by-side, and set into a sleeper, or a wood-frame sill. Structural stability depends exclusively on grooves, lap joints, and pegs that fasten the parts together. Typically, the pitched roof hangs low. Over the next half-millennium, especially once the raked iron saw returned to use, the English became increasingly sophisticated and inventive with timber construction.[18]

Masonry churches

An important change in building practices coincided with the arrival of Roman missionaries. Mission work prompted a greater need for substantial structures, including churches, to be sturdier and more fireproof, which gave rise to simple masonry construction. The Anglo-Saxons were the first in Northern Europe to assimilate rudiments of Roman construction, using recycled Roman materials – the *mos Romanorum*, or Roman custom, as Bede calls it. Later Anglo-Saxons took these methods to Gaul. When recycled materials were not available, they adapted the Roman building methods to accommodate irregular rough fieldstone, often flint and rubble, as large-scale brick production did not re-enter England until the fifteenth century. Cut stone and refined masonry was usually limited to the alternating larger stone blocks of the corner quoins.

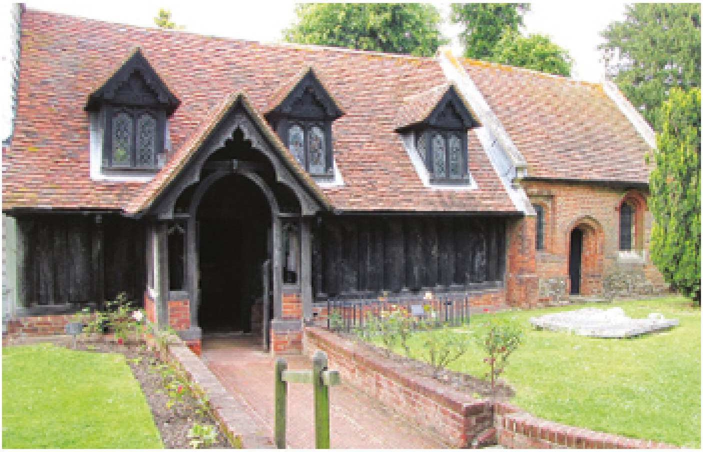


Fig. 1.2 St Andrew's Church (Stave building), c. *1060, Greensted, near Chipping Ongar in Essex. Photograph: courtesy the Rev. Andréi Pétrine*

In addition to recycled Roman building material, these stone churches shared the basilical plan, or at least a modification of it, which clearly emulated a rectangular hall building type of their Early Christian and Roman predecessors. Similar building methods at St Martin's Church at Canterbury, Escomb, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth and those in contemporary Ravenna indicate that Augustine may have imported Italian builders who reintroduced Roman construction practices to Kent. Moreover, the distance that Roman bricks and stones traveled, in some cases 50 miles (*c.* 80 km) overland, indicates that the British intended to invoke the grandeur of Rome by not only using Roman form, but also actual Roman building materials. In the twelfth century, Hugh Candidus recorded that when construction began at Peterborough Abbey, "… [Sexulf, d. 692] laid as its foundation some great stones, so mighty that eight yoke of oxen could scarcely draw any of them." Hugh also stated that the monks at Peterborough were "… striving to build no commonplace structure, but a second Rome, or a daughter of Rome in England."[19] Obviously, the association with Rome and things Roman, even if on a symbolic level, carried importance for Hugh and his contemporaries. Apparently, the Saxons in England so clearly understood the symbolic associations with the strength and power of Rome that no one bothered to articulate an explanation. The best survivors include the Church St Martin, Canterbury in the south and the Church of St John, Escomb in the north. Churches at Ripon, Hexham, and New Minster Abbey at Winchester have noteworthy fragments, whereas York Minster has only documentary evidence.

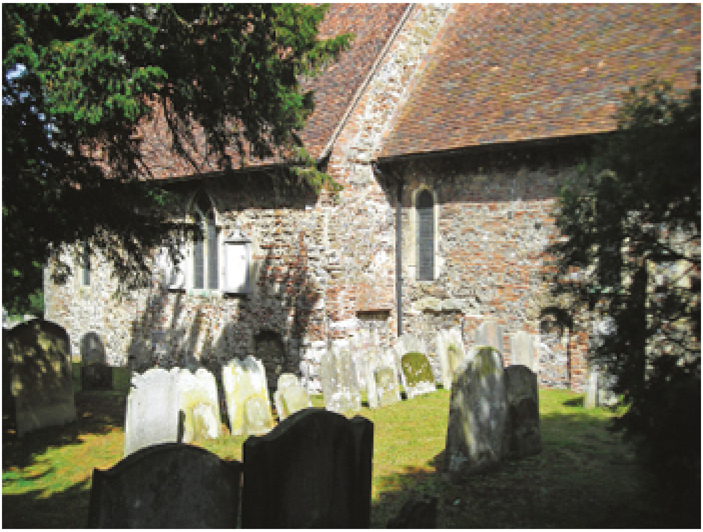


Fig. 1.3 St Martin's Church, c. *580, exterior, Canterbury, Kent. Photograph: author*

ST MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY

St Martin's Church stands just outside the eastern wall of Canterbury, near, or perhaps within, an old Roman cemetery (Fig. 1.3). Bede claims that St Martin's was of Roman origin, and indeed, the plan reflects that of a Roman basilica and some of the underpinnings of the deep, squared, 20 ft (6 m) long foundation of the chancel consist of well-laid recycled Roman brick. Conversely, Queen Bertha and her Christian community might have built the church in the late 690s, before the arrival of Augustine's Roman missionaries. The dedication to a saint who, legend holds, had converted Gaul, fits with the Frankish origins of the Queen Bertha; so do the typically Saxon windowless chancel with a squared east end and the small round doorway in the south chancel wall. Nonetheless, the construction methods and wall materials of Kentish ragstone and chalk blocks with intermittent bonding courses (horizontal rows of brick for leveling and stability) and brick corners indicate that much of the present building dates from at least the seventh or eighth century, which confirms the status of St Martin's, as the oldest church in continuous use in England. Perhaps England's first cathedral building at Canterbury exhibited similar form and construction but on a larger scale. Archaeological excavations conducted in the 1990s below the present cathedral indicate that soon after St Augustine arrived, a substantial church was built of recycled Roman brick and Kentish ragstone.[20]

ST JOHN'S CHURCH, ESCOMB

The only early Anglo-Saxon church to survive intact and virtually unaltered is the Church of St John at Escomb, built in the late seventh century in a remote area of Co. Durham in Northumbria (Figs 1.4 and 1.5). Although still unpretentious, St John's, which measures 43.6 × 14.6 ft (14.1 × 4.4 m), is larger and more refined than St Martin's, Canterbury. The church stands in a circular walled churchyard surrounded by a road and a ring of houses that surely mark where a vanished village of simple thatch-roofed mud huts once stood. The circular shape of the churchyard, the tall tapering building, and two crosses inside also suggest influence of the Celts, who first brought Christianity to Northumbria. However, the basilical plan and refined masonry techniques indicate Roman sources and resemble those at nearby monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, where, Bede reports, Biscop brought builders from Rome.

The exterior of the church has two boxy projections with lower rooflines that house the chancel at the eastern end and the entrance porch, added later, near the southwest corner, a distinguishing feature that carries over into later English churches. The well-finished, irregular blocks of cut stone, larger than those at Jarrow, were probably carefully recycled from a nearby Roman fort at Binchester (Vinovium). In fact, two stones, one set upside down and one sideways, have Latin inscriptions. The most refined masonry appears in the alternating larger stones of the long and short quoins on the corners, a technique that seems to originate with the Anglo-Saxon builders, and perhaps at Escomb, as this type of stonework is sometimes called "Escomb fashion".

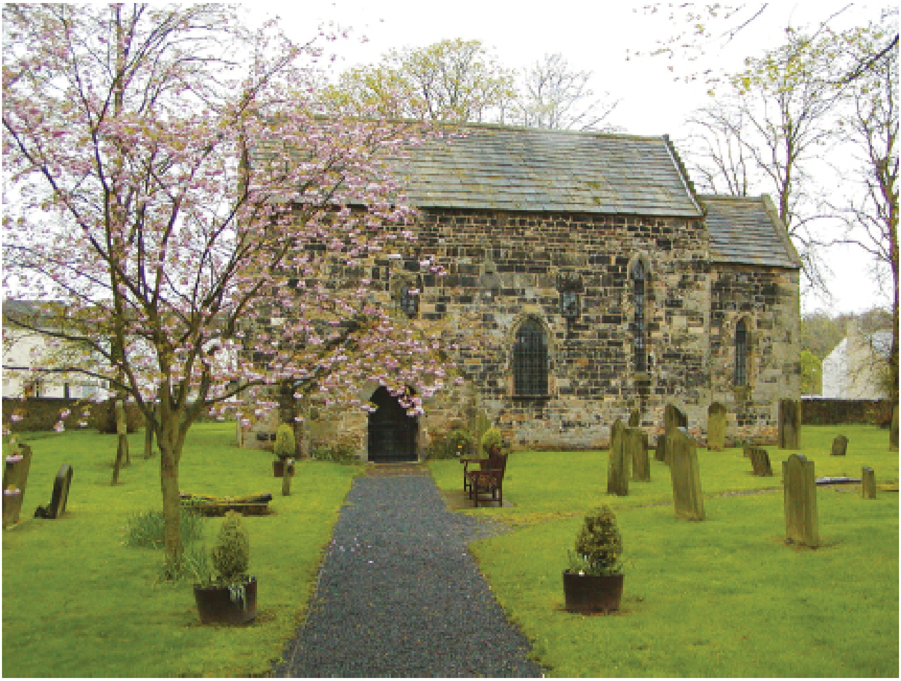


Fig. 1.4 St John's Church, c. *675, exterior, Escomb, Co. Durham. Photograph: author*

Decoration is minimal. On the exterior, a half-circle shaped Saxon sundial appears high in the center of the south wall, probably the oldest in situ sundial in England. The sculptural decoration appears to have no religious significance: a snake stretched across the top of the sundial seemingly lies still, as if avoiding the notice of the beast-head centered above. Inside, in the northeast wall, the small Consecration Cross incised in the stone behind the lectern and a stone slab carved in relief with an inset cross suggest Celtic sources.

As at St Martin's, the simple interior has a narrow aisleless nave and a smaller square chancel, this one divided from the nave by a tall, arched opening. The arch, with precision-cut voussoirs that rest on a pair of projecting block-like imposts with chamfered profiles, resembles arches at forts along Hadrian's Wall and perhaps is a reassembled Roman arch. Below, the alternating long and short pattern of large stones are set in "Escomb fashion".[21] The small, narrow windows are high on the walls. The two north windows have a single horizontal stone lintel and a splayed base; the upper south windows have two large horizontal stones cut at the ends to form an arch when joined. The larger windows in the nave and east wall of the chancel are later additions. The stone masonry techniques that appear at Escomb will travel to Gaul with Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

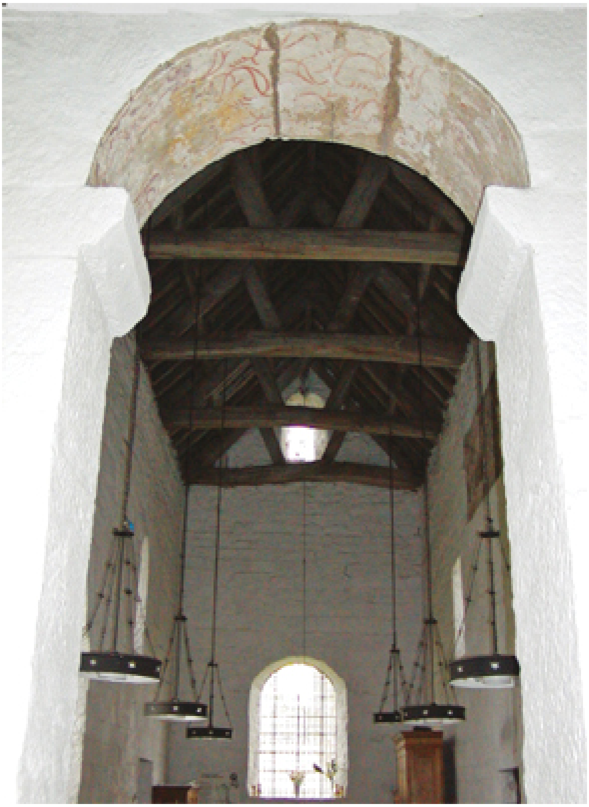


Fig. 1.5 St John's Church, c. *675, interior, Escomb, Co. Durham. Photograph: author*

CRYPT AT RIPON MINSTER

The Saxon antecedent of Ripon Minster in North Yorkshire was more sophisticated than St John's Escomb and more closely resembled Roman models, such as Old St Peter's Basilica in Rome (*c.* 600) and the plan of the monastery at St Gall (Fig.1.8), an Anglo-Saxon foundation in Switzerland. In 657, Alfrith, a son of King Oswy, founded a monastery at Ripon. Abbot Wilfrid, now also Bishop of York, built the first stone church *c.* 672. Although his church at Ripon has long since vanished, the remaining seventh-century crypt (an underground chamber often used for burial), with angular passageways, accessed from inside the church, is among the oldest crypts in northern Europe. The construction material consists of one-ton stone blocks from dismantled Roman structures at Aldborough. The method is still visible: layers of evenly cut stone in Roman *opus quadratum* fashion – that is, parallel courses with the square end exposed. Wilfrid's choirmaster and biographer, Eddius Stephanus, reports that:

"In Ripon, Saint Wilfrid built and completed from the foundations

> to the roof a church of dressed stone, supported by various columns and side-aisles to a great height and many windows, arched vaults and a winding cloister … he travelled on episcopal business about the country with builders and craftsmen skilled in almost every art."[22]

William of Malmesbury records that the stonemasons came from Rome at great expense. The presence of a crypt, the stone building material, and the distinctive methods of construction (*Opus quadratum,* or walls of rectangular cut stone with the joints between alternating in each course) support the theory that Wilfrid either closely observed Roman building practices during his trips to Italy or imported builders skilled in Roman methods of stonework – or both.[23]

ALL SAINTS CHURCH, BRIXWORTH

The plan of All Saints Church at Brixworth, Northamptonshire, resembles Roman models more closely than other existing contemporary buildings in England (Figs 1.6 and 1.7). Hugh Candidus of Peterborough, a twelfth-century chronicler, reports that Cuthbald and Saxulf of Peterborough founded this church in 675; archaeological evidence, however, supports a date of 50–100 years later. Despite the question of the date, Brixworth is the oldest existing large masonry building in England and perhaps the most impressive early medieval building north of the Alps. Built of stone and brick pillaged from Roman ruins in Leicester, Brixworth measures 160 × 30 ft (48.7 × 9.1 m) with a wider 1:3 proportion of width to length in the nave.

The basilica plan includes a boxy western tower, a nave, a square presbytery, a rounded apse with a parallel ambulatory that extends from the side aisle to encircle the apse. Brixworth appears to be the first British church to divide the chancel, the area in the apse immediately surrounding the altar, from the presbytery, which lies between the chancel and the nave. In the nave, brick arches establish four rectangular bays. The aisles no longer survive, probably due to a Viking raid in 870. Brixworth, like Ripon, has a sunken crypt – an annular, or curved, one that encircles the outer apse, with access through an external entrance. The combination of a basilical plan, a divided chancel, an apse with ambulatory, and an external annular crypt with outside entrances again emulates Old St Peter's basilica in Rome and the monastery plan for St Gall.[24]

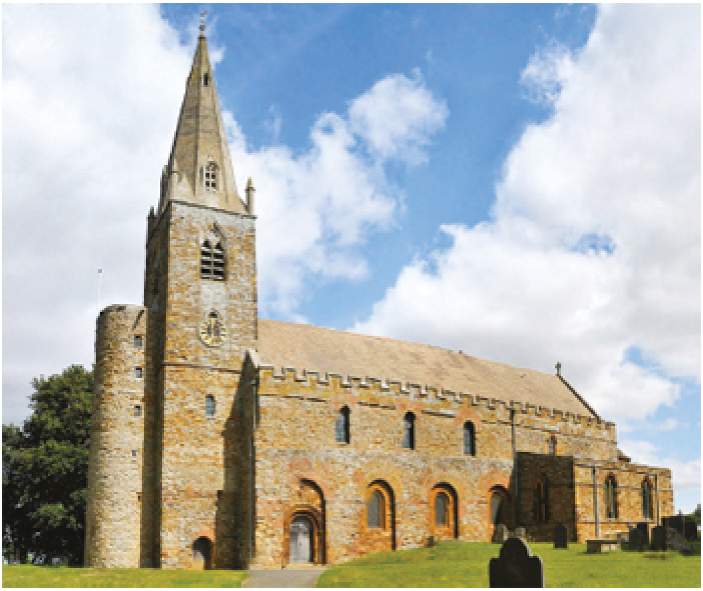


Fig. 1.6 All Saints Church, c. *680, exterior, Brixworth, Northamptonshire. Photograph: courtesy Friends of Brixworth*

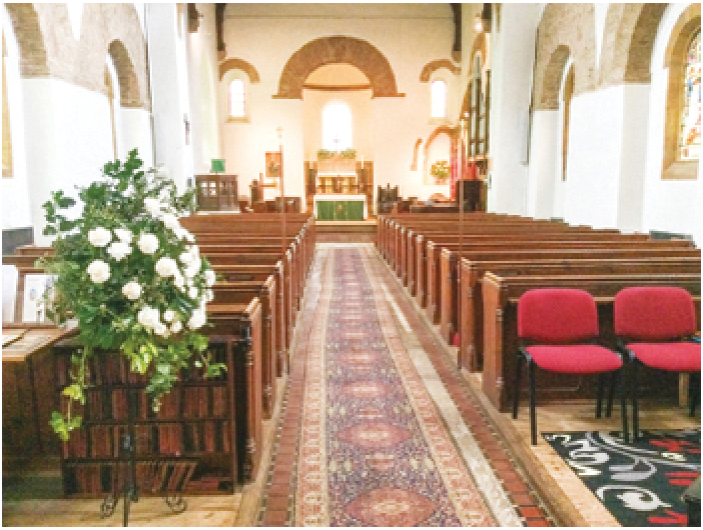


Fig. 1.7 All Saints Church, c. *680, interior, Brixworth, Northamptonshire. Photograph: courtesy Friends of Brixworth*

OLD MINSTER, WINCHESTER

Important stone basilicas from the Early Anglo-Saxon period that survive only in remnants include Old Minster at Winchester, which probably was the first stone building in Wessex following the departure of the Romans. Pope Honorius I commissioned Frankish evangelist Birinus to convert the West Saxons; the pagan king, Cynegils, allowed him to preach. Soon after, in order to form a political alliance with Oswald of Northumbria against the Mercians, the king converted and was baptized by Birinius. Birinius built many churches, including Old Minster (*c.* 642), located adjacent to the royal palace.[25] This building of about 72 ft long and 30 ft wide (23 × 10 m) was as broad as the nave at St Martin's, Canterbury, but was built of cut stone – some recycled from Roman buildings – rather than of fieldstone and brick. Raised to cathedral status in 660 and enlarged before the Conquest, this royal abbey church sat at the heart of Wessex, a diocese that once stretched from the Thames at London south to the Channel. Winchester served as a shrine for St Swithun (d. 862), the coronation site for the Saxon kings, and the resting place for their remains. In 1093, the original old Minster building was razed to accommodate a Norman building, but the outlines of the foundations of both Saxon buildings are visible on the north side of the present cathedral.

YORK MINSTER

In the north, York, as Eboracum, had served as the capital of Roman Britain. Although the lack of Saxon archaeological remains makes the history of York Cathedral, or York Minster, difficult to sort out, documents record that York was a center of Christianity from ancient times. The presence of a bishop by the fourth century implies a substantial Christian community. In 314, Bishop Eborius of York attended the Council of Arles; in 325, the Bishop of York attended the Council of Nicaea. Bede records that Bishop Paulinus, who came to England with St Augustine in the early seventh century, baptized King Edwin in a wooden church there in 627, and that soon after a stone structure was built to replace it. In 664, when Wilfrid was consecrated bishop of York, he found a dilapidated stone church, which, over time, was restored and enlarged. By the eighth century, a school existed not only for religious training, but also for the liberal arts, literature, and science. Such an administrative center and school, which housed an important library, would have required a significant building complex. A generation later, when Ecgbert (d. 766) was archbishop, Alcuin (*c.* 735–804), who directed the school and who would later head Charlemagne's Palace School at Aachen, describes such a structure, with arcades and 30 altars.[26] When, in 1069, Archbishop Ealdred was buried in the Saxon cathedral, the building was intact; however, shortly thereafter, in 1075, the cathedral was devastated in skirmishes as Normans asserted their authority over Danish sympathizers and Saxons. Although the location remains uncertain, and many believe it stood elsewhere within the old city of York, recent excavations in the cathedral crypt, including postholes and human remains, suggest remnants of a Saxon structure and gravesite on the site of the present structure.

The legacy of Anglo-Saxon architecture

Despite using recycled materials and Roman methods, this early Anglo-Saxon architecture retains a distinctive character, with the English gift for synthesis apparent. These Anglo-Saxon modifications of Roman construction and their perpetuation of an unwritten classical legacy also laid a foundation for continental developments. English missionaries carried architectural principles as well as learning to places such as Luxeuil in Burgundy, and, in the late eighth century, Aachen, through interchange with British scholars at Charlemagne's Imperial Court.[27] The basilical plan appears at such important buildings as the Merovingian royal abbey of St Denis (consecrated 775) outside of Paris. Einhard's biography of Charlemagne and the form taken by his imperial architecture give clear evidence that this Roman *modus operandi* was unquestionably in place in 786, when the emperor began his palace complex at Aachen. Little noticed is that the methods came in part by way of England: the irregular stonework of the Palace Chapel, with alternating long and short quoins around the windows, hints of Anglo-Saxon Escomb-style construction rather than materials and methods used in Rome and Ravenna, which is brick, laid in even courses. Although not a basilica, Charlemagne's octagonal Palace Chapel, which later served as his tomb, conforms to another symbolically charged Roman plan, the mausoleum, with Roman columns brought to Aachen from afar at considerable difficulty. The emulation of Rome carried significance throughout Europe. Moreover, the building methods brought by the English and refined by the Imperial builders laid the foundation for Romanesque architecture in Normandy, evident in such pre-Romanesque buildings as S. Pierre at Jumièges.[28]

Early Anglo-Saxon monasticism

St Benedict's concepts of monasticism first left Italy with St Augustine and his band of Benedictine missionary monks. Under their tutelage, Benedictine monasticism not only flourished in Canterbury, but also changed monastic practices and related architecture throughout England. Unlike the solitude of the Celtic monasticism, Benedictines lived communally according to rule established in sixth-century Italy by Benedict of Nursia. Whereas Celtic monastic complexes, with their individual huts encircling a church, might vary in plan and ramble, Benedictine cloistered communal living and worship required an extensive complex of large buildings with a systematic and predictable plan that included a church, a refectory, a library, a chapter house, communal dormitories, and the necessary support services for self-sufficient living. Around 598, St Augustine established the first Benedictine monastery in England, the Monastery of St Peter and Paul, outside the city walls of Canterbury. Some walls of this monastery remain, although it underwent renovations and in 1538 was ransacked during the Dissolution of the Monasteries.[29] Clearer examples appear in the parchment plan for the monastery at St Gall, Switzerland, a monastery of Anglo-Saxon foundation, and at monasteries at the more or less twin Monkwearmouth and Jarrow.

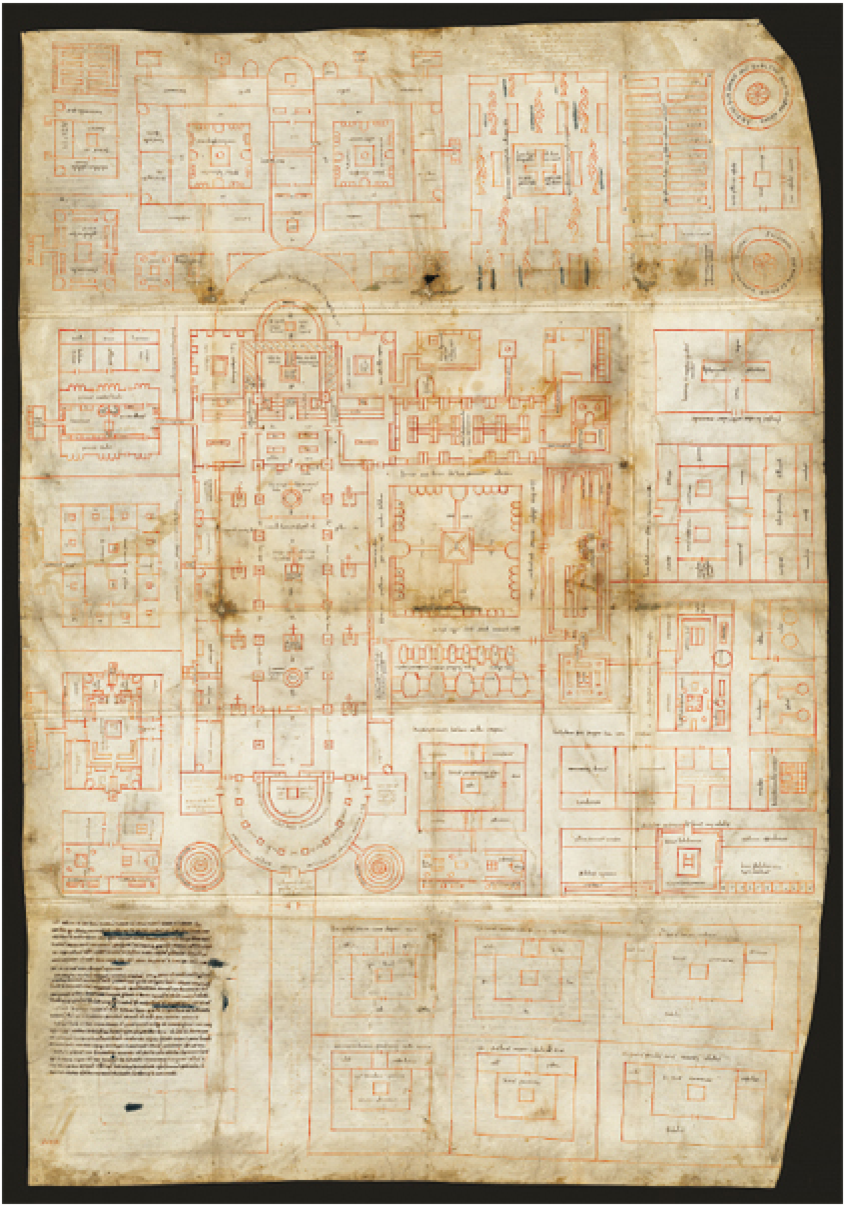


Fig. 1.8 Plan of a Monastery at St Gall, Reichenau, Germany, c. 820–830. Codex Sangallensis *1092 r. Photograph: courtesy the Abbey Library of St Gall, Switzerland*

Plan of a monastery: St Gall

Among the accomplishments of zealous English missionaries who went to the continent to convert and to establish monasteries was to forge an ingenious and sophisticated master plan for a Benedictine monastery, accomplished at a synod at Aachen in 817. The result, the plan of St Gall (*c.* 820–830), survives on parchment (Fig. 1.8). Although no known monastery followed the format for St Gall exactly, it set forth the ideal prototype, inspired by Roman symmetrical planning, Benedictine rule, and English monastic practices. Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monks were the first in northern Europe to cross the nave with a transept, a form seen in several of the early churches in Rome, such as Old St Peter's basilica on Vatican Hill. The Benedictines, however, added a tower above the crossing to give additional light. An outer annular crypt curved around the exterior of the apse with doors on either end, as seen at Brixworth and in Early Christian churches in Rome. The west end of the church received a new special focus, with the addition of a pair of towers and a curved colonnade. The dormitory, refectory, chapter house, and other buildings necessary to the life of the monks opened onto a cloister, a square courtyard cleverly tucked into the angle made by the nave and transept of the church. The cloister enclosed an open grassy space, called the garth, usually located on the south side, as at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, to take advantage of the sun, rather than at the west end, as at the Roman basilicas of St Peter's and St Paul's outside the Walls.[30] While the cloister occupied the quiet core of the contemplative life, support facilities, based on the amount of privacy needed and practical concerns, were farther away. The kitchen and bakery adjoined the cloister near the refectory. The scriptorium, library, workshops, and brewery tended to be closer in, while the animal yards, gardens, orchards, and cemetery stood at the periphery. An outer wall, usually of stone, enclosed the entire complex.

The English fascination with gardens began with the Anglo-Saxons. The Romans had introduced gardening into England, along with many non-native herbs and plants. Monasteries incorporated gardens as things of beauty, sources of food, and herbal centers for medicines and spices. As in Italy, gardens had walls, which not only kept animals out but also extended the growing season, as the sun-warmed stones insulated them from cold winds. Charlemagne encouraged the spread of herbs from the Mediterranean world into Germany and France. Although his dictates did not apply in England, his advisors on these matters included Alcuin and other Englishmen. The Anglo-Saxons also wrote books on herbs that discussed plants and their medicinal or magical value. The earliest surviving book on herbs is the early tenth-century illustrated Anglo-Saxon text called *The Leech Book of Bald.*[31] Until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth century, monastic gardens and herbal texts served not only the needs of the monastic community but also those of the surrounding population, who depended on the monks and their gardens for their knowledge of healing herbs and curative medicines.

Monkwearmouth and Jarrow

Since Roman practices prevailed after the Synod of Whitby, many Celtic monasteries gradually adopted Benedictine form and customs; consequently, the Benedictines played an important role in the development of monastic architecture as well as manuscript fabrication. Bede tells us that when Benedict Biscop founded the Northumbrian monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, he followed the Roman style that he loved, which probably meant stone rather than wood construction and the basilical form. He also records that Biscop imported masons and glassmakers from Gaul. Late twentieth-century archaeological findings support Bede's descriptions. Also worthy of note, the two monastic churches are dedicated to Peter and Paul, the patron saints of Rome, the city Biscop revered.

Although incomplete, archaeological remains reveal that the Church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth and the Church of St Paul at Jarrow (*c.* 675) were built of irregularly shaped stone and mortar with tall and narrow proportions (Fig. 1.9). Each measured 65 ft long by 18.6 ft wide and 30 ft tall (20 × 5.5 × 10 m). Both had small, square entrance foyers and a long, narrow nave without transepts. Monkwearmouth has a tower at the entrance that measures 11 ft square and 60 ft tall (3.3 × 18.2 m). Though St Peter's has changed since the seventh century, the porch at the base of the tower, which contains a pair of engaged columns on each side, and the west wall remain from Benedict's time. At Jarrow, on the other hand, the tower, supported by heavy rounded arches, separates the nave from the chancel. Outside to the south, the foundations of two large halls, 91.6 × 26 ft (28 × 8 m) and 60 × 26 ft (18.3 × 8 m) lie foot-to-foot, parallel with the church with a cemetery in between. The layout at Monkwearmouth has been more difficult to discern, but what remains of both layouts appears to resemble the Carolingian Abbey of St Riquier at Centula in Picardy in northern France.

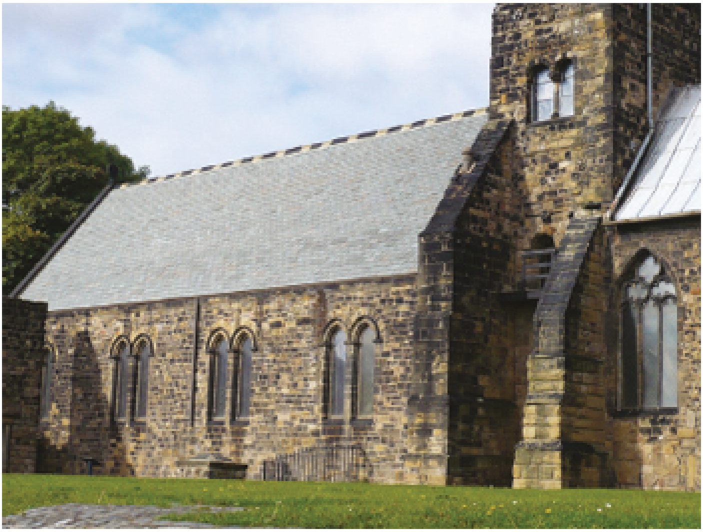


Fig. 1.9 Church of St Paul at Jarrow, c. *675, exterior, Northumbria. Photograph: author*

Designs in the scant sculpture that remains indicate that churches probably had profuse decoration and that the Saxons continued to favor intricate line and geometric pattern over naturalism, a tradition that carried over from pre-Christian times. At Monkwearmouth, the columns have even patterned bands carved in relief and bases carved with X-patterns. The stones on either side of the west doorway, although badly weather-beaten and fragile, have faint outlines of zoomorphic creatures, including serpents with birds' heads, which resemble figures in contemporary manuscript illuminations and jewelry as well as the objects found at Staffordshire. When figures occur in these art forms, they are in no way naturalistic.

Rich description from Bede in *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* reveals more information than archaeology on the sumptuousness of the decoration at both monasteries. Benedict Biscop, he reports, brought many pictures to adorn St Peter's including icons of the Virgin and all twelve apostles, which he affixed near the central arch. He decorated the north wall with scenes from the apocalypse and the south wall with narratives from the Gospels. Bede also mentions a severe Last Judgment painting. Moreover, around 685, he brought paintings for the church of St Paul, which he arranged according to the ancient tradition of typology. That is, he paired an Old Testament scene with a corresponding New Testament scene so the prophecy and fulfillment relationships between them were readily apparent even to the illiterate. Bede states specifically that a scene of Isaac carrying the wood for his sacrifice hung below Christ carrying the cross, and that Moses raising the serpent hung below the crucifixion of Christ.

Such typological arrangements in fresco decoration appeared frequently in Early Christian churches in Rome, which Biscop and Wilfrid would have had many opportunities to contemplate. Surely, they would have seen the typologically paired frescoes depicting the lives of Christ and Moses at Old St Peter's, extant until 1500, and the mosaic histories at Santa Maria Maggiore, some of which still survive. Bede also reveals the richness of the libraries at the monasteries and that their ninth-century successors, Willibrord and Wynfrid, made pilgrimages to Rome and bought, sold, and traded books along the way.[32] The murals probably resembled the style of contemporary Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illuminations produced in and around Monkwearmouth and Jarrow: a blend of the classical figurative tradition, heavily outlined and flattened, with the indigenous love of line and pattern.

The book as art: Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination

For the first time, a northern European country stepped to the limelight in the arena of art, with manuscript illumination taking the lead. The long, rich, and fascinating history of the making and decorating of books in England was a welcome byproduct of the establishment of monasteries, teaching, and missionary work, vocations into which the monks enthusiastically poured their energies. Manuscript production in England lasted a millennium, until the sixteenth century, when the invention of the printing press and moveable type eventually forced hand illumination into obsolescence. Even today, the English retain a passion for books, as is evident in London's long established book trade around Charing Cross Road and in the thriving publication industry.

In England between the late fifth century and the Norman Conquest, artistic skills for copying and illustrating texts flourished, outshining and inspiring the rest of Europe. Monks at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbria and the island monasteries of Iona and Lindisfarne played especially strong roles in preserving and disseminating learning and in developing brilliant artistic styles; thus, the age is often called the "Golden Age of Northumbria." The term "Hiberno-Saxon" acknowledges the Irish influence in the blending of artistic skills among the artists and scribes in Ireland, Scotland, and Northumbria, as opposed to Anglo-Saxon works, which typically are associated with areas south of the River Humber, especially Kent and Wessex. By the beginning of the eighth century, Monkwearmouth and

Jarrow together housed over 600 monks, more than twice the number at venerable foundations in Gaul, including St Riquier in the late eighth century and even at Cluny in the late eleventh century, when it was at its height. The monks used space in the halls of the monasteries, usually upper floors, as *scriptoria*, or writing rooms, where they copied books. Most texts were religious, although they copied medical, herbal, and classical ones and developed uniquely English texts, including historical chronicles. From these Northumbrian illustrators came the first images in northern Europe of the Virgin and the crucifixion.

The intellectual giant of the era, who had immeasurable influence on western culture, was the aforementioned monk, the Venerable Bede, who lived and worked at Jarrow from his childhood until his death.[33] One of the first Europeans since the Romans to be celebrated as a scholar of both religious and secular literature, Bede produced biblical commentaries, hymnals, and treatises on grammar. Some of his uniquely English secular texts included *De temporum ratione*, in which he described the earth as a sphere at the center of the universe and accurately discussed eclipses and the phases of the moon. Moreover, with the decline and fall of Roman Empire, and with it, the system of keeping time by the reigns of emperors, Bede adopted Dionysius Exiguus's (d. 544) new system of tracking time: before and after the birth of Christ. Bede, like his English predecessor Gildas, wrote chronicles of current and recent past events, such as his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Moreover, while barbarians virtually annihilated strongholds of Latin literature in Italian monasteries and libraries, Hiberno-Saxon monasteries held and reproduced important copies of sacred texts and Latin literature. Whereas the Jews would have protected the Old Testament scriptures and Byzantine scholars would have preserved New Testament scripture and Christian writings in Greek, without Bede and his colleagues, some Latin texts, Christian and classical, might have been lost forever.[34]

Bookmaking was slow and costly, with texts written on the treated skins of calves, kids, or lambs. Most Hiberno-Saxon manuscript leaves share a distinctive suede-like texture that is receptive to ink and paint. Vellum, which derives from the Latin *vitulinum* (made from calf), has a fine and supple texture, while parchment is smoother, heavier, and shiny. The bookmakers embraced the classical codex form – that is, books with pages, rather than scrolls, where the reader was constantly unrolling with one hand and rolling the read text with the other. Often a book contained only a portion of the Bible, such as a Gospel

Book or a Psalter. A complete Bible could fill several volumes, as the pages of animal skin were usually too thick to fit into a single codex, especially if the format was small.

Synthesis of styles

In one of history's strange paradoxes, while conflict and combat controlled politics in the British Isles, these cloistered artists, stimulated by ideas from disparate sources, developed a fresh style based on abstraction. The omnipresent church, united under Roman rule at Whitby, was the catalyst. The naturalistic, figurative and narrative-based pictorial tradition of classical culture and the staid, formulaic Byzantine forms entered Britain through books and possibly book illuminators who came with the Roman missionaries. The Hiberno-Saxon artists, however, imbued with a native love of line, exactitude and abstraction, perceived the blank page as a surface to fill with adornment. They transferred to books the designs that once adorned precious metal objects, such as those found in the Sutton Hoo burial or the Staffordshire hoard. As with metalwork, the obsession with *horror vacui* prevailed. Their intricate designs teemed with knots, spirals, and step-patterns. Streamers of complex ribbon-like interlacing evolved into snaky forms with bird-like heads that twisted and bit each other. The scribes invented a variety of ornate borders and scripts, most notably the uncial (majuscule, or capital letter) alphabet. Their once pagan style transformed into a way to glorify God in a sophisticated and distinctive synthesis of diametrically opposed indigenous and classical traditions.

The Hiberno-Saxon sense of design inspired the artists to develop new customs that would transform book illumination. Whereas artists working in the classical and Byzantine traditions might mark chapters with large initial letters, simple borders, or perhaps a narrative illustration, Hiberno-Saxon scribes perceived Latin letters as decorative patterns that, when enlarged and drawn in outline, could be filled with abstract decoration. These scribes initiated the practice of decorating initial letters and borders in fanciful patterns. Their Hiberno-Saxon missionary colleagues would transport these traditions to the continent. Typically, the first letter was the largest, with those following rendered in descending order until they flowed into the uniform script of the body of the text. The monks used colored inks and pigments for ornament. Unlike their slightly later continental counterparts, they rarely used gold and silver.[35]

By the eighth century, figures appeared, but the Hiberno-Saxon artists, with no preconceived concept of naturalism or making two-dimensional space appear three-dimensional, instinctively flattened them. They turned the contours into rhythmic patterns, much as they had done with animal forms and letters, transforming traditional figures into rich abstract shapes that were the total antithesis of the classical tradition. The monks never worked from nature, but copied and recopied, invented and refined. The multitude of sources filtered through the monks' rich imagination, yielded an entirely new, fascinating, vivacious, spirit-filled style, which reached its zenith between the seventh and the early ninth centuries. Artistic styles varied from monastery to monastery, depending on what books the monastic library held, where fellow monks might travel to buy or borrow them, and what visitors might bring. When complex illustrations and figures began to appear, a division of labor between scribes and illustrators usually occurred as well. Artistic styles were not necessarily consistent within a single book, for several monks might work on a book at one time, depending upon the speed at which it needed to be finished.

Organization of the books

The Hiberno-Saxon books also depended on Latin prototypes for their organization. First, a "Title Page" introduced each evangelist with his identifying symbol. This custom followed a tradition established by St Jerome (d. 420 AD) of portraying the four Gospel writers as the visionary winged beasts experienced by the authors of the biblical books of Ezekiel and Revelation: Matthew, a Winged Man; Mark, a Lion; Luke, a Bull or an Ox; and John, an Eagle. In the earliest books, the symbols appeared alone; later, and reduced in size, they accompanied author portraits in Gospel books, assuming the roles of inspiring muses. The next page, usually called a "Carpet Page", was an intricate abstract design without words. Typically it portrayed a variation of a cross, perhaps reflecting the Northumbrian proclivity for crosses. Finally, each Gospel has an "Initial Page", in which a marvelous decorated initial introduced the text of that particular book. Chapter divisions featured smaller initial letters. The prefatory materials in the books also contained canon tables, which gave a concordance of scripture. Sometimes a "Colophon Page", a sheet signed and dated by the scribe and/or illuminator, appears at the end of a book, although most monks wrote and illustrated anonymously. Typically, manuscript pages were numbered by sheet, called a folio, rather than by page front and back, as in modern printed books. Often numbering was added later. The right-hand page is called recto, or right; the left side, verso, or reverse. Usually these paginations are abbreviated, as in f.2r. Among the books that characterize this period are the Gospel books of St Augustine, Durham, Durrow, Echternach, Lindisfarne, and Kells.

The St Augustine Gospel Book

Legend holds that Augustine brought the St Augustine Gospel Book from Rome to England (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lib. MS. 286). Made in Italy in the sixth century, it is the oldest surviving Latin manuscript in England and one of the oldest surviving bound books in Europe. Probably held at Canterbury until the sixteenth century, when zealous Protestants removed it, this now incomplete illustrated Gospel book established a prototype for scribes in England. The image of St Luke, one of the two full-page illustrations to survive, shows the saint in strong, flat colors, facing forward, seated on a round-backed golden throne with deep red upholstery. He holds an open book in his left hand while placing his right hand under his chin, which gives him a pensive appearance. The throne stands within an arched niche with a broad cornice at the springing of the arch. His symbol, the winged bull, fills the tympanum, or semi-circular area between the arch and the lintel. Columns of blue-grey marble and deep purple porphyry support the cornice. A narrative in stacked segments fits into the space between the columns. The ramifications of this composition for English art are tremendous, as illustrations of Gospel writers in later English books will reflect this classically inspired composition.

The Durham Gospels

The earliest surviving Hiberno-Saxon manuscript is the Durham Gospel, a seventh-century fragment of a three-volume work produced at Lindisfarne. Such early fragments enable scholars to reconstruct the evolution of the Hiberno-Saxon books from simple forms to elaborate later works. The first examples of embellished uncial letters appear in the opening page to the Gospel of Mark. Several pages feature interlacing ornamentation and initial letters, places where the Celtic-trained monks gave their imaginations a free rein. Among the illustrations is a visionary image of Christ on the Cross (Fig. 1.10), the first known example of this motif in the west.[36] Rendered in strong warm colors of burnt orange, green, and yellow, with deep, dark eyes and glowing yellow hair that doubles as a halo, he bends his arms at the elbow and folds them back against the crossbar. He wears a full-length striped robe, whereas the pairs of stylized angels flanking him wear robes with diamond patterns. This transcendent Christ, whose Godly nature elevates him above earthly suffering, could be as easily interpreted as risen as crucified.

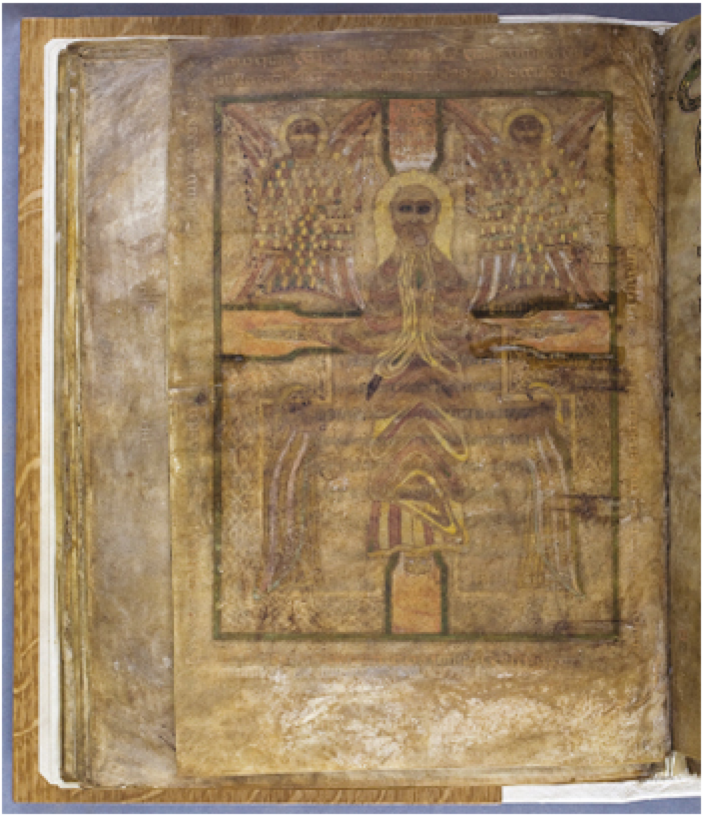


Fig. 1.10 Crucifixion at the end of St Matthew's Gospel, Durham Gospel Book (Fragment) ms. A. II. 17 f. 38v c. *700. Durham Cathedral, Durham, Northumbria. Photograph: © Durham Cathedral/Bridgeman Images*

Gospel Book of Durrow

The Gospel Book of Durrow of *c*. 675, with several pages of prefatory text, is the oldest surviving complete illuminated Hiberno-Saxon Gospel Book. The name derives from a location in Ireland, but a more likely point of origin is the monastery of Iona. Perhaps King Aldfrith, who studied there before ascending the throne of Northumbria, directed or paid for its production. The dominant colors are a red lead, a rich yellow orpiment, and less frequently, green verdigris, a type of copper acetate, which has burned through several of the vellum pages, notably one of the Carpet Pages (folio 1v).

Each chapter of the Durrow Gospel begins with the symbol of the corresponding evangelist on the page facing the text. For example, St Matthew (folio 21v; Fig. 1.11), a static, doll-like man, stands comfortably within a border of ribbon-like interlacing. The man faces the viewer with hypnotically staring eyes. His straw-like hair is cropped in a Celtic style tonsure: shaved back from the forehead and above the ears to form a circle of hair around the crown of the head.

He so completely draws his shoulders and arms inside his flat, patterned robe that he appears neck-less. His tiny elfin feet, clad in patterned socks and little leather booties with turned up toes, point right, in the direction of the accompanying text. By abstracting the human form, the artist makes the attribute seem superhuman.

The beginning of the text of the Gospel of St Mark (folio 86), marked "*initium,*" shows an "I" and an "N" superimposed, with the "*itium*" smaller; the following two lines are smaller still, until in the fourth line, the script becomes even-sized. Interlacing ribbons, circular boss designs, and upon careful glance, stylized animal faces in subdued tones of deep red and yellow, black, with touches of green verdigris (cupric acetate) decorating the first two letters. Following the pre-St Jerome tradition, a snarling, stylized lion, rather than the more familiar eagle, represents St John (folio 191v; Fig.1.12). As with Matthew's little feet, the beast faces right and appears to march toward the text on the facing page. His piercing green eyes, laid-back ears, shaved head, and bared teeth appear more life-like than its flat, body, covered in an alternating pattern of green and red diamond shapes and outlined in yellow orpiment, a pigment formed from arsenic sulfide.

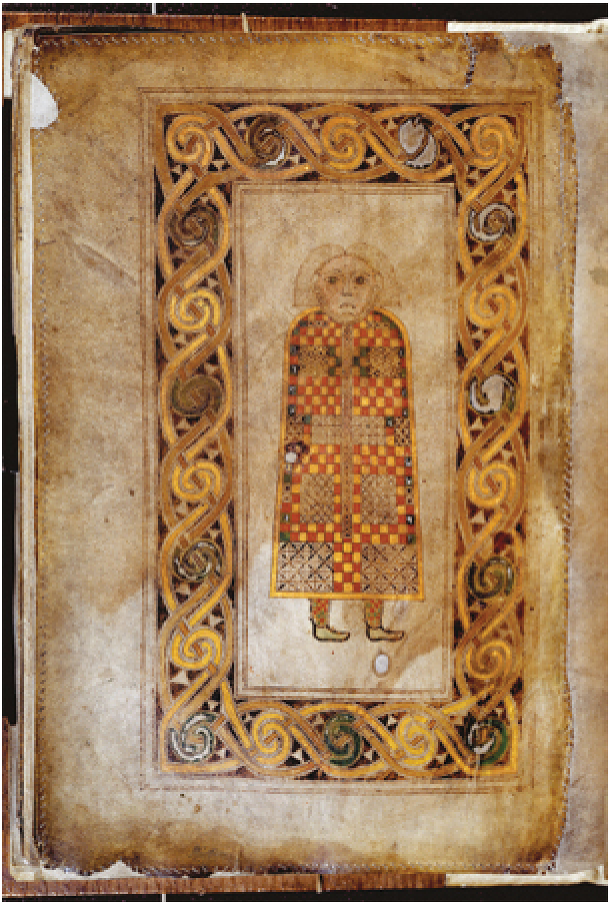


Fig. 1.11 Symbol of St Matthew the Man, Gospel Book of Durrow, MS A.4.5 (57) f. 21v, c. 675. Photograph: Board of Trinity College Dublin

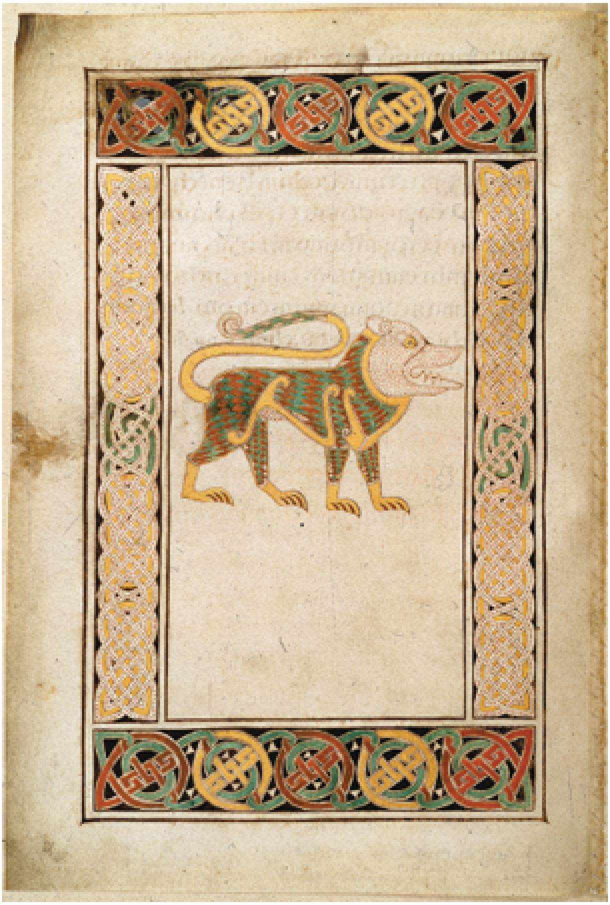


Fig. 1.12 Symbol of St John the Lion, Gospel Book of Durrow, A.4.5 (57) f. 191v. Photograph: Board of Trinity College Dublin

The Echternach Gospel Book

The Echternach Gospel Book of *c.* 680–700, also called the Gospel of St Willibrord, bridges the gap between the Book of Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospel. Willibrord probably took this book as he left Northumbria at the behest of Merovingian King Pepin, father of Charlemagne, to convert the Frisians on the continent. Perhaps because he needed to finish the book in time for Willibrord's mission, the scribe wrote in a miniscule script, reserving the majuscule for prefatory material. In 698, Willibrord founded a monastery at Echternach, in present day Luxembourg, complete with scriptoria for the making of books. Through him, the English artistic styles traveled there, and from there to other parts of Europe.

The illustrations in the Echternach Gospel Book may be the most lively and inventive of any Hiberno-Saxon manuscript, perhaps inspired by images in a sixth-century Persian copy of the Gospels, known as the Diatessaron; certainly, the abstracted forms and flattened space would have appealed to the Hiberno-Saxon mind.[37] A stylized, bilaterally symmetrical frontal image of a man suspended within interlaced ribbon borders represents the symbol of St Matthew (folio 18v; Fig. 1.13). His golden hair is tonsured in the Roman fashion: cut short at earlobe level and shaved on top, resembling a halo. His wide-open eyes seem slightly downcast to the book he holds open in his hands. The only furniture, a stool, flattens into an abstract pattern. The large inscription "*imago hominis*" (image of a man) flank his head. The miniscule letters of the text reads, "*Liber generationis Ihesu Christi*" (the book of the generations of Christ). The colors, mostly dark red and yellow, fill in broad areas between lines, resembling the application of enamel in jewelry. This intersection of the classical figure tradition and the abstract pattern succeeds in evoking the image of a God-inspired saint, one who appears both confident and otherworldly.

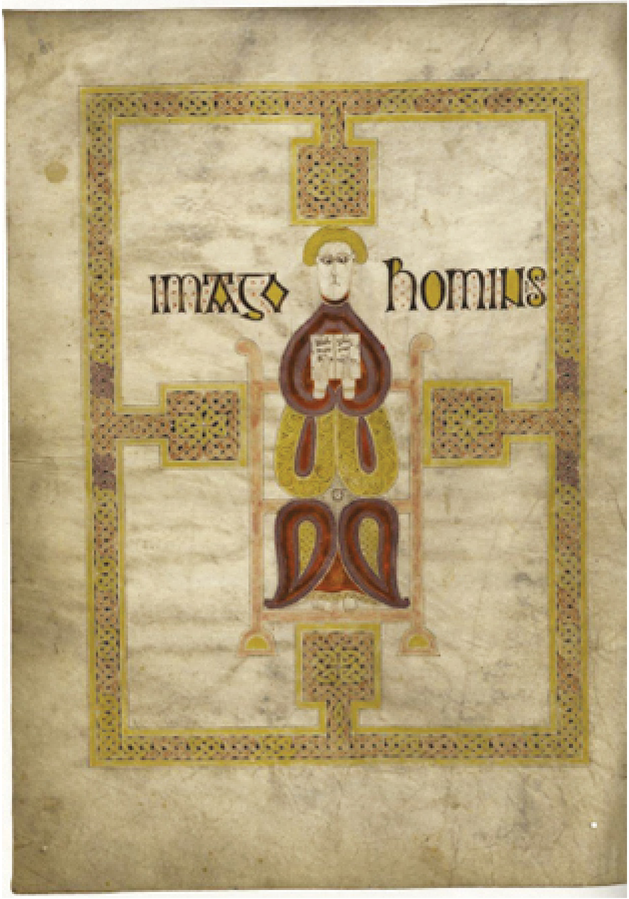


Fig. 1.13 Portrait of St Matthew, Echternach Gospel, MSS Latin 9389, f. 18v, c. *680–*

700. Photograph: courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

The roaring lion of St Mark (folio 75v; Fig. 1.14) presents a lively contrast to the static Echternach St Matthew and the patterned Durrow figures. Although still bilaterally symmetrical, the lion extends from corner to corner, along a diagonal, which energizes the composition. It faces right, or inward, and rears up on hind legs. The words "*imago leonis*" (image of a lion) appear to its left. Painted in shades of yellow and pale brown, the fur falls in regular rows of curls, again, much like enameled jewelry, but it seems animated rather than patterned. The body language and the expression, with wide eyes, open mouth, and bared teeth, appear playful rather than ferocious.

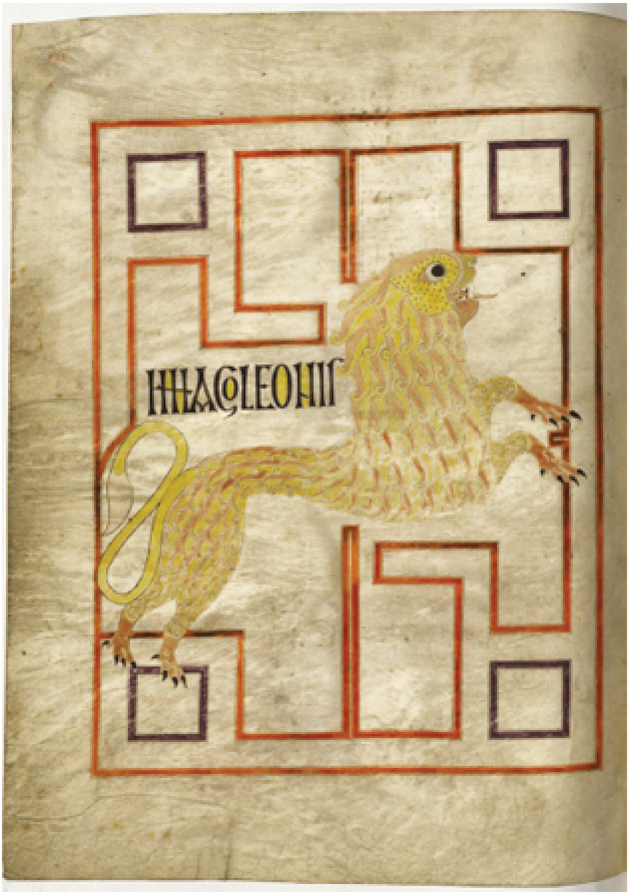


Fig. 1.14 Portrait of St Mark, Echternach Gospel, MSS Latin 9389, f. 75v, c. *680–700. Photograph: courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*

Lindisfarne Gospel

The richly executed Lindisfarne Gospel (*c.* 710–720; Figs 1.15 and 1.16) differs from most contemporary manuscripts in that, rather than emerging from a workshop with many hands involved, a single individual spent at least a decade writing it as a meditative exercise and meant it for devotional display, possibly alongside the shrine of St Cuthbert. The book derives its name from the monastery where it probably originated and remained until 875, when it was taken to Chester-le-Street, near York, for protection from a Viking raid. Soon thereafter, a priest named Aldred, provost of Chester-le-Street, made an interlinear, literal translation of the Latin text into Anglo-Saxon, which represents the earliest known translation of the Gospels into any form of the English language. This rare translation, rather than the sublime illustrations, motivated Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631) to acquire the book in 1613. Aldred added a colophon page at the end, stating that Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne 698–721, wrote and decorated the book to honor St Cuthbert, whose relics were transferred to the high altar at Lindisfarne in 698, the year in which Eadfrith was enthroned as bishop. Aldred also states that Æthelwald, who succeeded Eadfrith, made the leather binding and that in the eighth century Billfrith the Anchorite decorated it with jewels and precious metals (now lost).

The book teems with scholarly, technical, and artistic innovations, giving evidence of a keen-minded scribe-illuminator-scholar with a penchant for creative synthesis. The text, although based on the Latin Vulgate Bible, reflects the ongoing editorial process in Northumbrian monasteries. Perhaps the reasons for producing such a sumptuous book were to express devotion by revising the scriptural translation and to honor the new edition with similar innovations in script and illumination. Using novel techniques and tools, the scribe-illustrator enhanced his text with innovative calligraphic script, sophisticated carpet pages, and iconic-type author portraits. Whereas Celtic illuminators used ink, paint, and basic writing tools, this scribe added a compass, a ruler (or straight edge), and prickings to form and transfer his original designs, which he did with metalpoint – the first western example of ruling and leadpoint for drawings. He drew designs on the backs of sheets and transferred them onto the front, cleverly taking advantage of the semi-transparency of the vellum pages when lit from behind and left guide notes for his illustrations. He must have devised some sort of precursor to the modern lightbox so he could trace the designs onto the front side of the page; perhaps he used a translucent horn desk of the type used in contemporary Islamic scriptoria.

Although scholars have disputed its origins, archaeological and stylistic evidence supports the connection of this manuscript with the monastery at Lindisfarne. The style of illustration resembles carved capitals at Lindisfarne and the coffin and pectoral cross of St Cuthbert. Moreover, the contemporary corrections appear to be by the same hand as those in the Durham Gospels, which also originated at Lindisfarne. Finally, the rich mixture of Germanic, Celtic, and Mediterranean influences apparent in the manuscript reflect the hybrid culture that surrounded the monastery at Lindisfarne in the first decades of the eighth century.

Although the Irish-trained Aidan established a Celtic monastery at Lindisfarne, as the Gospel Books of Durham and Echternach exemplify, by the time the Lindisfarne Gospels was in the making, a new generation of scribes had assimilated continental and classical customs; the Lindisfarne Gospel shows a blend of both traditions. The mix of Latin and Runic lettering and the elaborate geometrical designs in the book resemble Celtic geometric patterns on stone graves markers from Lindisfarne, especially the crosses with wide terminals at the ends of the crossbar that are filled with interlacing. The appearance of figures confirms that the classical tradition had come north and that the illustrator was comfortable interpreting them. The first instance of the Gospel writers shown as scribes is in the Lindisfarne Gospels, a Mediterranean-based convention that would quickly become fashionable in England. The scribe-illuminator successfully synthesized Celtic and classical elements into a new, engaging, cohesive style that would transform Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

The conduit for transfer of style may have been Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, who consecrated a church at Lindisfarne before his death in 690, or Benedict Biscop. Perhaps one or both of these frequent travelers to Rome returned with books illustrated in the classical tradition that inspired the artist. Although the figure tradition is classical, the illustrator of the Lindisfarne Gospels, showing the Hiberno-Saxon gift for synthesis, cleverly translates the three-dimensional forms into flattened designs. A narrow ribbon border with decorative tabs at the corners highlights each of the four portrait pages. Each full-length figure sits on a stool with an open book on his lap and his identifying symbol nearby. In the Greek fashion, each name appears in letters, but this time in a decorative uncial script.

The double page that opens the Gospel of Matthew provides an example of innovation and synthesis in style. St Matthew (folio 25v; Fig. 1.15) sits in a semi-profile view on the left side of a verso leaf facing the accompanying text. He holds a pen in his right hand, but appears poised in a moment of thoughtful contemplation. A stylized trumpeting winged man, his symbol and a descendent of the classical Muse, appears above in profile to offer inspiration. His halo intersects the inscription: *IMAGO HOMINIS*. Beneath the trumpet, the words *O AGIOS MATTHEUS* (Holy Matthew) appear in an inventive uncial script. These words follow the same line as a rod that supports a bright red curtain, pulled back and tied to reveal another man, who holds a book and peers out. Some scholars identify him as Christ as a witness to the recording of the word.

On the facing page, the genealogy of Christ, which opens Matthew's Gospel, begins with an Incarnation Initial (folio 27), the superimposed Greek letters "XPI" (*chi, rho, iota*) representing the first three letters in Christ's name. The magnificence of the letters, which gradually diminish in size, stresses the importance of the genealogy of Christ for the natives of Britain, for whom a noble lineage was, and continues to be, highly prized.

Unlike the curved, profile figure of St Matthew, the rigidly frontal pose of St John (folio 209v) suggests Byzantine inspiration. The saint sits on a stool with a scroll in his lap and looks square-eyed at the viewer. His symbolic animal, the eagle, flies up from the right side of his red halo, while to the left the words *IMAGO AEQUILAE* (image of an eagle) appear in angular majuscule. Flanking the figure, the words identify the saint: *AGIOS JOHANNES*, Saint John.

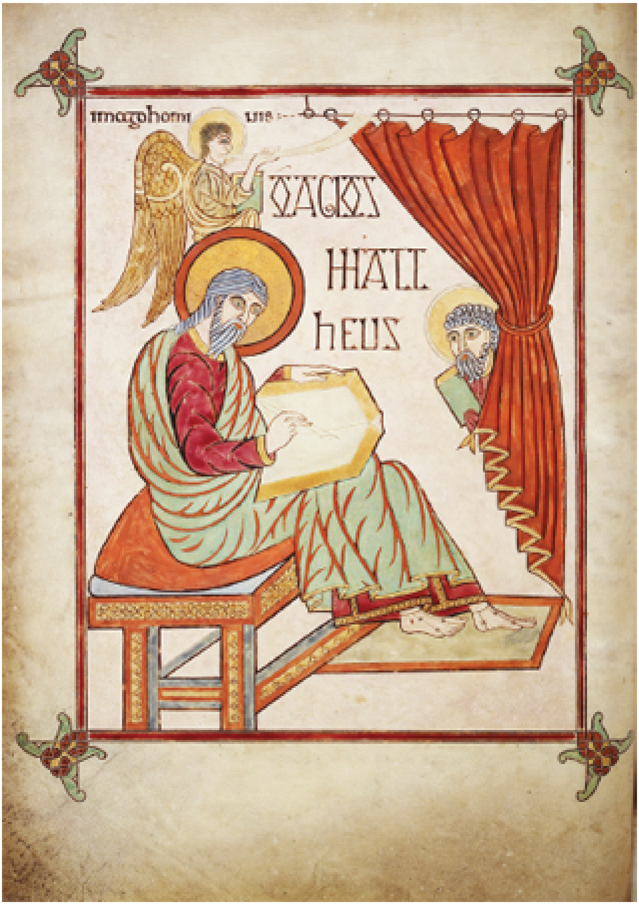


Fig. 1.15 Portrait of St Matthew, Lindisfarne Gospels, Cotton MS Nero D. IV f. 25v, c. *698. Photograph: © British Library Board*

The carpet pages in the Lindisfarne Gospel depict crosses that are abstract in concept and intricate design; carpet pages also serve as dividers in Coptic manuscripts, which may have been among the inspirational sources. The empty cross symbolizes the sacrifice of Christ, now resurrected, and the promise of eternal life. The Carpet Page that precedes the book of Matthew follows a grid pattern filled with intricate scroll-like curved lines in colored inks. The enlarged terminals and a halo around the cross bar follow a typically Celtic form (f.26 v.; Fig. 1.16). All facets of Hiberno-Saxon metallurgical designs transferred to painting appear here: geometry, complexity, bilateral symmetry, and *horror vacui*. Some pages include animal interlace, similar to that on Anglo-Saxon military paraphernalia. Whereas some animal forms develop from fantasy, recognizable cats, birds, and dogs make an early appearance (f.139), which begs the question, is such animal decoration pure drollery, or do the animals hold symbolic value?

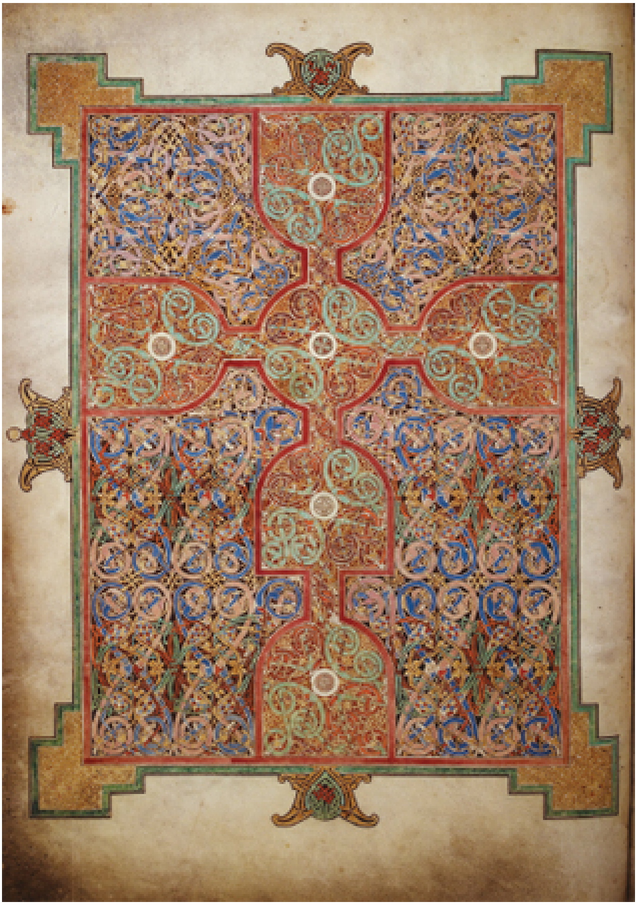


Fig. 1.16 St Matthew, cross-carpet page, Lindisfarne Gospels, Cotton MS Nero D.IV, f. 26v, c. *698. Photograph: © British Library Board*

The prefatory section of the book also contains a complete set of canon tables. Eusebius of Caesarea first devised these concordances tables in 330 and St Jerome incorporated them into his Vulgate Bible. Although Bibles routinely contain Canon tables, the Lindisfarne Gospels is the first Hiberno-Saxon book to contain all of them. The illustrator placed them within arches, a convention that quickly set the standard. Whereas St Jerome placed them on 12 pages, the illustrator of the Lindisfarne Gospels spreads them across 16. Strangely, however, these canon tables do not concur with textual numbers, indicating perhaps more than one source.[38] As treasured as this gospel book is today for the abundance of sumptuous illustrations, it was not alone in its class. The surviving fragments of the Durham Gospels suggest that it had more illuminations.

The Book of Kells

The Book of Kells of *c.* 800–807, derives its name from the monastery in Ireland where it was kept; it is also called the Book of Columba (or Columcille), whom it honors. Connachtach, the abbot of Iona, served as scribe for this book. The majuscule script and the intricate decoration resemble that of the Lindisfarne Gospels and other Columban books. Whereas initials letters begin relatively small in the older manuscripts, they expand to a full page in the Book of Kells. The decorative work within is richer and more uniform, incorporating knots, spirals, swirls, animal and even human forms. Astonishingly, as complex as the decoration is, each line leads back to a single strand. Elements of these forms will emerge abroad, most notably in manuscript illuminations at the court of Charlemagne.

The first illumination of the Madonna and Child (f. 7v; Fig. 1.17) in Northern European art appears in the Book of Kells. A Byzantine icon, perhaps one that Benedict Biscop brought from Rome, probably inspired the composition. Unlike lyrical Byzantine images, however, this figure, filtered through the imaginative Hiberno-Saxon mind, flattens into stylized patterns. Seated on an inlaid throne surrounded by four angels, the Virgin faces frontally with her large eyes seemingly caught in a hypnotic stare. She holds the Christ Child, who, in Byzantine fashion, resembles a little man. He looks up at her from the cradle of her arm, and in an unusually lively variation, reaches for her veil. The wide border contains colorful snaky interlacing. On the right, a little inset box holds profile heads of six men looking at the Virgin. Perhaps these men represent fellow monks from the artist's monastery.

The first narrative action in a Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination appears in the bilaterally symmetrical composition of The Arrest of Christ (f.114). Although stylized, the composition implies action. Christ looks at the viewer full face. Flanking him in profile and clutching his arms is a pair of smaller guards. The three figures stand in an arch, classically inspired but cleverly reformed with panels embellished with Hiberno-Saxon interlacing and patterning. A Latin text inscribed in the tympanum gives the first words of Matthew 26:30: "After reciting a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives."

Conforming to the tradition seen in the Lindisfarne Gospel, the Incarnation Initial "XPI" begins the Gospel of St Matthew (folio 34r; Fig. 1.18). Here the three letters, the first three letters in Christ's name, fill the page. The word "generatio", written small and tucked in below, leads into the three sets of fourteen generations that he recounts from Abraham to David, David to the Babylonian Exile, and from the Exile to Christ (Matthew 1:1–17). Close visual observation reveals all sorts of surprises within these letters. Inside the lower left of the "X" (*Chi*) letter, a crouching cat stalks a mouse, which perhaps is a veiled reference to the persistent vigilance needed to keep insidious evil in check. Moving right, just to the left of *generatio*, an otter proudly clenches his prey, a fish, in its mouth.

Throughout the manuscript, both art and wordplay appear – understated, subtle, and often humorous. Playful drolleries abound, even among the abstractions. Lively little animals, carefully observed, and abstracted human forms emerge from folds and crevices, much as in children's games of finding hidden forms and cryptic secrets within bigger pictures. A drawing at the end of a line of text on one page contains the form of a man, laid sideways, while on another, hungry fish swim across the page with their prey in their mouths and a fork-tongued dragon twists atop an initial letter. A love of pattern, an interest in ordinary things, and an eye for detail, traits that begins in the eighth century, flourishes in the Book of Kells and continues to emerge in English art. The content of the art and literature share a complexity and sublimity, yet at the same time, an odd mix of macabre and playfulness, full of innuendo and ambiguity, and a clever, dry wit that can become bawdy or ghoulish. These traits derive from many sources, yet they amalgamate in distinctive, expressive, and pleasing forms that are never dry or rule-bound, but always organic. Moreover, the rhythm of the drawings, the intricacies, the playfulness, and the circular or parallel construction echo conventions in literature.[39] Even today, the English, like their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, whether in quickly delivered quips or in written words, possess a marvelous gift for punctuating the serious at just the right moment with a clever joke. This poem, anonymously jotted in the margin of a Hiberno-Saxon manuscript by a mischievous scribe, provides a particularly charming example not only of the delightfully observed details of the mundane, but also the love of pattern, cadence, games, and understated humor:

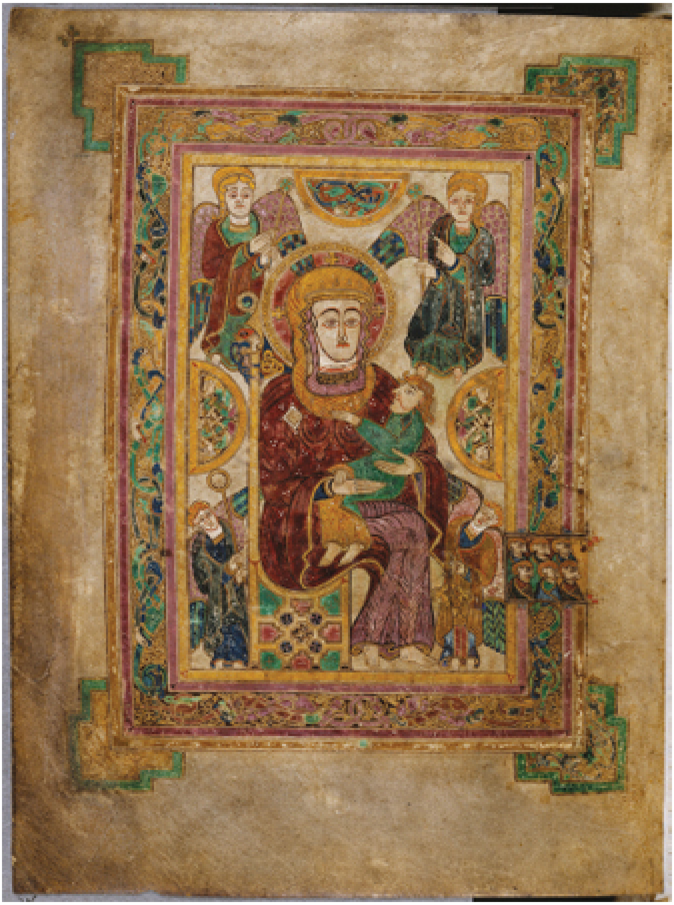


Fig. 1.17 Book of Kells, Madonna and Child, MS A. I. (58) f. 7v, 800–807, Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland. Photograph: Board of Trinity College Dublin

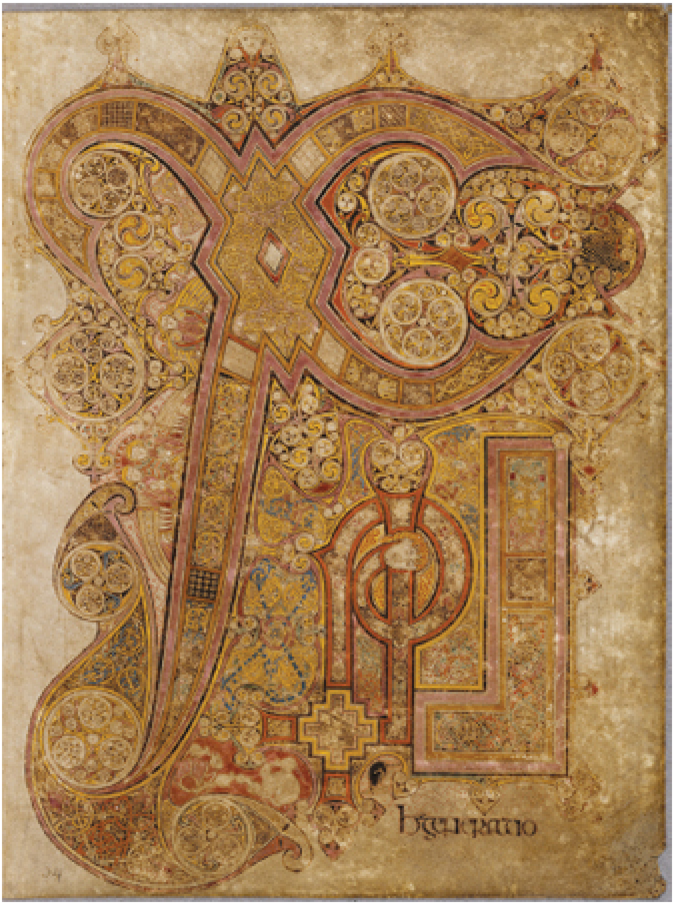


Fig. 1.18 Incarnation initial, Gospel of Matthew, Book of Kells, MS A. I. (58), f. 34r; 800–807, Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland. Photograph: Board of Trinity College Dublin

I and Pangur Ban my cat,
’Tis a like task we are at:
Hunting mice is his delight,
Hunting words I sit all night.

Better far than praise of men
’Tis to sit with book and pen;
Pangur bears me no ill-will,
He too plies his simple skill.

’Tis a merry task to see
At our tasks how glad are we,
When at home we sit and find
Entertainment to our mind.

Oftentimes a mouse will stray
In the hero Pangur's way;
Oftentimes my keen thought set
Takes a meaning in its net.

'Gainst the wall he sets his eye
Full and fierce and sharp and sly;
'Gainst the wall of knowledge I
All my little wisdom try.

When a mouse darts from its den,
O how glad is Pangur then!
O what joy comes from above
When I solve the doubts I love!

So in peace our task we ply,
Pangur Ban, my cat, and I;
In our arts we find our bliss,
I have mine and he has his.

Anonymous Irish, eighth century[40]

Codex Amiatinus

The Codex Amiatinus demonstrates how the decorative tradition at the twin Benedictine monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow almost diametrically opposes those of Iona and Lindisfarne. The Venerable Bede recorded in his *Ecclesiastical History* that before 716, Abbot Ceolfrith (*c.* 642–716) of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth brought back from Rome the *Codex Grandior* ("Larger Book") of Roman Senator Cassiodorus, a noteworthy Early Christian editor. Ceolfrith requested that his monks make three copies: one for each monastery and one for the pope. The original is lost, but the pope's copy survives in Florence as the *Codex Amiatinus* (Fig. 1.19). This manuscript is the oldest surviving copy of St Jerome's Latin translation of the scriptures from the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, called the Latin Vulgate Bible. The most well-known illustration, the page showing Th*e Scribe Ezra Re-writing the Sacred Records*, may derive from a portrait of the Cassiodorus at the beginning of his *Codex Grandior*. Recalling that the prophet Ezra preserved the Jewish scriptures, the portrait may honor Ceolfrith as a "new Ezra," continuing in the tradition of keeping scriptures alive, intact, and disseminating them. The seated scribe writes in a book that rests in his lap. In the background, the nine volumes of his *Institutiones* rest on the shelves of an open book cupboard, the type that would have held manuscripts in the eighth century. Whereas the same book may have inspired the author portraits for the copies of the *Codex Amiatinus* and the Lindisfarne Gospels, it is fascinating to see how differently artists at Jarrow, who favored a naturalistic style, interpreted the subject than those at the Columban monastery of Lindisfarne, where the Celtic penchant for flat planes of color and patterning prevailed.

The great spread of monastic communities throughout Europe, led by British monks, provided a conduit for study and the exchange of books. Several monks who trained at Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and York in the generation after Benedict Biscop played significant roles, including Ceolfrid and St Boniface, who did missionary work in Germany. In 781, Charlemagne (*c.* 742–814) called Alcuin of York to his court at Aachen to head his Palace School – the largest gathering of scholars in a secular setting since ancient times, one for which English institutions provided the model, the founding administrators, and much of the faculty. The English legacy included an interest in the liberal arts, Celtic intellectual zeal, and innovative manuscript production, along with Benedictine rule, organization, and monastic architecture.[41] In the mid-ninth century, as Charlemagne's empire fragmented, the church again assumed control and responsibility of learning. However, the rich ideas from the Anglo-Saxons and the Frankish court would continue to cross-pollinate.

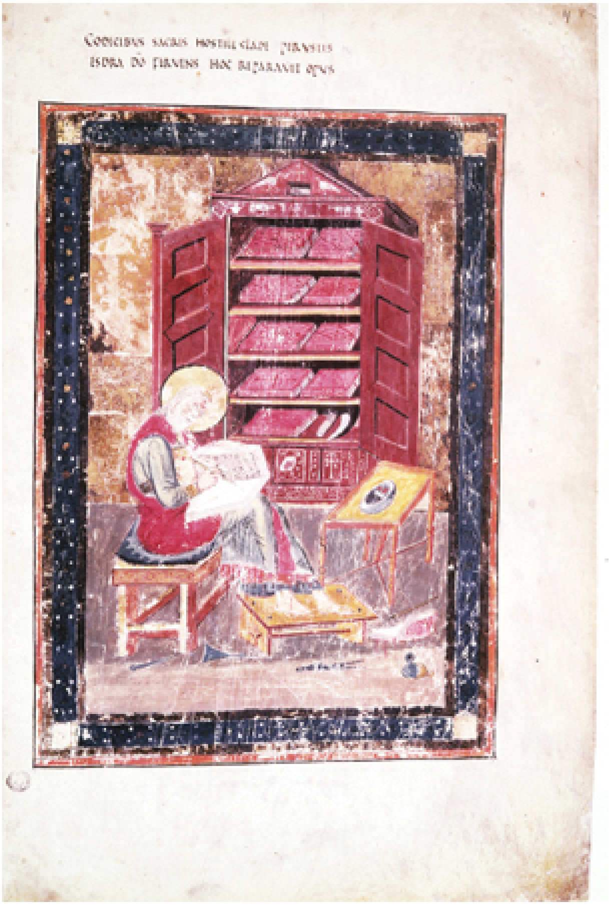


Fig. 1.19 Ezra writing the sacred books from memory in 458 BC, Codex Amiatinus, *Ms 1, f. vr, early eighth century. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Italy/© Bridgeman Images*

Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in southern England

Manuscripts produced in the south of England differ dramatically from northern ones. These southern manuscripts, also called the "Tiberius Group," draw even more heavily from the classical style of the manuscripts brought in by the Italian missionaries, yet the monks translate classicism into a rich, decorative style.[42] Examples include the Vespasian Psalter.

Vespasian Psalter

Once thought to be the sole surviving manuscript of the Gregorian missionaries, the Vespasian Psalter, formerly at St Augustine's, Canterbury, is believed to have been produced in southeast England, probably Kent, in the second quarter of the ninth century (*c.* 825–850). The text is another example of ingenuity and the importance of

Anglo-Saxon monks in preserving Latin learning: it is the oldest surviving example of the Roman version of the psalms, a Latin translation that pre-dates St Jerome's Vulgate Bible. An Old English interlinear gloss was added at Canterbury around 825.

As we have seen, Hiberno-Saxon scribes invented decorated initial letters. Those, in turn, inspired historiated initials, or initial letters with tiny painted vignettes tucked inside the enclosed spaces. This convention appears first in the Vespasian Psalter. The initial "d" (*dixit*) at Psalm 52 shows David the shepherd fighting the lion. The initial D that begins Psalm 26 (f-31r) holds within it a tiny painting of David and Jonathan, who clasp hands in friendship (Fig. 1.20). Within a century, historiated initials appear in the Carolingian Drogo Sacramentary (*c.* 800–850), reappear in England, and eventually travel to France and Italy.

Facing the text for Psalm 26 (f.30v), a haloed David sits on his throne and composes psalms on his harp. Two scribes stand by the throne to record his words. One scribe writes on a scroll; the other, on a wax tablet. The architectural framework that encloses the figures reflects the knowledge of a classical convention, but the rich ornamentation is anything but the staid classical type! The interest in surface pattern divulges English its origins. The columns have diamond-shaped designs with little beasts in medallions at the top and bottom of the capitals. The arch has swirling designs that resembles Anglo-Saxon enamelwork. Scholars believe that originally this page was located at the beginning of the manuscript and served as an introductory author portrait for the entire psalter.

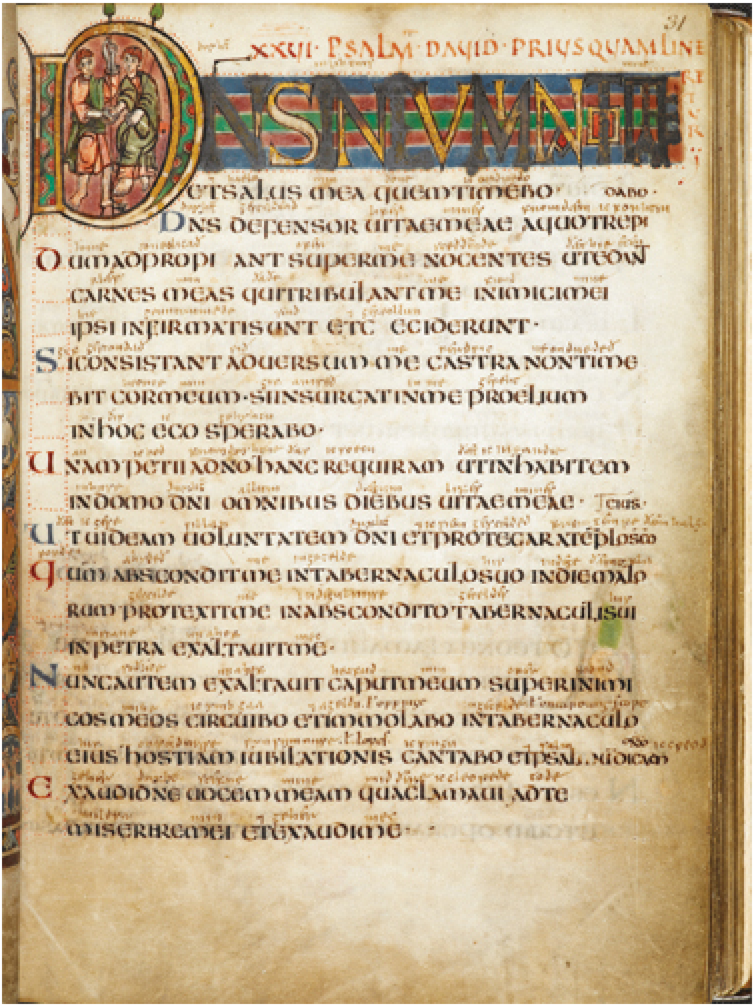


Fig. 1.20 Initial letter "D" (Dixit), Psalm 26, Vespasian Psalter, Cotton MS Vespasian A I, f. 30v–31r, 825–850, probably made at New Minster, Winchester, British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board

Hiberno-Saxon sculpture

Only a few other remnants of stone sculpture survive intact. All fragments, as well as the decorative items, strongly resemble styles in manuscript illumination. Three items have already been noted: the sundial at Escomb, stone grave crosses at Lindisfarne, and sculpture decorating the doorway at St Peter's, Monkwearmouth. Also from Monkwearmouth (now at Durham), engraved wooden panels from the coffin of St Cuthbert show the Virgin and Child with Angels, symbols of the four evangelists, and a Last Judgment. St Cuthbert's beautiful gold pectoral cross, with garnets and shell, was found in his coffin. Another rare example of narrative Saxon sculpture was discovered after the fire of 1831 at Bristol Cathedral beneath the Chapter House floor, where it had been reused as a coffin lid. This rectangular stone sculpture, which dates from just before the Norman Conquest, depicts the Harrowing of Hell. Christ stands on the trampled Gates of Hell, with which he has crushed the devil, as he brings forth an awe-struck little naked soul.[43]

Migration of Hiberno-Saxon designs

Evidence of migrating Anglo-Saxon practices appears in the cover of the Lindau Gospels, which originated at the monastery of St Gall in *c.* 760–90. (Fig. 1.21). The back cover, the older one, which originally probably served as a front cover, shows an unmistakably Anglo-Saxon interest in surface detail. The jeweled borders and enamels set in precious metals surround a cross with intricate, interlocking, snake-like figures. Four portraits in enamel, surely the four gospel writers, flank the central boss of the cross. The corners contain classically inspired three-quarter medallions of the gospel writers in gold repousse (metal worked from the back). Perhaps these were added *c.* 850 when the Carolingian upper cover was fabricated. This is the only known complete early Hiberno-Saxon metal book cover to survive, although documentary sources record that other contemporary lavish books, such as the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels, also had metal covers. The decoration is richer than Cuthbert's cross and surviving stone crosses in Ireland, but shows similar intricate designs. The blend of classical and Celtic elements is so comfortable and so close to British examples that surely an Anglo-Saxon monk at St Gall, founded *c.* 630 by Anglo-Saxons, designed and fabricated it.

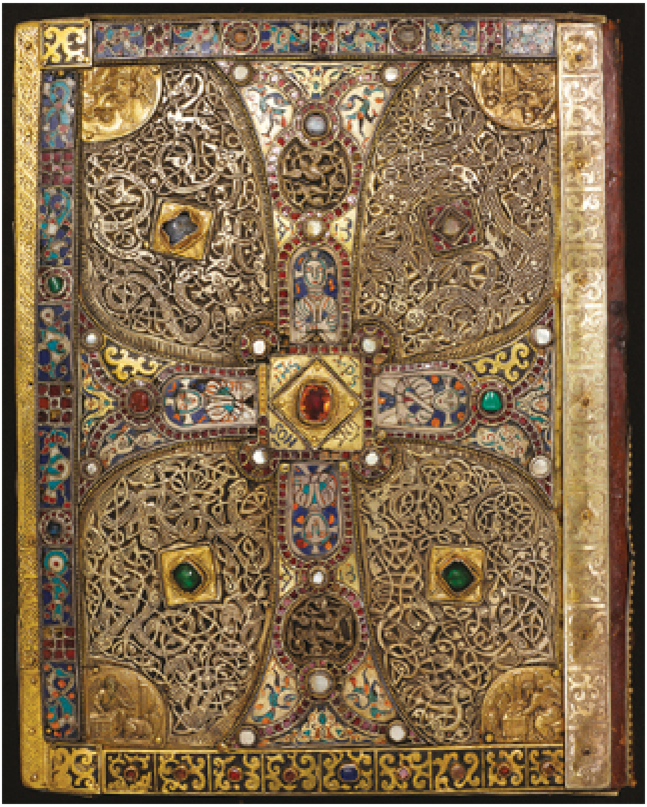


Fig. 1.21 Earlier binding used as lower cover on Lindau Gospels, Ms. M1, c. *760–790, Morgan Library, New York. Photograph: © Morgan Library and Museum, New York*

Building techniques from the British Isles also cross the English Channel to the continent. Long and short quoins, or alternating larger stones in a contrasting color on the corners, as seen at Escomb, appear to be purely of Anglo-Saxon origin. Such quoins, along with construction in irregularly cut stone, continue in such buildings as the aforementioned Palace Chapel at Aachen, begun by Charlemagne in the late eighth century. The masonry technique of more sophisticated late Saxon towers with strapwork designs and patterns of triangular-headed arcades above round-headed arcades appear in Imperial buildings on the continent, including the ninth-century Carolingian abbey gatehouse at Lorsch and the tenth-century church of St Pantaleon at Cologne.[44]

Farther afield, designs resembling Celtic manuscript borders, especially the Book of Durrow, reappear around the turn of the millennium in Italian architectural sculpture at Santa Margherita in Como, Italy, which is near the Celtic monastery of Bobbio, founded in 612. Many books traveled in and out of the important library and manuscript center at Bobbio. Similarities also appear in sculpture at

San Michele in Pavia, Italy and at Cahors Cathedral in France, where a narrow frieze of fighting people substitute for interlacing animals.[45] These examples may be the earliest evidence of the influence of the expressive, imaginative, inherently unclassical Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illuminations on continental art, but they are not the last.

England under the late Saxon kings

Whereas in England during the seventh century and most of the eighth, art and scholarship flourished at home and spawned strong mission work abroad, by the last decade of the eighth century Viking raids posed a serious threat. In 789, the first of three recorded Nordic incursions occurred on the south coast of Wessex. As with the infusion of Germanic people over two centuries earlier, the Nordic raiders came in sporadic forays and pillaged the countryside. In 792 King Offa of Mercia sought to defend Kent from the pagan intruders; he also sought alliances with the pope and Charlemagne. England, with its long coastline and looser political organization, was a far easier target for the Danes than the continent, where fewer harbors and greater protection from Charlemagne's disciplined armies presented formidable obstacles. Isolated monasteries, rich in objects and undefended, proved especially vulnerable to ransacking. On 8 June 793, raiders devastated the monastery at Lindisfarne and massacred the monks, drowning some, slaughtering others. The monasteries that had played such a vital role in the flowering of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and civilization essentially vanished from existence and with them, scholarship and the fabrication of manuscripts. For the next century, the people of northern and eastern England fought against similar devastating attacks.

In the midst of the turmoil to the north and east, King Egbert of Wessex unified the south. In 789, the King Offa of Mercia and the West Saxon King Beorhtric forced Egbert (*c.* 770–839) into exile at the court of Charlemagne. In 802, he returned to his capital at Winchester with a Frankish princess as a wife. He quickly won the crown of Wessex; Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Northumbria, and East Anglia followed. By 830, he had defeated Mercia. For the first time since the fall of Rome, one king reigned in England, although his actual governing power was not entirely secure.

After Egbert's death, the ubiquitous Danes once again made a stronghold in north and central England, with attacks escalating against London in 842 and Wessex in 870. In 865, the same year that Egbert's grandson Æthelred (*c.* 837–871) ascended the throne, Norse invaders captured York, the second largest city in Anglo-Saxon

England. Æthelred resisted, but in 871 lost his life in the Battle of Reading. His younger brother, Alfred the Great, succeeded him to the throne. He ushered in another stable period and a flowering of English brilliance, a turning point in British history. By unifying southern England, the Wessex kings decreased the threat from the Danes and, at the same time, established their house as the royal family in England. In fact, all subsequent English monarchs descend from this royal house.

King Alfred took control of southern England and revitalized several cities, including London. In 878, after his victory at the Battle of Edington, Alfred forced the Danish leader Guthrum to accept Christianity as a sign of reconciliation and leave Wessex. Regardless of how genuine Guthrum's conversion may have been, his position as the leader caused his subjects to follow. When the Danes ceased to plunder and settled, their strong organizational skills and vast trade networks proved useful to the English. The treaty separated England into three parts. The Danelaw consisted of Yorkshire in southern Northumbria, eastern Mercia, and East Anglia. English England was the northwest between Wales and the River Mercy to Cumbria (along with northern Northumbria from the Firth of Forth to the River Tees). Saxon England covered the south below the Thames, from Kent to the western tip of Cornwall. Saxon royal palaces and administrative centers were in Winchester, Gloucester, and Westminster.

Alfred was not only a fine warrior and a skilled administrator, but also a more active advocate for education and art than any previous king. He initiated a great age in Anglo-Saxon culture, seeking to revive the scholarship that had typified the Golden Age of Bede and Cædmon in the seventh century. Thus, as with Charlemagne, Alfred established monasteries specifically to promote literacy and learning among clergy, military leaders, and civil servants. He also gathered scholars, scribes, and illuminators at his capital at Winchester, bringing many from the Frankish kingdom and Mercia. Scholars translated into the vernacular such works as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and assumed responsibility for the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a unique journal of events by an anonymous Wessex chronicler, which gave annual updates to a year-by-year history of England from the Birth of Christ until 891.

For the next century, Alfred's successors, Edward (ruled 899–927), Æthelstan (ruled 924–939), and Edgar (ruled 959–975), would build on his accomplishments. In fact, the earliest surviving masons' ordinances, which date to the fifteenth century, credit the reign of Athelstan with the introduction of geometry to masonry construction and architectural planning.[46] The Anglo-Saxon kingdom had sufficiently increased in prestige that Edward and his successors married their sisters and daughters to kings and dukes in the French and German royal houses, including Edward's daughter Eadgifu to Charles III the Simple, King of the Franks and a great-great grandson of Charlemagne. In 929, Æthelstan married his half-sister Edith to Otto I, founder of the Holy Roman Empire (king 936–962 and emperor 962–973); meanwhile, he raised his nephew Louis (son of Eadgifu) at the Saxon court and prepared him to assume the French throne in 936.

In addition, the Benedictine reforms instigated by St Dunstan of Glastonbury (*c.* 910–988) served as catalysts for the architectural and artistic revival. Dunstan himself knew much about music, building, and metalwork, and was especially knowledgeable about the casting of bells. Based on reforms at the motherhouse of Cluny, Benedictines made liturgy central in monastic life and promoted liturgical music. The reforms, in turn, instigated building and restoring churches and monasteries to suit the new liturgical needs, as well as a collaborative spirit to bolster the labor force. At Ramsey Abbey, for example, chroniclers recorded that the construction was the work of skilled and unskilled workers who were motivated as much by piety as by wages.[47] Appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 942, Dunstan also advised the king in matters of state and in spiritual matters, promoting peace, and respect for authority, political and ecclesiastical. He helped rejuvenate schools and artistic centers, most notably at Canterbury. There and at Winchester, monks produced magnificent manuscripts. Once again, artistic achievements in England rose to the level of those of the Northumbrian renascence two centuries earlier, albeit short-lived.

A third series of cataclysmic Nordic attacks struck as King Æthelred II (ruled 978–1016), appropriately dubbed "the Unready," ascended the throne. These invaders, however, came not as tribal bands but as agents of a Scandinavian king and took control of northeast England. In 1016, Cnut, who ruled the Anglo-Danes in northern England from 1017–1035, raised a Scandinavian army and invaded southern England. Rather than quell the Danish invasion, Æthelred and his Norman wife Emma fled to Normandy, taking with them their younger son Edward. His capable elder son, Edmund "Ironsides," bravely resisted the Danes in his father's stead, but died in battle. Cnut, crowned king of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, instituted an era of peace. The Saxons and their Danish successors consolidated the royal government, limited noble power, and gave the king exclusive military control. These ideas shaped English government and molded it in a manner that was quite different from sovereignties on the continent, where nobles with their own armies could be a serious threat to the ruler. Strategic marriages strengthened diplomatic ties: Cnut's young daughter's betrothal to a German prince and Cnut's marriage to Æthelred's widow, Emma. Danish rule, however, was short-lived. Cnut's sons, the illegitimate Harald (ruled 1035–1040) and Hardicnut (ruled 1040–1042), a son by Emma, succeeded him. Fortuitously, Hardicnut called his half-brother Edward back to England to assist in governing. Upon Hardicnut's death in 1042, the monarchy passed back to Edward and the Anglo-Saxon line.

Late Saxon churches

Political stability and the intellectual revival under Alfred the Great and the introduction of geometry to architecture under his successor Æthelstan laid a fertile foundation for artistic and architectural accomplishments. Stone architecture became more common in later Anglo-Saxon England, probably through the influence of the Imperial court; in fact, similarities in plan and form do exist between Imperial and Anglo-Saxon buildings. About 160 Saxon churches survive, although most have suffered damage or alteration. For some, as at Canterbury, only telling foundations remain. Among the best late Saxon survivors are churches at Earls Barton, Lincolnshire, and Bradford-upon-Avon.

Christ Church at Canterbury

The first Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Canterbury underwent five phases of building. Recent excavations have uncovered the foundation and some walls of the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon building beneath the present cathedral. In its final form, with its double-apse, substantial walls, and majestic proportions, it was almost as large as its Norman successor. This Anglo-Saxon building probably resembled contemporary Imperial churches in Germany, such as those at Hildesheim, Mainz, and Gernrode. In 1067, fire severely damaged this cathedral; no further construction occurred until 1070, when Archbishop Lanfranc came to Canterbury and supplanted it with a Norman cathedral.[48]

All Saints' Church, Earls Barton

All Saints' Church at Earls Barton in Northamptonshire retains its Saxon tower that also serves as the nave of the church, one of three surviving examples (Fig. 1.22). This tower of about 970 (less the Gothic crenellations) stands 63.3 ft (19 m) tall, with alternating long and short stone quoins. Constructed of Barnack rag stone and local estuarine limestone, the tower has four stories divided by stringcourses. Each block-like story is set back slightly from the one below by a stringcourse; each has geometric patterns of strapwork, or decorative interlacing bands, which become more elaborate as the tower ascends. Arched openings pierce the tower at different levels, again being more profuse and more elaborate at the top.

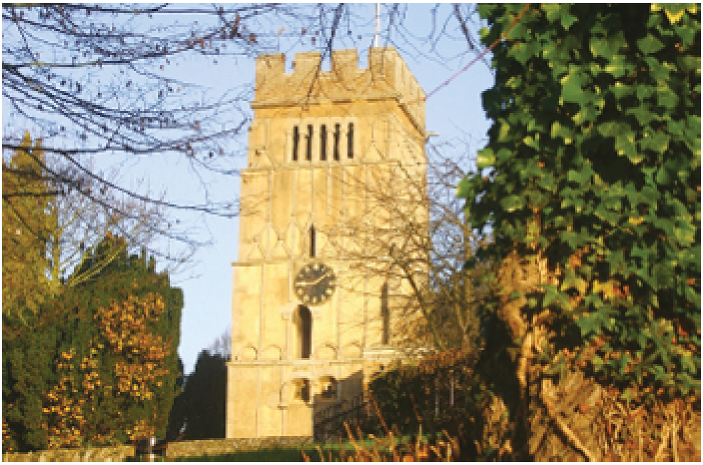


Fig. 1.22 Tower, All Saints' Church, Earls Barton, Northamptonshire, c. *970. Photograph: courtesy Laura Scott*

St Mary at Stow

Many simpler Saxon churches, all noticeably altered, dot the English landscape. Mercian examples in North Lincolnshire include the minster church of St Mary at Stow, one of the largest and oldest parish churches in England, which has more sophisticated exterior construction and a distinctive interior. A church existed in Stow prior to 870, when the Danes burned it. In about 975, Bishop Ælfnoth rebuilt the church as the episcopal seat for the Lincolnshire part of the ancient See of Lindsey. Although St Mary's was renovated in the eleventh century with Norman elements, its size has not changed since the Saxon construction. However, enlargements to some of the windows and damage from fires have altered its appearance. The exterior of the church is built of irregularly shaped cut stone bordered by corner quoins and punctuated by small, salient buttresses of larger stone (Fig. 1.23). The square Saxon tower at the crossing, the tallest Saxon tower in Europe, includes the typical pattern of alternating long and short stone quoins. The short Gothic crown and crenellations were added later.

The plan of St Mary's consists of an aisleless nave, larger and wider in proportion than Escomb, a crossing under the tower, and transept arms, all with wooden truss ceilings. Of all Saxon churches with transepts to survive, this one is the best preserved. Four handsome stone arches form one of two true crossings of the nave and transepts to survive in a Saxon church, where the nave, transepts, and choir are the same height. These rounded arches, which rest on square piers, measure 35 ft across and 35 ft high (10.6 m) and reach the greatest height of any surviving arch in a Saxon church. They probably originally supported a wooden tower. The four pointed stone arches set inside of the four rounded arches are a fourteenth-century addition to bolster the support for the stone tower.[49]

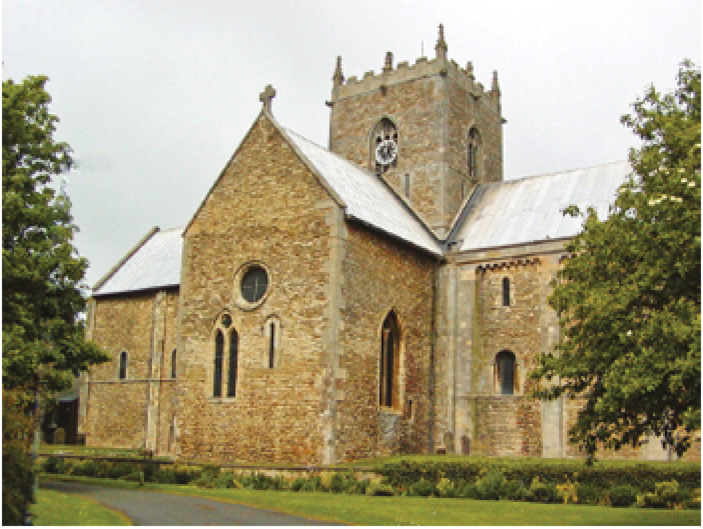


Fig. 1.23 Church of St Mary, Stow, Lincolnshire, exterior with later additions, c. *970. Photograph: author*

The square-ended, three-bay choir is only slightly narrower and shorter than the nave (Fig. 1.24). Whereas the nave, crossing, and transepts appear to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, Leofric and Godiva, who re-founded and re-endowed the church in 1054, probably initiated the Norman-style stone vaulting in the choir and the surface decoration on the walls. The chevron decoration of the ribs of the stone vaults and arches in the engaged colonnade along the lower wall of the choir prefigure similar decorative work in Norman buildings, such as that found at Durham and Norwich Cathedrals.

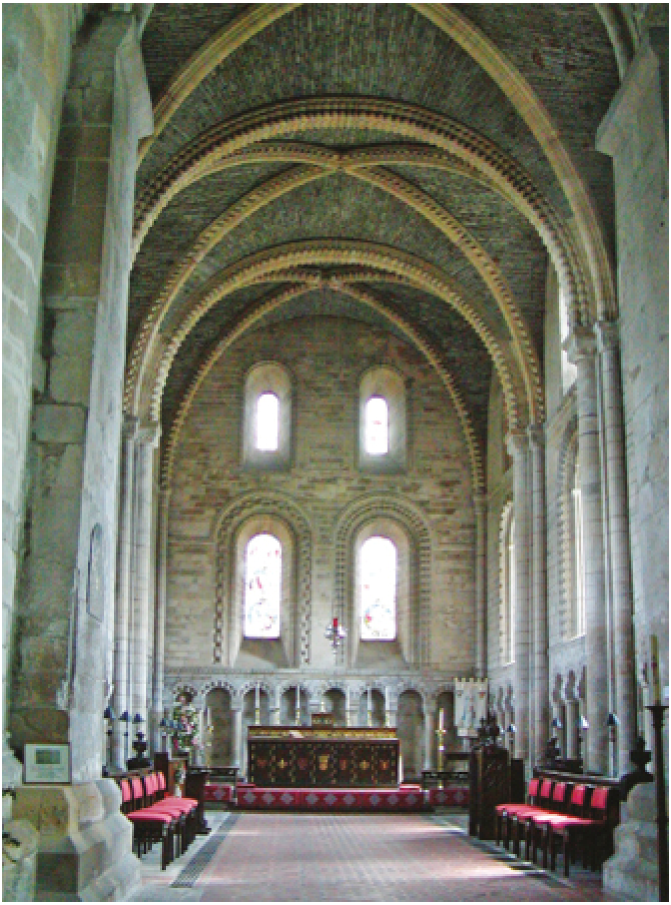


Fig. 1.24 Church of St Mary, Stow, Lincolnshire, interior of the choir, c. *1054. Photograph: author*

Bradford-on-Avon

Among Saxon churches in the south, the Wessex church, St Laurence's Church at Bradford-on-Avon, southeast of Bath, is the most complete, least altered, and perhaps the finest surviving church of its type in England, if not in Europe (Figs 1.25 and 1.26). According to William of Malmesbury, Aldhelm (d. 709) founded the church. The sophisticated design and high quality workmanship in carefully cut ashlar block and sophisticated masonry probably date from the late tenth or turn of the eleventh century, bearing out the credit given to the introduction of geometry to the practice of masonry and architectural planning under King Athelstan.[50] The structure has tall narrow proportions, although it lacks a tower. A stringcourse divides the building into two levels. Pilasters spaced at wide intervals divide the lower level; above, a blind arcade arches twice for each section below. A square entrance porch projects from center of the north side, as is typical of English churches. The nave measures 26 ft (8.25 m) long, and typically, the chancel is almost as wide as the nave. As at Escomb and Stow, interior arches, such as the entrance into the chancel, have projecting impost blocks. The simple, geometric exterior decoration and the tall proportions recall the plain, boxy stone Imperial (Ottonian) architecture in Germany of the ninth and tenth century. Indeed, with active interchange between England and the continent, the similarity is probably not coincidental.

Late Saxon secular architecture

Pre-Conquest fortifications and secular buildings have fared more poorly than ecclesiastical structures, mainly due to the deterioration of timber construction. Illustrations in the Bayeux Tapestry (*c.* 1070–1080), probably made by Kentish women, would illustrate an English frame of reference; thus the wooden fortresses, or castles, of Dol, Rennes, and Dinan in Brittany on man-made, conically shaped mounds, or mottes, each surrounded by a yard, or bailey, a wall, and then an enclosure ditch, or *moat*, may indicate the appearance of Saxon fortresses. Within the bailey, there was usually a well to supply water for drinking and for fire protection in case of flaming attack. If the enemy managed to cross the moat, scale the wall, and captured the bailey, the motte offered the last line of defense. A timber-towered building, called a keep by the English or a *donjon* by the French, stood at the peak of the motte. Wooden forts could be built quickly, unlike later, more permanent stone successors. The Saxons, like their continental counterparts, probably built large scale, sophisticated wooden buildings, but we simply do not have much information about them.

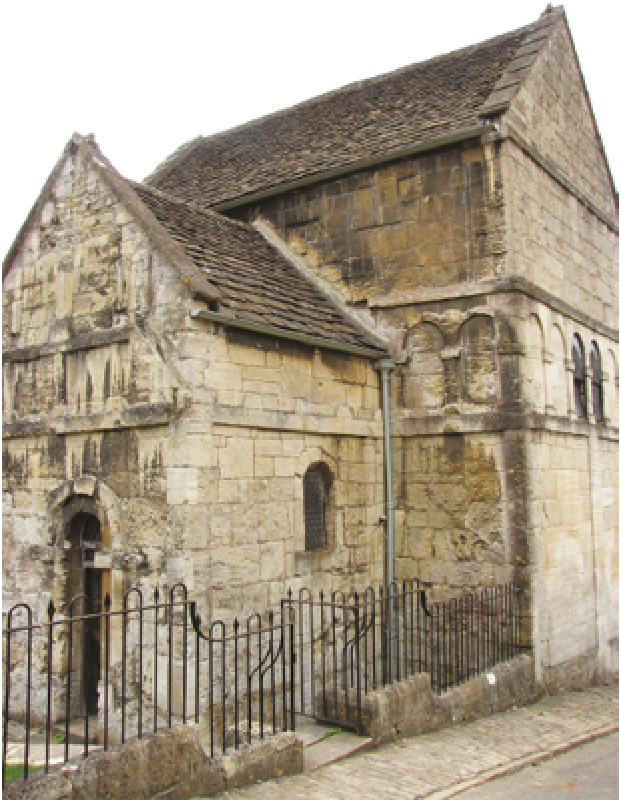


Fig. 1.25 Church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, exterior from the south, c. *1001. Photograph: author*

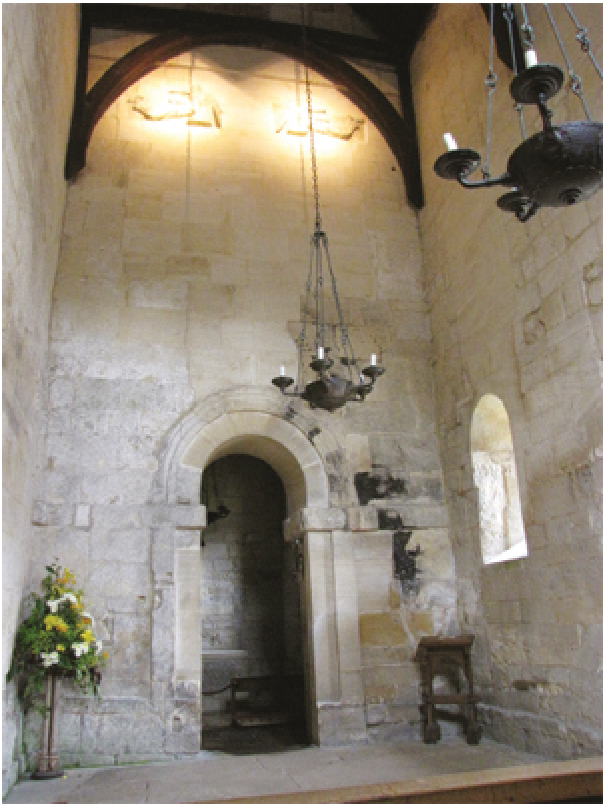


Fig. 1.26 Church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, interior view to the east, c. *1001. Photograph: author*

By the year 1000, although London was not yet the capital, it was the largest and most important city in England. Its strategic location along a navigable river facilitated overseas access. The extensive network of roads, most left by the Romans, made overland travel to upper England possible. London Bridge was rebuilt, which probably had not happened for over 700 years, facilitating access to the south. Consequently, London served as the primary industrial and trade center for all of England and the major gateway to the continent.[51]

Late Saxon manuscripts: southern England

The Schools at Winchester and Canterbury

The manuscripts produced in and around Winchester in the tenth century, followed by Canterbury in the eleventh, probably are the most distinctive art form to arise from the intellectual patronage that Alfred the Great (ruled 871–899) initiated and his successors continued. By Edgar's reign (959–975), the style of the Anglo-Saxon school had achieved an increasingly smooth synthesis of Hiberno-

Saxon/Scandinavian love of pattern and intricacy with the classically-inspired Imperial figure tradition. The monumental human figure appears in English manuscripts more frequently in painting after Charlemagne attained the crown, as he chose the Mediterranean figurative tradition over the purely ornamental. The classical style not only carried political and religious associations with Rome, which he sought to emulate, but it worked best for narrative. An unexpected twist of fate bolstered Charlemagne's quest for the best in art and scholarship. In 726, the Byzantine emperor, Leo III, had placed a ban on images in sacred places. Many Greek illuminators, out of work, migrated to the Carolingian court and brought with them a strong figure tradition, either Hellenistic (late classical) or Byzantine. Together with illuminators trained in northern Europe and England, they developed the figure into a more consistent, more life-like, yet still formal and slightly abstract image.

Alfred's grandfather Egbert had fostered the political ties and conduit of cultural exchange between England and the Carolingian court. Ninth-century Carolingian manuscripts from the Ada Group, created at the Palace School at Aachen and at Metz, clearly traveled to England, where the English adapted Carolingian sumptuousness, figure compositions, complex narrative, the more frequent secular subjects, and such motifs as free-playing acanthus leaves in borders. The imported figural style initially appeared stiff and awkward. However, by the mid-tenth century, a more graceful synthesis emerged that relied less on the continental use of broad areas of flat color and more on line. Late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts exhibited a gentle, fluid, sinuous line, whether for single figures, narrative scenes, decorative initials, or foliate borders. English scribes became more comfortable with the figure, highlighted and grounded in space. The English shared with the Imperial Court School, especially the segment in and around Reims, not only a love of line, but a desire to animate. At Winchester, a new interrelationship developed between figure and ornament that is rich, sincere, and full of life. Such distinctively English delicate, lyrical traits never appeared in the more formal imperial works. Such images appeared in secular works, such as the New Minster Charter, and in religious works, such as the Benedictional of St Æthelwold and the Tiberius Psalter.

NEW MINSTER CHARTER

The New Minster Charter of 966 (Fig. 1.27), the first major commission of the Winchester School, clearly shows the influence of the Carolingian court. The charter closely resembles the Ascension Page of the Carolingian Æthelstan Psalter, made at Liège, which, in

939, was given to Winchester Cathedral by the king. The Charter composition even more strongly resembles a slightly later illustration from the Liuthar Gospels of Otto III (*c.* 1000; Aachen Treasury, f.16r) enthroned. The New Minster Charter illustration shows King Edgar of England standing on the lower border, flanked by the Virgin and St Peter. He offers a book to Christ in a mandorla, supported by four angels. A new blend of formal stylization and the natural appears in the foliate borders, where twisting vines symmetrically wrap around parallel bars. Such formal borders, along with the choice of colors and the use of gold – absent in Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts – evoke Carolingian models. Moreover, as with the art of the imperial court, several monumental figure compositions from the Winchester School focus on the ruler rather than on the deity.[52]

BENEDICTIONAL OF ST ÆTHELWOLD

The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (Fig. 1.28), produced about a decade after the charter, is one of the most impressive books of the Winchester School in terms of both the quantity – 49 decorated pages – and the quality of the illuminations. The scribe Godeman wrote the benedictional, a book of ceremonial blessings, for St Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester (tenure 963–984). The style of illustration exhibits the English gift for synthesis, as the scribes have combined ideas from several sources. Some of the illustrations are less lively than Christ's Entry in to Jerusalem (folio 46v), which indicates that more than one scribe participated in producing the book. The distinctive and more legible Carolingian miniscule form of writing in lower case letters developed at the court of Charlemagne, together with the composition types, point to contact with imperial centers, such as Metz, which produced the Sacramentary of Archbishop Drogo. As with the New Minster Charter, this royal benedictional exhibits a heavier embellishment of gold and more complex narratives than previously seen in English examples.

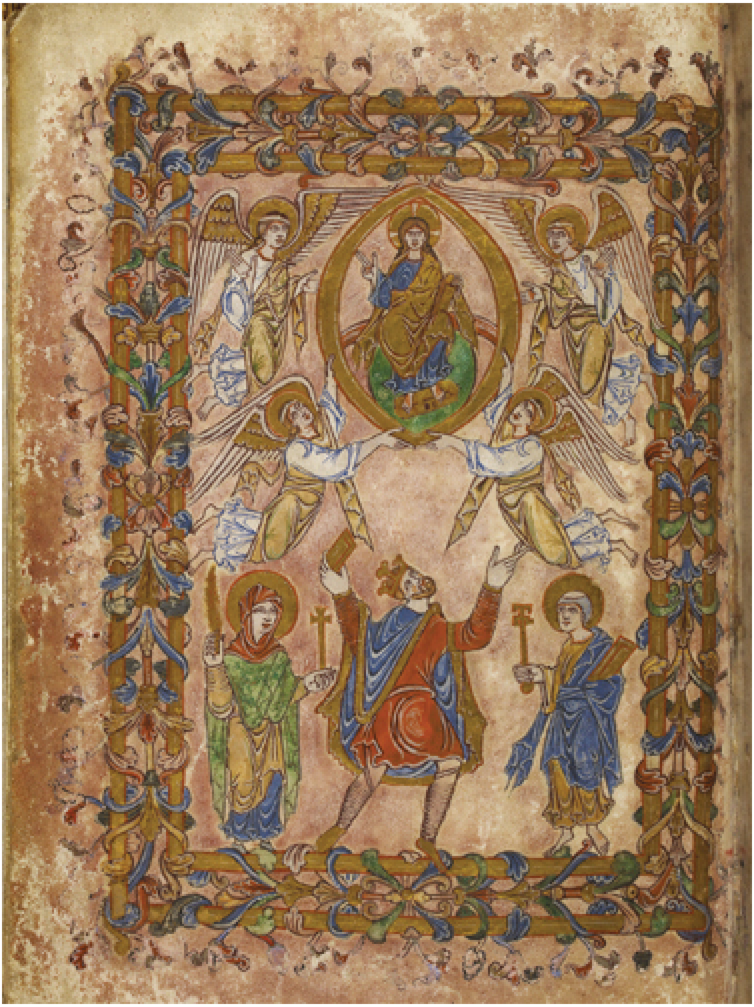


Fig. 1.27 Full-page miniature of King Edgar with the Virgin Mary, St Peter, Christ in Majesty, and angels, New Minster Charter, Winchester, c. *966. Cotton Vespasian A. viii, f. 2v, British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board*

In the scene of Christ's Entry, Hiberno-Saxon, classical, and Byzantine traditions blend. A new interest in naturalism, with detail of the flowers and vegetation, appears. The rectangular corners of the gold borders have squares set in circles interlocked with tendrils of colored foliage, which betray the native love of pattern and interlacing. Whereas the composition, with spatial depth indicated by placing distant events higher and smaller, and Christ's manner of riding the horse astride rather than sidesaddle reflect western models, the architecture of the city of Jerusalem points to a Byzantine model.[53] Moreover, people inside the city look down and greet Christ by waving broad-petaled yellow flowers on supple stems with wide, flat foliage that resemble tulips, yet nearly a millennium would pass before tulips arrived in the west from former Byzantine territories. The Byzantine-inspired swirling effects of the drapery and Christ's long fingers formed into a blessing gesture also prefigure the expressionistic lines of the Romanesque.

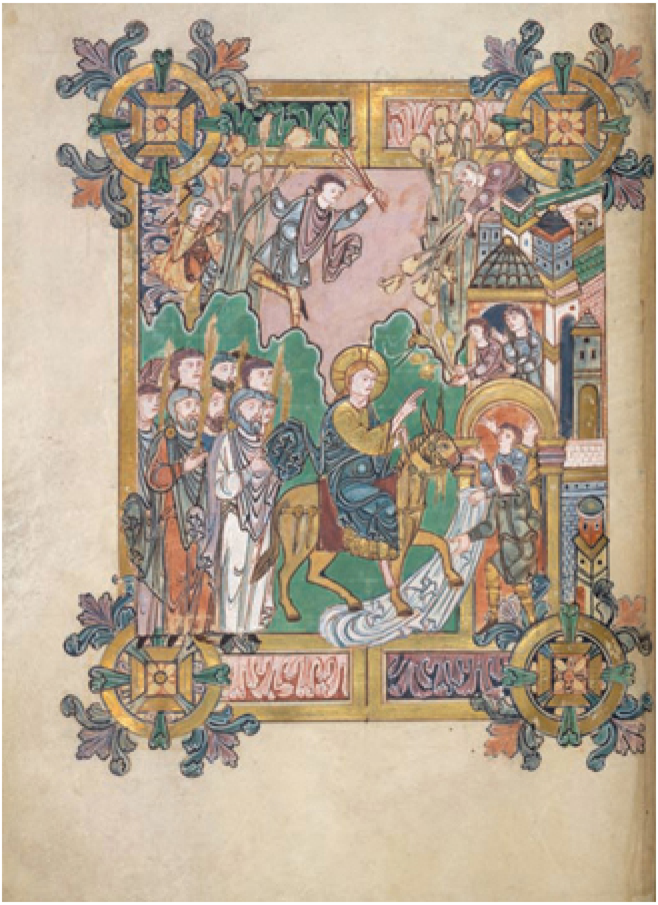


Fig. 1.28 Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, Benedictional of St Æthelwold, MS Add. 49598, f. 45v, made at Winchester, 971–984, British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board

TIBERIUS PSALTER

Verifiable continental influence appears among manuscripts originating at Canterbury. The Tiberius Psalter, *c.* 1050, illustrates such fusion of styles, as will the Harley Psalter, discussed in Chapter 2. Made at Old Minster in Winchester on the eve of the Norman Conquest, the Tiberius Psalter contains the New Testament followed by the psalms. Here, as in other late Anglo-Saxon books, vivacious but delicate drawing prevails over broad areas of flat, rich color. This manuscript opens with a cycle of colored illustrations that depict parallel events from the lives of Christ and King David, the Old

Testament ruler who serves as a precursor, or "type," for Christ, the first known of what would become a popular series. Byzantine Psalter illustrations, with scenes in the margins, may have inspired this convention. Folio 8 depicts David as the good shepherd, foreshadowing the parallel symbolic role of Christ. David energetically leaps onto the back of a lion, holding it with his foot, and pries a lamb from its jaws. The image of St Michael overcoming the dragon (f.16r) depicts a similar vivacity.

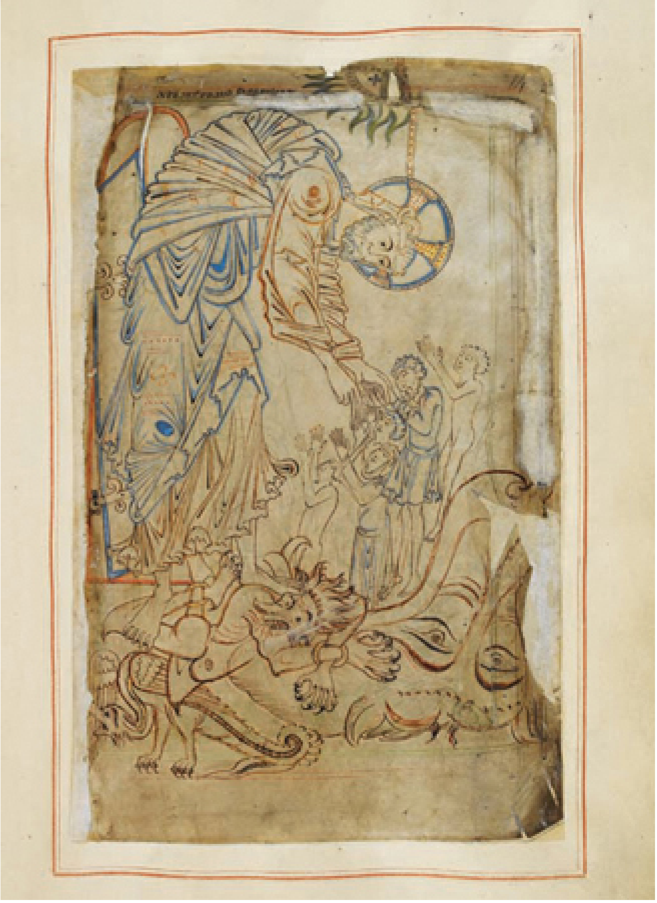


Fig. 1.29 The Harrowing of Hell, Tiberius Psalter, Cotton Tiberius C VI, f. 14, made at Winchester, c. *1050, British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board*

In addition to the religious scenes, the Tiberius Psalter, along with the earlier Cotton Julius Manuscript, probably made at Canterbury Cathedral, have the two earliest illustrations of the Labors of the Months. The images, possibly deriving from a late classical model, establish a tradition of showing seasonal chores and activities that will reach a zenith in England in the Luttrell Psalter (*c.* 1325) and on the continent in the more lavishly illustrated French manuscript, the Très Riches Heures of the Duc du Berry (*c.* 1415).

The Tiberius Psalter shows a tremendously expressive and sensitive portrayal of the Harrowing of Hell (folio 14; Fig. 1.29). Following the eleventh-century campaign against general worldliness, including the marriage of priests, the emphasis on morality increased; manuscripts reflect this trend. Moreover, mystery plays (or secularized liturgical dramas), the texts, props, and costumes, surely inspired narrative compositions. The Tiberius Harrowing of Hell, also part of the introductory series of illustrations depicting the parallel lives of Christ and David, contains a terrifying, hinge-jawed, beastie-faced, mechanical Hellmouth of the type used in theatrical productions. A giant Christ stands on the left inside the mouth of hell in front of a small open door and firmly plants his left, or sinister, foot on the devil, literally trampling the animal-like jaws of Hell. He tenderly leans over to gather the tiny figures of the faithful souls who died before him, who raise eyes and arms in gratitude.

Typical of late Anglo-Saxon art, the mannered line of the tinted drawings, rather than color, gives vibrancy to the figures and enhances the narrative. The style represents a fusion of the Carolingian style of the sketchy Utrecht Psalter learned at Canterbury, and the more monumental late Winchester Style of the Saxons, and prefigures the more expressive, monumental Romanesque style.

The revival inspired by Alfred faded quickly in England and with it, manuscript fabrication and architecture. However, the lyrical linear images migrate across the channel to the continent in the twelfth century, where they live on in paint and in stone. Evidence suggests that poignant images from English manuscripts inspire forms in stone at Burgundian Romanesque churches, such as the powerfully moving, sinuous figures surrounding the south portal at St Peter's in Moissac.

The Anglo-Saxon legacy

Anglo-Saxon England developed into a sophisticated, vibrant, international society with refined, cohesive art forms. The blended traditions – indigenous, Celtic, Roman, Nordic, German – produced new political ideas, social organization, and vibrant art forms that still shape the basis of many English practices. Once books arrived, the English passionately savored and manufactured them; they also channeled Celtic energy into zealous scholarship. Whether in the words of poetry, manuscript illumination, surface decoration, or architectural organization, traditions established by the Anglo-Saxons persisted in English literature and art: a rich imagination, an inquisitiveness, a willingness to experiment, a passion for books and learning, a love of intricate pattern and ornament, and a cheerful temperament that prevented them from taking themselves too seriously.

Under such leaders as Augustine, Theodore of Tarsus, Bede, Oswy, and Alfred the Great, the greatest intellectual centers in Europe developed in England. The cross-pollination and diplomatic ties between the late Saxon kings and the Ottonian court, successor of Charlemagne and progenitor of the Holy Roman Empire, determined much about the art and architecture of both countries. English scholars took manuscript practices, monasticism, and architectural techniques to the Carolingian imperial court; the imperial court transmitted back to England an increased sense of majesty, uniformity, and greater fluidity with figural forms. A century later, Æthelred's marriage to Emma, a member of the Norman nobility, and his subsequent exile in Rouen, shifted ties from Germany to France, first with the Norman ruling family and later with the French royal house. As previously mentioned, his Danish successor, Cnut, continued the tradition of diplomatic marriages by marrying Æthelred's widow, Emma. Rarely have the outcomes of a woman's marriages so radically shifted the course of history and politics, but also the development of art and architecture. The Normans, who loomed heavily on the horizon in the waning days of Anglo-Saxon England, would announce their conquest with a visible veneer, but in the end, the Anglo-Saxon penchants for inventiveness and synthesis would prevail.

Notes

1 Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), 23–31; John Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 52–9; John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire*. rev. ed. (Stroud, 1993), 15–20; "From Frontier Town to Stately Capitol," *British Archaeology* (April 1999), http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba43/ba43regs.html and "Saxon London in a Tale of Two Cities". *British Archaeology* (May 1999); http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba44/ba44regs.html (accessed 14 September 2013); John Gloag, *The English Tradition in Architecture* (New York, 1963), 2; Caroline Alexander, *Lost Gold of the Dark Ages: War, Treasure, and the Mystery of the Saxons* (Washington, 2011), 37–47; Richard Hingley, *Hadrian's Wall: A Life* (Oxford, 2012) *ad passim*.

2 Charles McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, CT, 2005), 70–5; Gloag, *English Tradition*, 16–23; Alexander, *Lost Gold*, 55–6.

3 I.B. Koch-Olsen, *Danmarks Kulturhistorie: tiden indtil 1600* (Copenhagen: Grafisk, 1968), 201–56 and 287; Sam Lucy, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England* (Stroud, 2000), 108–19 and *ad passim*.

4 Alexander, *Lost Gold*, 148–83, esp. 157 and 183, and *ad passim*.

5 Daniel Pett, Katharine Kelland, Kevin Leahy and Roger Bland, “The Staffordshire Hoard,” accessed 4 June 2013, http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/; Kevin Leahy and Roger Bland, *The Staffordshire Hoard* (London, 2009); Kevin Leahy *et al.*, “The Staffordshire (Ogley Hay) Hoard: Recovery of a Treasure”. *Antiquity* 85 (2011): 202–20; Alexander, *Lost Gold,* 162–70; Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford, 2008), 152, 169–70.

6 Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization* (New York, 1996), 38–9, 150–9; Arthur Kingsley Porter, “An Egyptian Legend in Ireland”. *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1929): 25–38. The type of hermit-like monasticism that Patrick embraced had its origins in the Sinai area of Egypt. Geraldine Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Medieval Ireland by the Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1982), *ad passim.*

7 In 585, St Columbanus founded a monastic school at Luxeuil in Gaul, which, in turn, supplied monks to Corbie. In 612, Columbanus and fellow monk Gallus established the monastery at St Gall in Switzerland. In 614, Columbanus founded Bobbio in Italy. Willibrord of Ripon founded Echternach near Trier in 698. Manuscripts produced at and for these monasteries have strong Celtic features.

8 David W. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), 107; Cahill, *Irish*, 199.

9 Robert McCrum, William Cran and Robert MacNeil, *The Story of English* (New York, 1986), 64–8; Thomas Cahill, *Mysteries of the Middle Ages: The Rise of Feminism, Science, and Art from the Cults of Catholic Europe* (New York, 2006), 59–61; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture,* 60; Alexander, *Lost Gold*, 109–18; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 102; Daniel Rees, *Monks of England: The Benedictines in England from Augustine until the Present Day* (London, 1997), 21; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 45–6; Cæcelia Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art: 300–1150: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971), 76; Edward K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages,* (New York, 1957), 23; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (New York, 2000), pl. 17, 16–17, 104.

10 Richard Gem, *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture* (London, 2004), vol. 2, 417–18; Schofield, *The Building of London*, 15–20. Around 900 AD, the word minster first appears It meant a monastery, a church attached to a monastery, and/or a cathedral. This Middle English word derives from the Old English, mynster, which is cognate with the German Münster; the Latin vulgate is *monastērium*, or monastery. Unlike the practice on the continent in which monasteries and cathedrals were separate, in England, especially after the Conquest, when many monasteries were elevated to cathedral status for administrative purposes, the clergy who provided the cathedral staff were usually members of a monastic community.

11 Alexander, *Lost Gold*, 62 and 116; M.P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), 18. Oswy is the younger brother and heir of Oswald (later canonized), who died at the Battle of Maserfield fighting King Penda in 642. Oswy also plays an important role at the Synod of Whitby in 664.

12 Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (New York, 1999), 34; Alexander, *Lost Gold*, 103. The head of St Oswald came to Durham in 995 in the coffin of Cuthbert. Michael Sadgrove, *Durham Cathedral: The Shrine of St Cuthbert* (Norwich, 2005), 46.

13 York was the seat of a bishop in early Christian times. Bishops of York

attended the Councils of Arles (314) and Nicaea (325). The pagan Saxons eradicated this community. No important archbishop served at York until the consecration of St Wilfrid in 664.

14 David Talbot Rice, *English Art: 871–1100*, vol. 2, *The Oxford History of English Art,* ed. T.S.R. Boase (Oxford, 1952), 30–5; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 47–53; Bede quoted by M.P. Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 61. Some of Bede's commentaries are available in English in Bede, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, trans. with commentary by W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool, 1999).

15 Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art*, 72–3; Max L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: 500–900* (Ithaca, NY, 1957), 150–1; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 45–6; Albert C. Baugh and Kemp Malone eds, *The Old English Period (to 1100)*, vol. 1, *A Literary History of England* (New York, 1948), 13.

16 Letha Smenton, "The Heritage of Timber Architecture in Anglo-Saxon Stone Churches". *Gesta* 1 (1963): 8–11 at 8; Edwin Smith, Graham Hutton, and Olive Cook, *English Parish Churches* (London, 1976), 15.

17 Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 12–13, 18; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 59–60; Smenton, "The Heritage of Timber Architecture", at 8; Maurice Barley, *Houses and History* (London, 1986), 16; Goodall, *Castle*, 24–7.

18 Talbot Rice, *English Arts*, 52 and pl. 2b; Smenton, "The Heritage of Timber Architecture", 8–9; P. d' A. Jones and E.N. Simons, *Story of the Saw* (London, 1961), 15–21; John Walker, "Late Twelfth & Early-Thirteenth-Century Aisled Buildings: A Comparison". *Vernacular Architecture* 30 (1999): 21–53, accessed 5 June 2013, www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/vea/1999/00000030/00000001/art00002.

19 John Goodall, "Patronage, Function, and Display: The Secular World", in *The History of British Art, 600–1600*, vol. 1, ed. Tim Ayers (London, 2008), 118; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture,* chap. 4; 72; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 44–6; Tim Eaton, "Old Ruins, New World". *British Archaeology* 60 (2001) British Archaeology, accessed 6 June 2013, http://www.archaeologyuk.org/ba/ba60/feat2.shtml.

20 The simple rectangular aisleless nave of St Martin's is 38 ft long (11.6 m). The flint and ragstone tower, lined with chalk block, is a fourteenth-century addition. McClendon, *Medieval Architecture,* 60; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 38; Geoffrey Fairbank Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, The Pelican History of Art, ed. Nicholas Pevsner (Baltimore, MD, 1956), 1–2. In 1011, the Danes sacked the Saxon cathedral at Canterbury. In 1067, a fire completely destroyed it. In the 1990s, when the flagstones in the nave of the cathedral were replaced, the Saxon foundations were discovered directly underneath. Kevin Blockley and Paul Bennett, "Canterbury Cathedral". *Canterbury's Archaeology* 17 (1993), accessed 5 June 2013, http://www.hillside.co.uk/arch/cathedral/nave.html; Kevin Blockley, "Canterbury Cathedral". *Current Archaeology* (September 1993), accessed 5 June 2013, http://www.archaeology.co.uk/ca/timeline/saxon/canterbury/canter.htm.

21 Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 54–7; Webb, *Architecture*, 4–5; Barley, *Houses*, 30, 111; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 73–86 and fig. 87; Peter F. Ryder, "Escomb Saxon Church Archaeological Assessment". (Diocese of Durham, 2005), 1–14; Smenton, "The Heritage of Timber Architecture", at 8; Nicholas Beddow, "Interpreting the Saxon Sundial at Escomb". *Journal of the Durham Archaeological Society* 7 (1991), 109–11; J.D. and M.A.Whitehead, *The Saxon Church at Escomb: A Guide for Pilgrims*, rev. ed. (Escomb, 1992).

22 Webb, *Architecture*, 4–5, 14; G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*

(London, 1903), vol. I, 175, accessed 6 June 2013, http://archive.org/stream/artsinearlyengla01brow#page/244/mode/2up; In 1997, York Archaeological Trust excavated beneath the central tower at Ripon and exposed the roof construction of the crypt. It measures 10 ft high and 7 ft wide (3 × 2 m). Roman-type stone ribs support a vaulted stone ceiling with the substantial mortar infill above. Bede writes that Wilfrid also built the Church of St Andrew at Hexham (*c.* 674) on a land grant from Queen Ætheldreda. Hexham had a modified basilical plan, with side aisles, outer side chambers (also called a porticus), galleries, and a crypt. At Hexham, the stones – some of which bear Roman inscriptions – were pillaged from Hadrian's Wall and the nearby Roman town at Corbridge.

23 Baldwin Brown, *Arts,* vol. I, 175; David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History*, rev. ed. (London, 2001), 33; Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 34; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons, ad passim*; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 29–33 and 66–7, 72; A.W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture, I, Before the Conquest* (Oxford, 1964), and Joan Taylor and Henry McCarter Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, 1965–78); Tim Eaton, "Old Ruins, New World"; and Tom Corfe, Hexham Abbey, "St Wilfred and his Church", accessed 16 February 2016, http://hexham-abbey.org.uk/heritage/wilfrid/.

24 Stephanie James, *Britannia*, "Monuments and Muniments: The Date of the Church of All Saints, Brixworth, Reconsidered". http://www.britannia.com/church/saxchurch/brixworth2.html; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 65–73; Webb, *Architecture*, 4–6 and fig. 4; 10; Eaton, "Old Ruins, New World", in n. 25; Ron Baxter, "*The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland: All Saints, Brixworth, Northamptonshire*", accessed 17 February 2016, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/230/; Edward C. Gilbert, "Brixworth and the English Basilica". *Art Bulletin* 47(1) (1965): 14–15; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 52 and 61. An ambulatory appears behind the altar to St Peter in the plan of St Gall (*c.* 830). Apses with ambulatories also appear in Charlemagne's Empire by 800, at the cathedral of Cologne and Saint-Maurice d'Agaune. McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, figs 165 and 163; Pope Honorius I (625–638) built an annular crypt over the catacombs at St Agnes outside the Walls.

25 Lionel Butler and Chris Given-Wilson, *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1983), 391.

26 Bede in Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 47; Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London, 1999), 9; Louise Hampson, *York Minster* (Norwich, 2005), 4–5.

27 Frederick Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages: AD 200–1500* (Chicago, IL, 1980),194; Lasitner, *Thought and Letters*, 179–83; F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), vol. 1, 174–6.

28 Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 65–73; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 87 (the original church of S. Denis was built 629–630) and figs 164–65; Gilbert, 14–15; Talbot Rice, *English Art*; Sara James Laster, "The Renascence of Classical Art and Form in the Carolingian Period," (MA thesis, Old Dominion University, 1983), 55–73. The Palace Chapel not only resembles Justinian's palace chapel, San Vitale at Ravenna (526–547), possibly designed as his mausoleum, but also Diocletian's mausoleum (*c.* 310, now the Cathedral of St Domnius) at Split, Croatia; Loren Carey MacKinney, "Pre-Gothic Architecture: A Mirror of the Social-Religious Renaissance of the Eleventh Century". *Speculum* 2(1) (1927): 11–32.

29 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953), 62; McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 60–3.

30 McClendon, *Medieval Architecture,* 168, cites St Paul's outside the Walls in Rome for a western cloister and notes the southern exposure of English cloisters. Old St Peter's basilica in Rome had transepts and a western atrium with buildings opening on to it. For the innovations of the plan of St Gall see Eric Fernie, "Romanesque Architecture", in *A Companion to Medieval Architecture,* Conrad Rudolph, ed., (Malden, MA, 2006), 300–2.

31 Rob Talbot and Robin Whiteman, *Brother Cadfael's Herb Garden: An Illustrated Companion to Medieval Plants and their Uses* (New York, 1997), 11.

32 For description, Bede cited by Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 57, 60–3. In 1503, Pope Julius II began the demolition of the fourth-century Constantinian basilica of St Peter's, which Biscop would have known, and initiated the construction of the present, larger building, finished over a century later. The typological decoration of the earlier church is known through literary sources. Of the original Anglo-Saxon buildings at Jarrow, founded *c*. 681–682, only the foundations remain. The present ruins date from the eleventh–sixteenth centuries; Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 47–53; McClendon, *Medieval Archaitecture*, 73; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 30–5;Webb, *Architecture*, 3–4 and figs 2, 7, 15.

33 Bede died in Jarrow and was buried there. In 1022, A Benedictine monk from Durham moved Bede's remains to Durham. Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 47–52; Sadgrove, *Durham Cathedral*, 36.

34 Libraries in Britain and those founded by British monks abroad assured the survival of classical literature and theological texts, and formed the foundation for the twelfth-century Renaissance in France and later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Renaissance in Italy. Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 7, 18–19, 22–3; Lesley Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), 3–5; Maurice Helin, *A History of Medieval Latin Literature*, rev. ed., trans. Jean Chapman Show (New York, 1949), 28; Artz, *Mind*, 194; Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 139–41; Cahill, *Irish*, 202–5.

35 Carl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: Book Illumination in the British Isles 600–800* (New York, 1977), 11–15; Dorothy E. Miner, *The Development of Medieval Illumination as Related to the Evolution of Book Design* (Baltimore, MD, 1958) 5–8; Jane Geddes, "Ideas and Images in Britain: 600–1600", in *The History of British Art: 6000–1600,* vol. 1, ed. Tim Ayers (London, 2008), 27.

36 Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 62. The Durham Gospel and the Echternach Gospel may be the product of the same artist, called the Durham-Echternach Calligrapher. Nordenfalk adds that the same scribe probably produced the Lindisfarne Gospel, which is slightly later.

37 The scribe could be the same one who executed the Durham Gospel fragments, although the script is also close to the insular majuscule used by Eadfrith, who made the Lindisfarne Gospel. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting,* 15–16; 60–2; Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels,* 49. Peter Metz, *The Golden Gospels of Echternach (Codex Aureus Eptnarcensis),* trans. Ilse Schrier and Peter Gorge (New York, 1958); Ernst Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art with Illustrations from the British Museum and Library Collections* (London, 1983), 47–9; Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 20–1.

38 Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 38–84, 220–7 and fig. 91, gives detailed information about the origins of the book; Michelle P. Brown, "Exhibiting the Lindisfarne Gospels". *History Today* 53(5), accessed 5 June 2013, http://www.historytoday.com/michelle-brown/exhibiting-lindisfarne-gospels; Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page* (Toronto, 1997), 11 and 15, dates the

manuscript slightly earlier, *c.* 698. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 16 and 60–8; Sadgrove, *Durham Cathedral*, 46; Interestingly, the handling of metalpoint concurs with the fourteenth-century written directives given by Cennino Cennini in his handbook on painting. Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook "Il Libro dell'Arte*," trans. Daniel Thompson, Jr (New York, 1960), 7, 17.

39 Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 108–24; Paul Meyvaert, "The Book of Kells and Iona". *Art Bulletin* 71(1) (1989): 6–19. These drawings appear on folios 213r and 188v, respectively. For patterns in literature see McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, *Story of English*, 62–4.

40 I have found this poem (which I have shortened here) cited in several places. This translation by Robin Flower is the most poetic. *The Scholar and his Cat* accessed 7 January 2014, http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/pangur-ban.html. The origin is disputed. Some scholars attribute it to a student at the monastery of Carinthia writing on a copy of St Paul's Epistles. Others attribute it to St Gallen. Still others say that it appeared in the margins of a commentary on Virgil. See Cahill, *Irish*, 162–3.

41 E.M. Makepeace, "The 1,300 Year Pilgrimage of the Codex Amiatinus: A Northumbrian Manuscript in a Florentine Library Florence," 1997, accessed 9 July 2004, http://www.umilta.net/pandect.html; André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting: From the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1958), 119; Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 24–5 and 62; Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 155; Miner, *Medieval Illumination*, 5; Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art*, 47–9; Artz, *Mind*, 194; Lasitner, *Thought and Letters*, 179–83; Raby, *History*, vol. 1, 174–6. When Cassiodorus (*c.* 485–580) retired from public life, he established a monastery at Vivarium in southern Italy and commissioned the *Codex Grandior*, a copy of which Ceolfrith (*c.* 642–716) brought back from Rome to Jarrow.

42 The name "Tiberius Group" comes from the bust of Tiberius that stood atop the bookcase of the previous owner of this manuscript, Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631). Michelle P. Brown, "An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Ornament," at Fathom Archive (Columbia University), accessed 6 June 2013, http://archive.is/XICG; Michelle P. Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age* (London: British Library, 2007); Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, 94–5. Cotton had begun to build a library of manuscripts and other antiques by 1589. His gift of a dozen manuscripts forms the core of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University (1602–1603); his heirs made the first major gift of his books and antiques and the British Library (1753), but the collection had been diminished by a fire in 1731 at Ashmolean House in Westminster. Unfortunately, from the beginning Cotton casually loaned books to friends, some of which they never returned, including Claudius C.VIII, now called the Utrecht Psalter, in Utrecht. He altered his books by cropping pages, redistributing texts, removing and discarding end leaves and bindings, which eliminated much provenance material and other valuable information. He housed his books in presses above which stood the busts of The Twelve Caesars about whom Suetonius wrote (*De vita Caesarum*, 121 CE) and two imperial women (Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Cleopatra, and Faustina), a system that still holds for identifying the manuscripts. Colin Tite and the British Library staff are only now beginning to tackle modern cataloguing of the collection. Colin G.C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation,*

Cataloguing, Use (London, 2003); British Library: Help for Researchers, "Cotton Manuscripts," accessed 8 November 2013, http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/cottonmss/cottonmss.html.

43 Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 59–60; Illustrated on p. 59c and figs 19 and 11; Bristol Cathedral, "History", accessed 5 June 2013, http://www.bristol-cathedral.co.uk/.

44 Some scholars suggest that since many towers, castles, and churches are known to have been built of timber frame, the raised exterior of shafts and strapwork in rectangular and crisscross patterns imitate Saxon timber frame construction. Smenton, "The Heritage of Timber Architecture", 10; Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 123 and chap. 6, n. 2, p. 239; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 53, 66, pl. 1. However, other scholars point out that since the straps reach deeply into the walls, the source could be Roman, with the purpose of giving extra support to the rubble walls. Fernie, *Norman*, 16–18; *Anglo-Saxon*, 143–5.

45 George Zarnecki, "Como and the Book of Durrow" in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley eds, (London, 1990), 35–45.

46 Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnston, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England 1500–1750* (New Haven and London, 2009), 17.

47 James P. Carley, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: Study of John of Glastonbury's "Cronica Sive Antiquatates Glastoniensis Ecclesie"*. Trans. David Townsend (Woodbridge, 2008), 131 and *ad passim*; MacKinney, "Pre-Gothic Architecture", 17; Baldwin Brown, *Arts* vol. 1, 245–7 and vol. 2, 331–43.

48 Fernie, *Norman*, pl. 17, pp. 16–17; 104; Kevin Blockley, "1000 Canterbury Cathedral," *Current Archaeology* 136, accessed 5 June 2013, http://www.archaeology.co.uk/the-timeline-of-britain/canterbury-cathedral.htm.

49 Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 66; Webb, *Architecture*, 19–20 and fig. 11; Olive Cook in Smith, Hutton and Cook, *English Parish Churches,* 20.

50 Fernie, *Anglo-Saxon*, 147–51 gives enormous detail about the architecture and the dating controversy. Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 59, 64, 66, and 74 and pl. 2a. For geometry, see Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, 17.

51 Schofield, *The Building of London*, 15–20.

52 Backhouse, *Illuminated Page*, 12–13; 20–1, pl. 8; Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art*, 73–7; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 175–6; 181–5.

53 Sarah J. Biggs, "'More Unique Than Most:' the Benedictional of St Æthelwold," accessed 10 February 2014, British Library Blog, http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2014/02/more-unique-than-most-the-benedictional-of-st-%C3%A6thelwold.html#sthash.FfK0m3uj.dpuf; Brown, "An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Ornament,", Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age*; Backhouse, *Illuminated Page*, 22–3, pl. 10; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 185–9. The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, Rossano Gospels: fol. 11, sixth century, Museo diocesano (Rossano, Italy); Scenes from Holy Week and the Passion of Christ; illumination, fol. 125r, [Cod. 286] the Gospels of Saint Augustine, sixth century, Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge; The composition later appears in mosaic in the Palatine Chapel, twelfth-century Norman Palace, Palermo, Sicily.

Chapter 2

PROPAGANDA AND POWER, INNOVATION AND INFLUENCE: NORMAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE BEFORE AND AFTER THE CONQUEST … EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND THE NORMAN KINGS, 1042–1154

Romanesque architecture enters England from Normandy by a direct and easily traceable conduit: the royalty. In addition to usurping the government, William the Conqueror supplants the relatively modest English buildings with imposing ones in his native architectural style, using them as statements of his presence, his power – both civil and ecclesiastical – and his permanence. However, the Norman-English collaboration would transform the style. In fact, the most costly and the most experimental Norman Romanesque buildings would emerge in England, exceeding anything on the continent. For example, by 1100, the Norman cathedral at Winchester boasted the longest nave in Western Europe; the Cathedral at Canterbury displayed the finest windows; builders at Durham Cathedral developed daring vaulting in the nave that laid the foundation for Gothic groin vaulting and flying buttresses; the Tower of London featured the largest keep; and the Great Hall at Westminster Palace was the largest, widest, and tallest secular space in Europe. In the end, the Norman builders probably used as much cut stone as the Ancient Egyptians had for the pyramids for the greatest architectural campaign between the Romans and the Victorians, and made the greatest per capita investment England would see until the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century.[1]

Even before the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, Romanesque art and architecture had trickled across the Channel. Prince Edward (*c.* 1003–1066), second son of Saxon King Æthelred the Unready and his Norman wife Emma, and heir to the Saxon line, witnessed the new Romanesque style and other aspects of Norman culture during his 24-year exile at the Norman court in Rouen. Edward's intense piety drew him closer to the development of art and architecture than a more traditional prince, who might have spent his youth sporting in tournaments or practicing soldiery. Edward's mentors, including Robert Champart, abbot of Jumièges, and his uncle Robert, the Archbishop of Rouen, commissioned and supervised some of the most innovative buildings of their age.[2] In 1042, Edward succeeded his

Danish half-brother Hardicnut to the English throne, bringing Norman diplomats and churchmen to England, along with Norman ideas about art and architecture. Ironically, since he spent his youth in exile under the tutelage of such influential Norman mentors, Edward was less English than his Danish half-brother.

Under King Edward, Anglo-Saxon and Danish ideas melded with Norman ones, which would facilitate the transition in government as well as in art under the Norman conquerors nearly a quarter century later. At his death in January 1066, Edward, by leaving ambiguous and conflicting directives for the succession to the throne, left the door open for the contest between the Anglo-Danish royal line and the Normans that would end in the Norman Conquest, led by his illegitimate cousin, William of Normandy.

Pre-conquest Romanesque architecture: the origins of the style

By the passing of the millennium, throughout Europe barbarian invasions had lessened. In 911, in order to bring peace, the Frankish king, Charles III (the Simple), reluctantly ceded Normandy to the Viking ruler Rollo, an ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy. The more secure environment, monastic reform, and cooperative spirit, helped stimulate economic prosperity, which spilled over into art, sculpture, learning, and especially into architecture. Attention turned to the repair of the buildings that the Vikings had ransacked and the building of new ones.[3] In England, construction increased just before the Norman Conquest in 1066 and surged afterwards. Flemish Chronicler Goscelin of Saint-Bertin or Goscelin of Canterbury (*c.*1030–*c.*1107) verifies the upsurge. He wrote that in 1050, Bishop Herman of Ramsbury, upon visiting Pope Leo IX, reported that new churches were being built throughout the country, and "… about the distribution of innumerable ornaments and bells in oratories; about the most ample liberality of kings and rich men for the inheritance of Christ".[4] The more famous French chronicler and Cluniac monk Raoul Glauber (985–1047) implies similar enthusiasm in his *Historium*, written at the bidding of his abbot, William of Volpiano (962–1031):

> Just before the third year after the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy. But it seemed as though each Christian community was aiming to surpass all the others in the splendour of construction. It was as if the whole world

> were shaking itself free, shrugging off the past and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.[5]

Glauber may overstate his case, as architectural evidence at Mont Saint-Michel and Saint-Pierre at Jumièges demonstrate. However, his forward-thinking, positive outlook stands in sharp contrast to the pessimism of earlier Christian writers, who fervently clung to the golden ages of the past with a fatalistic eschatological view of the future. In light of the revolution in artistic, technological, and building practices of the eleventh through the twelfth centuries, his optimism at the dawn of a new millennium is almost prophetic.[6]

The construction of large stone buildings using both barrel and groin vaults to cover the roof of large spaces with a minimum of intervening interior supports inspires the greatest technological contributions of the Romanesque age. Builders base their practices on ancient Roman and German Imperial methods. Large ashlar cuboid blocks were laid in tidy straight courses with intermittent courses of banding. Much of the stone used in England, especially in the south, came from near Caen in Normandy.[7] Romanesque architecture, strong, functional, and majestic, was as much an expression of urban and monastic pride as it was an expression of spiritual piety, with each entity attempting to exceed the accomplishments of another.

Glauber's white mantle of the church could refer to more than the white stones of buildings; the metaphor also fits with the white undyed wool mantles of the early Benedictines (who later wore black habits), whose monastic and liturgical reforms stimulate a considerable part of the church building. Like the ordered society that commissioned them and the religious rituals that inspired them, Norman Romanesque buildings reflect systematic structure, hierarchy, and balance, with clearly delineated components; yet all parts work cooperatively to form a handsome and harmonious whole. Robert Grosseteste, a thirteenth-century bishop of Lincoln, beautifully articulates the aesthetic saying, "For beauty is a concordance and fittingness of a thing to itself and of all the individual parts to themselves and to each other and to the whole, and that of the whole to all things".[8] Moreover, variations in the architectural form, usually dictated by functional needs, make a public statement of institutional identity.

Plan of the Norman Romanesque church

The plan of the typical Norman church reflects that of a standard Roman basilica (a rectangular audience hall), including side aisles, which the Anglo-Saxons had usually omitted but larger Imperial architecture had adopted. Churches typically are sited with the short ends on an east-west axis, with the altar in the east and the entrance at the west end, which they articulated. A pair of facing arcades of columns or piers supports the tall nave. Round-headed windows line the aisles. Above the arcade are a gallery (narrow balcony opening flush with the wall) and a clerestory with windows near the ceiling to add light. The Norman builders included a transept, or arms at the head of the nave, and a tower where nave and transept crossed, a component for additional light initiated by the Anglo-Saxons and followed by the Imperial builders. Romanesque transepts often hold chapels on the eastern side and doors at the ends to facilitate entry and exit, especially at pilgrimage sites. The capitals of columns, usually cushion-shaped (beveled edge or chamfered so that the sides are flat), exhibit some of the first sculptural ornamentation since Roman times, first decorative, followed quickly by figurative and narrative, to teach the illiterate masses the stories. Beyond the crossing, on the same axis as the nave, is the sanctuary or presbytery, as the English sometimes call it, which holds the choir stalls and altar. Some churches end with a rounded apse; in others, aisles run parallel to the slightly shorter apsed ends, making the east end echelon-shaped (that is, the longer center apse flanked by two shorter, narrower ones). Some, as is more common in France, have horseshoe-shaped ambulatory aisles curving around the apse with radiating chapels that branched off to the east. The ambulatory passage allows liturgical processions to circumambulate the building and gives pilgrims convenient access to relics.[9]

The English stand at the forefront of the most daring modification of the age: using stone groin vaults, or cross vaults, to form ceilings as the Romans had done, rather than barrel vaults or wooden trusses, although wood does not disappear. The shift to groin vaulting occurs first in the square bays, or sections, of the side aisles. The taller, wider nave presents a greater challenge, causing builders to experiment with groin vaulting techniques, as they do Durham. Stone groin vaulting not only facilitates daring heights and greater light, but it also improves acoustics and the clear resonation of the liturgical music throughout the building.

The west façades of Norman Romanesque churches typically project a visual and ceremonial focus, with windows, arched openings, stringcourse divisions, and imposing twin towers. Sometimes lower pairs of towers stand at transept entrances. Usually three doorways give entry: a large central doorway flanked by two lower ones. The archivolts (concentric decorative arches around openings) and tympana (half-circle-shaped spaces above doorways) first display geometric designs and later, figurative sculpture. Along the exterior walls, small, salient buttresses (solid support walls perpendicular to the building) between windows mark the bay division of the interior. Engineering feats accomplished in France, evident at Jumièges and Mont Saint-Michel, transfer to Romanesque buildings in England.

Prototypes in Normandy

The arrival and spread of Norman architectural practices in England begins with royal patronage. Two new Romanesque buildings could not have escaped the notice of Prince Edward. First, his uncle, Archbishop of Rouen Robert, Count d'Évereux (term: 989–1037), had begun the rebuilding of Rouen Cathedral, which the Vikings had ransacked. Although Robert initiated the project late in his episcopate and left it incomplete (it was consecrated in 1063), Edward would have witnessed the formative years of its construction in the new Romanesque style, with an ambulatory and three radiating chapels. Little of the Romanesque building survives except a crypt.

Prince Edward also developed a friendship with Benedictine abbot Robert Champart (d. 1053–55) and knew, or at least knew of, the aforementioned zealous Cluniac reformer and builder, William of Volpiano. More survives from Champart's and William's French buildings than from Archbishop Robert's, including the now ruined Abbey of Notre-Dame at Jumièges (1040–1066) and the Abbey of Mont Saint-Michel (1023–1058), for which William was the builder.[10] These Norman buildings, larger and more refined than their predecessors, with precision-cut stone walls, arched colonnades supporting the walls, and nave with side aisles, are the most sophisticated buildings in existence on the eve of the Norman Conquest. The size, engineering, increased light, improved fire-resistance, and the majestic system of aesthetics would characterize English churches for decades to come.

The taller walls, especially when the roofs changes from wood to stone vaulting, inspired the builders to develop new supportive devices. The Abbey Church of Mont St Michel, which sits on an island in the English Channel off the coast of Normandy, contains the first known use of a brilliant, discreet supportive device called *oversailing*. Applied at the clerestory level, oversailing involves building a narrow, low, barrel vaulted through passage at the top of the thick wall above the gallery. This clever device not only provides a practical high, though precarious, passageway to the upper level, but also it helps to thrust the weight of the vaults to the outer walls and the salient buttresses, which reduces the pressure on the piers below. Oversailing also contributes to the interior light and beauty of the buildings. In the center of each bay, or section between the piers and transverse arches of the vaults, is at least one window – sometimes three. In front of the window, triple arches supported by pairs of columns allow the light from the window to enter the nave. Thus, oversailing creates a lively alternating rhythm of low and high arches and an ever-changing play of light and shadow. This major innovation in engineering is one of the few techniques to evolve before the twelfth century that the Romans did not practice, and one that English builders would use not only in churches, but also in castles. English builders would not only embrace oversailing, but they would continue to use it long after the French abandoned it.

Pre-conquest Norman architecture in England

Westminster Abbey

Within a decade after King Edward arrived at Westminster from Winchester, where he had been crowned and married, he rebuilt the Benedictine abbey church, the adjoining monastery, and the royal palace in the monumental Romanesque style. William of Malmesbury, a Norman chronicler writing in the 1120s, noted the new method of stone construction and that the new style began in England with the royal abbey at Westminster.[11] Another chronicler notes in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* that the king re-founded the abbey and dedicated it to St Peter in lieu of making a pilgrimage to St Peter's in Rome. The stately abbey would not only serve as an administrative center, but also a as royal mausoleum, for Edward planned it to house his tomb, rather than to continue the Anglo-Saxon tradition of royal burial at Winchester.[12] Another distinguishing feature of Westminster Abbey was that by razing and rebuilding the complex, a rare decision in England, Edward embraced continental practices rather than the Saxon custom of respecting the historic core of a church by adding to them. The Saxon custom, however, prevailed in most other English ecclesiastical building projects, as history and archaeology will prove. The first cruciform-planned church in England, with a nave of 202.8 ft (61.8 m) and overall external length of 328 ft (100 m), Westminster Abbey exceeded all existing English churches and most on the continent, gave an aura of majesty and authority to both the king and the church, and confirmed the preeminence of Edward's capital at Westminster.[13]

Edward seems to have made the decision to rebuild the abbey church by 1051. It was consecrated on December 28, 1065, indicating that the completed construction included at least the choir; perhaps more, as the Bayeux tapestry indicates. The next week, on 5 January, 1066, Edward, called the Confessor because of his piety, died with no issue and no obvious heir. The following morning, he was buried at the high altar; the same afternoon Harold Godwinson, Edward's brother-in-law, was crowned in the same abbey.[14] These events set the stage for the Norman Conquest the following autumn.

Little remains of Edward's original abbey church, since in 1245 Henry III demolished it to construct a new Gothic building. Norman masonry remains in the rounded arches and massive supporting columns of the undercroft in the cloister; excavations have revealed column bases under the west end of the nave, the choir, and in an arc beneath the pavement of St Edward the Confessor's chapel. The Norman nave appears to have been twelve bays long, with supports that alternated; the east end had two bays, ending in a three-part echelon apse. The representation of the abbey church in the Bayeux Tapestry and the description in the *Vita Ædwardi* indicate it resembled the abbey church at Jumièges with stone block construction, a high nave arcade supported by massive alternating supports, clerestory windows, a tall crossing tower, transepts, and a leaden roof supported by wooden trusses above the vaults. Jumièges, in fact, may be the building closest to Westminster in size, plan, and appearance.[15]

The Norman Conquest

The Battle of Hastings in the year 1066 rings in every English schoolchild's head as the most decisive moment in English history. Some revisionist historians maintain that this major political upheaval, the last conquest of England by foreign invaders, was less noteworthy in other areas of English life. They emphasize the contributions and continuities of the former Saxon order in strong central government and social structure. However, in architecture, learning, and art, much truth remains in the older point of view. Although King Edward had introduced the Norman style, it was just that: a foreign import announcing the presence of the pious Francophile Anglo-Saxon heir and king. William I, however, initiates a surge of building, especially castles and cathedrals, to stake his claim. Had the Conquest not happened, the Norman Romanesque style undoubtedly would have continued to make its way into England, albeit more slowly, less systematically, and less pervasively, leaving more Saxon buildings intact.

The Bayeux Tapestry as a source of history

A unique source for events surrounding the Norman Conquest is the Bayeux Tapestry (Fig. 2.1), which is not actually a tapestry, but wool embroidery on linen, 231 feet × 20 inches (70.4 m. × 50.8 cm.). Archbishop Odo, half-brother of William I, commissioned the work, apparently from Anglo-Saxon needlewomen in Kent. This sole surviving example of English ingenuity with needlework, is one of a large group of embroidered wall hangings, known today only through secondary sources. The needlework of English women will continue to flourish and eventually will take the lead in European textile arts. The style of the Bayeux Tapestry reflects the style of contemporary Romanesque murals, manuscript illuminations and sculpture: a fascination with shapes, planes of color, textures, and simple outlines with no cast shadows. Periodically in the continuous narrative on the tapestry, an architectural structure separates scenes. Throughout, the shallow space contains intense action, done in pantomime, with stacking and overlapping of images to indicate depth.

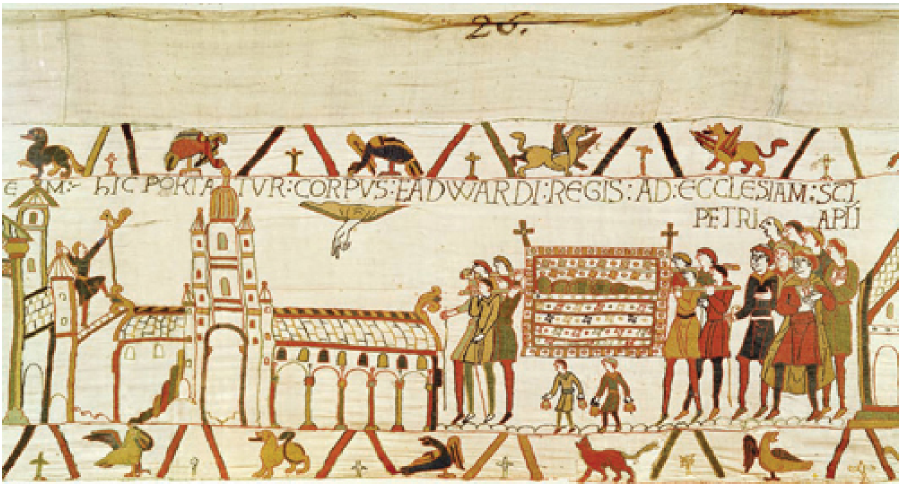


*Fig. 2.1 The body of Edward the Confessor (*c*. 1003–1066) is carried to the Church of St Peter the Apostle, detail, Bayeux Tapestry, before 1082 (wool embroidery on linen), Musée de la Tapisserie, Bayeux, France. Photograph: with special authorization of the city of Bayeux/© Bridgeman Images*

This unique art object also has value as a historical narrative, in spite of the fact that it has a distinctly Norman slant on the events leading up to and including the decisive Battle of Hastings. In the manner of an illustrated book, a simple Latin text accompanies the narrative to explain events, justify the military action, and authenticate William's claim to the throne. The narrative includes trips across the channel, Harold's visit to William in Normandy, and the death and funeral of King Edward the Confessor, which includes views of both Westminster Abbey as a Norman building and Westminster Hall. It continues with scenes of the preparation for the battle, the battle itself, and the death of Harold, the King of the Saxons. The tapestry gives a commentary on contemporary customs and culture as well as showing costumes, battle gear, ships, and buildings. The narrative fits between two decorative borders that sometimes contain sideline events, including the horrors of beheadings and stripping the enemy after battle, alongside charming and bawdy asides. Some scholars, who argue with those who focus on a Norman point of view, see a subtle subtext inserted by clever Saxon designers. Other scholars have noticed the paucity of women: six of the 626 human figures in the tapestry are women, with only three in the main field. They also note the prominent display of virile masculinity in the Norman stallions, spears, and armor, while the Anglo-Saxons ride mares or geldings and carry shorter spears.[16] In spite of the Norman bias, presumably demanded by the patron, the talents of the Anglo-Saxon women who stitched it emerge in the design, needlework and patterning. Needlework will continue to develop as an important art form in England.

Norman reorganization and Saxon assimilation

When the Normans conquered England, they assumed leadership of a larger and much wealthier country than their own duchy of Normandy. With an unprecedented speed that would not be equaled during the Middle Ages, and with an omnipresence not experienced since the Romans, they built huge architectural complexes in stone throughout the land, the likes of which the Anglo-Saxons had never seen, to emphasize the change of authority and Norman supremacy. The religious mission that William feigned as he conquered England under the papal banner carried over into his full takeover and reorganization of the Anglo-Saxon church. William moved rural episcopates to urban centers, built new, large cathedrals, and ousted the native bishops for loyal Normans. William embarked upon an ecclesiastical building campaign that would all but eradicate the native architecture – due more to pretentiousness and determination of the usurper than to the humble nature of the native traditions. Westminster Abbey, Edward’s single Norman complex, was the only significant pre-Conquest church building that was not remodeled immediately afterwards.

Following the Conquest, the English, as always, assimilated the foreign style and traditions into their own culture and modified them to suit their needs and tastes. Certain Anglo-Saxon traditions did continue. In his effort to establish ecclesiastical control throughout England, William placed bishops at some of the more important monasteries, such as at Winchester and Ely, raising them to cathedral status, but, in the Saxon tradition, he allowed the monastic order (usually Benedictines) to remain at cathedral sites. The monastic cathedrals not only served the bishops as administrative centers, but also they continued to have a cloister, which usually sat on the south side of the abbey, tucked between the nave and transept, to take advantage of the sun. Off this squared walk were the functional buildings that served the chapter of monks, including living quarters, the chapter house where the monks met, and the refectory where they ate. The entire cathedral complex, which could also contain other outlying buildings, was enclosed within a walled area called a close, a distinctive feature of English cathedrals that rarely appears on the continent.

The aggressive Norman building campaign carried over into secular architecture. William built a system of defenses with massive stone castles at strategic locations, sometimes placed on former sites of Roman and/or Saxon forts. A century later, Edward I would extend what William had started. Most cities that had a Norman cathedral also had a Norman castle as a secular administrative center. Sometimes they adjoined, which reflected the union of church and state and William's dominion over each. These complexes might cause the demolition of huge areas of the former Saxon town and the rerouting of streets, as in Lincoln and Norwich.[17] Some castles served as royal residences, such as the Tower of London, Windsor, and Leeds; some were for the bishop, who also might be a civil administrator, as at Durham; and others served the new ruling class. No foreign power since the Romans had announced its presence in such a forthright manner. At William's death, an English subject could not travel far without seeing an announcement of Norman strength and staying power in massive, imposing stone architecture.

In the century following the millennium, Western European boundaries fluctuated as duchies changed hands countless times. The privileged continental nobility – princes, counts, dukes – conducted government with armies of their own, owed loyalty first to their leader rather than to the king, if, indeed, a king existed. English nobility, on the other hand, neither owned nor controlled armies and held less wealth, power, and independence than their continental counterparts. William, in taking charge of his conquered territory, embraced the native Saxon systems and customs for strong central government. In so doing, he built in England the strongest, most cohesive government in Europe.[18] With stable political conditions and the symbiotic relationship between the crown and Roman church, art, architecture, and learning could, and did, flourish in England.

Post-Conquest ecclesiastical Romanesque architecture in stone

Of the 20 Norman cathedrals remaining in England, 13 retain portions of their Norman construction. With the English propensity for adding on to or renovating churches, no cathedrals retain their purely Norman state. Cathedrals that began as Benedictine abbeys within the cities typically sat away from the town center, often tucked close to the old Roman walls. Such a location could present a challenge for adding administrative facilities to accommodate a bishop and his staff, especially evident at Lincoln, as will be apparent later. Although much has been lost to time, Canterbury and Westminster set a paradigm for others to model and surpass, including Winchester, St Albans, and Ely.

Christ Church Cathedral and Priory, Canterbury

Christ Church Cathedral and Priory at Canterbury, England's prime archbishopric and one of the first of William's churches, replaced the Anglo-Saxon complex that had burned in 1067. Construction of the new building began in 1070, the same year that King William appointed Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury. An Italian by birth and Norman by vocation, Lanfranc had advocated William's right to the throne to the pope and had accompanied William on his conquest of England. Lanfranc served as the prior of the monastery of Bec and then as abbot of Saint-Étienne at Caen, so naturally he looked to Saint-Étienne, then still under construction, as the model for Canterbury. Lanfranc's legacy to architecture was to build at Canterbury an abbey, the largest in England, and England's second largest Romanesque church, which was consecrated in 1077.

In September 1174, disaster would strike Canterbury again: fire would gut the Romanesque choir. However, vestiges of the post-1098 additions survive in the present building, including the north wall in the northwest transept, the eastern transept, stained glass windows, the crypt, a staircase leading down to the crypt. These remains offer insight into the original appearance of the building.

The decision in 1070 to demolish the remains of the Saxon core of England's mother church, which had a long and continuous history, goes against the grain of the Saxon tradition to preserve and incorporate the core of a pre-existing church. Rather, the suppression of the Saxon origins indicates the commitment the Norman authorities had to not only the more majestic and sonorous aesthetics of the Romanesque style but also the strong statement the imposing proportions made for the strength of the state and the church. Archaeological evidence indicates that this large and sumptuously decorated Norman building exceeded the length of the nave at Westminster Abbey, with nine bays resting on heavy piers and measuring 210 ft (64 m) in length, with a breadth of 72 ft (22 m), dimensions that closely matched those of Lanfranc's former abbey of Saint-Étienne, in Caen, Normandy. As at Saint-Étienne and Jumièges, the new cathedral had twin towers at the west end, a tower at the crossing, a transept of 172 ft (38.7 m), each with an east-facing apsidal chapel, and an echelon-shaped east end with a two-bay choir but no ambulatory. Groin vaults supported the masonry ceiling of the aisles; the nave ceiling was wooden. Based on the heads of the remaining windows in the clerestory, the height probably reached 63 ft (19.2 m).

Lanfranc's building inspired subsequent structures, but his legacy to English church administration endured even longer. He organized the English church and brought it into closer conformity with Rome. He reformed monastic rule, moved the trials of churchmen from secular to ecclesiastical courts, and enforced celibacy among the priests. Finally, invoking the special mission of Augustine and his having received his *pallium* (cloak of office) directly from the pope, Lanfranc succeeded in asserting the primacy of Canterbury over all of England, including the rival English archbishopric at York. On Easter 1072, a national council held at Winchester confirmed this primacy.

In 1093, Abbot Anselm of Bec succeeded Lanfranc. Between 1098 and 1130, Anselm, assisted by the enthusiastic monastic priors Ernulf (priorate 1096–1107) and Conrad (priorate 1108–1126), demolished the choir and apse of Lanfranc's building. Master mason Blitherus supervised the construction of a new crypt to support the new, grand, seven-bay, well-lit chevet (an apse containing a choir encircled by an ambulatory aisle with radiating chapels) eighteen steps above the floor level of the nave, which remained intact. Along the last bay of the choir, just before it began to curve into an apse, they added an eastern transept (Fig. 2.2), each with two small east-facing chapels with murals, and a small, square Chapel of St Thomas, honoring Thomas à Becket, at the tip of the east end (renamed Trinity Chapel in 1538). The proportions of the chevet reflected an overall plan of a Euclidian star hexagon. This 198 ft (60.4 m) extension virtually doubled the overall length of the cathedral, bringing it to 285 ft (87 m). Financed by loans raised through the Jews of Canterbury, the choir was finished under Prior Conrad and thus is known as both Anselm's Choir and Conrad's "Glorious Choir".[19] The lower parts of the outer walls of the "Glorious Choir" survive in the aisles of the present choir; Conrad's transept also survives.

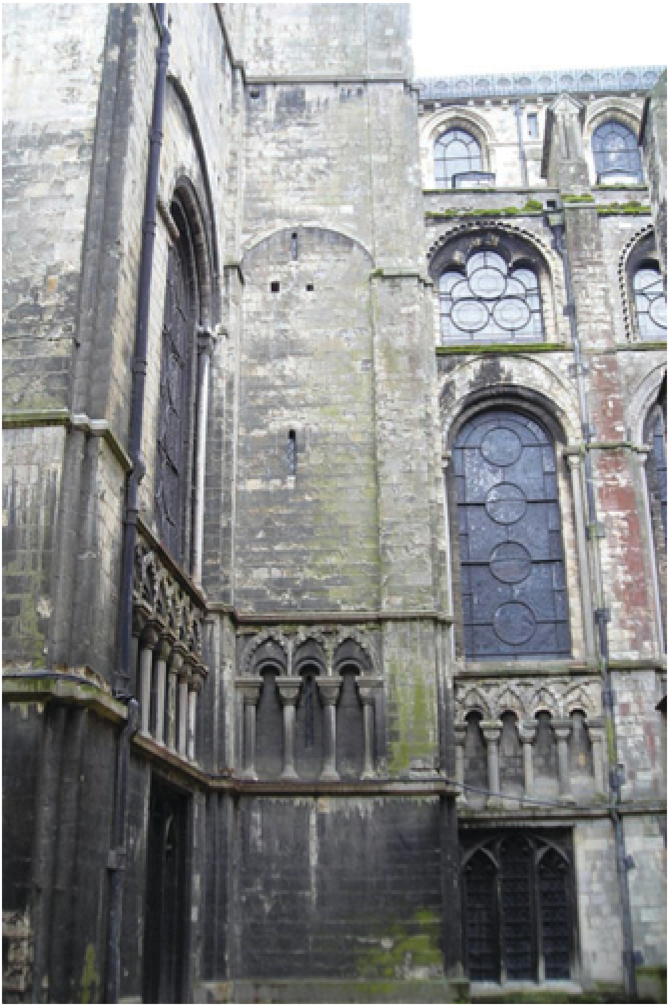


Fig. 2.2 Christ Church Cathedral, exterior, north aisle and north transept, 1070–1077, showing surviving Romanesque elements. Canterbury, Kent. Photograph: author

The new choir glistened with splendid decorations, including marble pavements, paintings, and stained glass windows, the large size of which represented a relatively new development. Recent conservation and accompanying research indicate that some of original stained glass windows in the clerestory of the choir remain intact, notably the monumental images of David, Nathan, Roboam, and Abia. Apparently, these windows formed a part of a program representing the ancestors of Christ, an idea that would be continued and expanded in the subsequent chevet. Research and the stylistic relationship to the murals in St Gabriel's Chapel in the crypt date these windows to *c*. 1155–1160, thus ranking them among the oldest painted stained glass not only in Britain, but in Europe – and the finest of this age. The splendor of the choir, moreover, reflects not only the famous directive of St Gregory the Great to incorporate images as aids to meditation, but more immediately, writings of St Anselm that advocate the spiritual value of engaging the senses in worship and meditation.[20]

The crypt – the largest in England – survives and gives important insight into the Norman choir. The remaining Norman walls of the choir and the massive Romanesque piers below, along with rounded Norman windows and other archaeological evidence, indicate that the basic plan of the choir duplicated that of the crypt (the western crypt in the present building). The groin-vaulted ambulatory encloses a horseshoe-shaped groin-vaulted space that serves as a chapel. A double row of columns down the center of the chapel gives additional support for the vaulting and the building above. The basic plan, less the center columns, resembles the Imperial Cathedral of Speyer in Germany, founded in 1030 by Emperor Conrad II and remodeled at the end of the eleventh century. German influence had been strong in late Saxon times.

In the crypt, a new form appears in the capitals of the columns, which serve as transitional forms between the angular springing of the arches and the round columns supporting them. Rather than the block-shaped capitals seen at Jumièges and elsewhere in France, these capitals are cushion-shaped – square at the top and rounded at the bottom, much like the shape of a shield. While the possibility exists of an independent innovation, these cushion capitals and similar ones in the crypt at nearby St Augustine's Abbey could be a carryover from late Saxon England or possibly a direct influence from Speyer. This decidedly non-French motif also could reveal that the master mason, Blitherus, was Flemish or Lotharingian rather than French or Saxon.[21] Regardless, the column shafts and cushion capitals provided fine places for the indigenous Anglo-Saxon *horror vacui* mindset to fill with linear designs. The shafts contain a variety of patterned decorations, such as spirals, scales, or diamonds, which will reoccur elsewhere, notably at York and Durham. The wide faces of the cushion capitals have deeply carved bilaterally symmetrical animal and vegetal motifs, once painted, which show the love of surface pattern, inventiveness, and a deliberate fanciful variation from the more austere continental models.

Each side of the transept in the crypt holds two east-facing chapels. Further east, off the ambulatory, stand two additional larger east-facing chapels with apses, which date to the time of Prior Ernulf. The northern one is dedicated to the Holy Innocents and the southern one to St Gabriel. Both chapels have plain engaged columns around the walls and a shallow apse with two arches that open into it, supported by central column with a decorated cushion capitol. The body of each chapel also has a central column. Prior Wilbert (priorate *c.* 1153–1167) probably added these columns *c.* 1155 for additional support when he heightened the towers above. The evidence for the later date of the columns lies in the decorative details, which resemble more closely the work done under Prior Wilbert. The central column in the Holy Innocents Chapel is incised in a right to left winding diagonal candy-stripe design; in St Gabriel Chapel, a similar diagonal pattern winds from right to left at the top, left to right at the bottom and crosses in the center with a diamond pattern. The four faces of the cushion capitals in each chapel have remarkable bilaterally symmetrical carved motifs with jugglers, beasts, and animals playing musical instruments. Remnants of a reddish earth tone paint appear in the background. Crypt embellishments under Wilbert extended to the entrances on the west end. He incised the walls with a square diamond-shaped pattern. The doorways have triple dogtooth (v-shaped, or chevron) patterns on the arches and carved capitals.

In the ambulatory of the cathedral, just east of the transept, Wilbert heightened the two east-facing chapels with ribbed groin vaulting, perhaps the first instance at Canterbury of adding ribs to the vaulting. On the northern side, the Chapel of St Andrew contains a blind arcade along the west wall, column clusters in the corners, and at the arched opening into the apse, remnants of mural decoration. During a recent renovation, restorers discovered bits of soot in crevices above the capitals, which they determined to be from the fire of 1174. The corresponding southern chapel also has a deep-set blind arcade with plain cushion capitols and a double head-to-head triangle pattern around the arches and in the border above. Some of the capitals in the chapel have stylized vegetal decoration.

On the exterior, the most notable Romanesque decorative devices are the towers of the east transept that Prior Wilbert heightened (*c.* 1155–1163) to gain access to the choir galleries. The exteriors of Wilbert's upper towers, pierced with arched openings, patterned reliefs, and a blind arcade, stand in strong contrast to the severity of Anselm's lower portions. On the west-facing exterior wall, the corner of each transept has staircase towers with richly carved patterns and

Norman arcades. In addition, a richly decorated blind arcade of *c.* 1096–1130, a horizontal band laid across the surface, divides the crypt from the church above. Later blind arcades, such as that inside Durham, will become richer, with overlapping rows of arches.[22]

To the north of the cathedral, rather than to the usual sunnier south, lay the monastic complex, situated around two cloisters. Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm had replaced the Saxon cloister with structures that conformed to Benedictine and diocesan administrative practices. Surviving from this period but in ruins are the outer wall of the Great Cloister and foundations of the undercroft of a dormitory that Lanfranc built to house 150 monks.

A half-century after Anselm, during the reigns of Henry II and Archbishops of Canterbury Theobald and Thomas à Becket, Prior Wilbert, a visionary and innovative leader, instituted several architectural projects that stemmed from his interests in hygiene, health, hospitality, law, liturgy, and learning. Farther north and west, Wilbert built two larger courts to serve administrative and practical functions. To replace Anselm's guest quarters building that ran 100 ft (30 m) along the west range of the Great Cloister, Wilbert added four hospitality buildings. Each building served a different social class, which tells posterity much about twelfth-century social segregation practices. He also built the largest Infirmary in England, complete with a chapel, a secure gated entrance to the treasury, an Almonry to serve the poor, and the Prior's Court Hall for newly initiated jurisprudence. The rectangular chapter house, which Wilbert built in 1170 (that later was reworked), remains the largest at any cathedral monastery in England.[23]

Such an extensive complex of buildings and the increasingly large population they served called for a greater water supply. The most novel contribution that Wilbert master-minded was the remarkable pressure-fed, piped water system that he began *c.* 1155 to replace wells from which the monks had drawn water by hand. The Eadwine Psalter that he also commissioned (*c.* 1155–1160; see Fig. 2.23) contains a unique diagram of Wilbert's drainage system and extensive waterworks, complete with spigots, fountains and fishponds, which ran some 3000 ft (915 m) from Horsefold Springs outside the city, on property of Archbishop Theobald, into the cathedral close (grounds).

The most visible survivor of the water system is the Water Tower, which stands in the east-most courtyard near the northeast transept of the cathedral (Fig. 2.3). It rests on eight buttressed outer piers that join a central cluster of four massive pillars by way of a sophisticated umbrella ribbed groin vaulting system. Each of the eight openings has dogtooth patterns around the outer arch and the recessed arched opening. The room above held a great brass basin with a fountain at its center where the monks could undertake their ritualistic washing before attending Mass. Wilbert not only had to consider the weight of the building and its occupants, but also the weight of the 500 lb (227 kg) basin filled with water. Wilbert's original tower stood only one story high; around 1400 Prior Chillenden heightened it, enlarged the windows, and covered it with a lead roof. Canterbury, from Prior Wilbert's time forward, had an ample supply of fresh water, which may have contributed to the miraculous healings that took place there. Amulets containing water would also play an important part in the healing cult of Thomas à Becket, which developed soon after his death in 1170.[24]

In addition to the monastic complex at the cathedral, St Augustine's earlier monastery, originally known as the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul, stood just beyond the city walls. It had three churches, a cloister, and dormitories. St Augustine's Abbey Church also underwent Norman remodeling, the first among many churches heavily influenced by innovations at nearby Christ Church Cathedral. It had double towers on the west, a crossing tower, a raised choir with ambulatory and chapels, and below, a large crypt.[25] Thus, on the eve of the 1174 fire, Canterbury had the largest and most sophisticated monastic complexes in England.

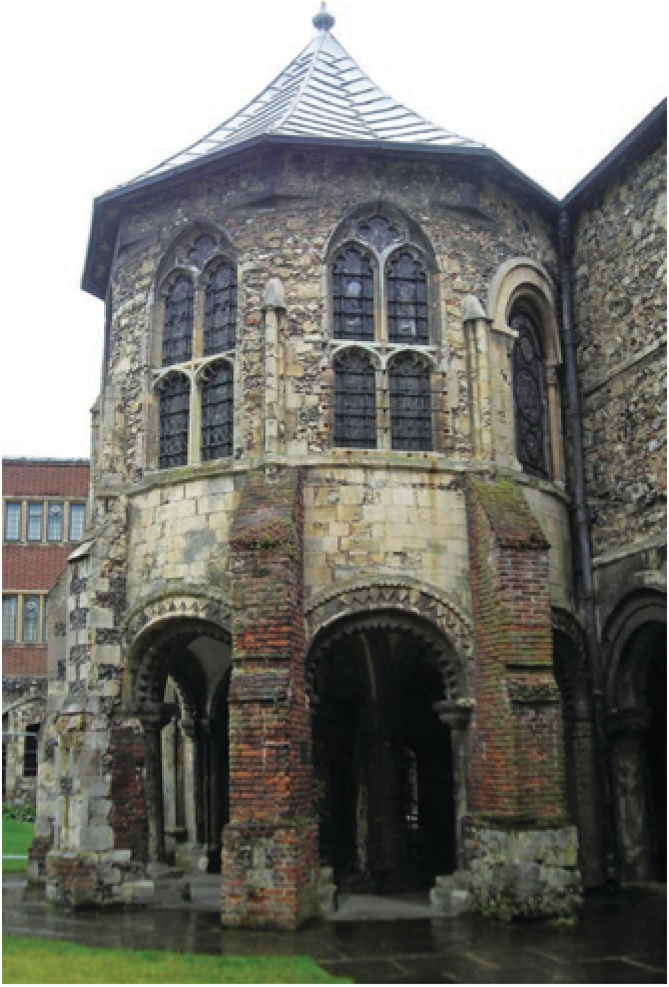


Fig. 2.3 Water tower, Cloister of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, Kent. Built in the 1160s under the direction of Prior Wilbert. Photograph: author

Winchester Cathedral

Winchester, like Canterbury, had served the Saxons as an important ceremonial center, making it worthy of being included in the post-Conquest building fervor. As the core of Alfred the Great's Wessex kingdom, the bishop of Winchester administered a diocese that stretched from the Thames near London to the Islands in the Channel. Begun in the same year as Canterbury, Winchester Cathedral retains more of its Norman character. The remaining vestiges offer insight into the lost Norman Romanesque appearances of Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey, and Westminster Abbey.

In 1079, Bishop Walkelin (bishop 1070–1098), the first Norman bishop in Winchester and a relative of King William's, demolished Old

Minster (the outline of which remains visible) and began the new Romanesque building just south of the old site, but with a slightly different alignment: Walkelin aligned his building with the street pattern. The new cathedral, with nave and transepts 85 ft (26 m) wide, walls 77 ft (23.5 m) high, and 535 ft (164 m) in length, was not only wider, higher, and twice as long as the previous cathedral, but was the largest church then in existence. Among contemporary buildings on the continent, only the Imperial churches at Mainz and Speyer in Germany and Old St Peter's in Rome began to approach, but did not exceed, these dimensions.

The crossing and transepts give a rare surviving example of early Romanesque architecture and represent the general appearance of the ceiling and elevation of the nave prior to Gothic recutting and vaulting. The wooden ceiling panels have a painted cruciform inspired design. Each section of the three-part elevation is clearly articulated and of equal height, although, like Mont Saint-Michel, without stringcourses to accentuate the horizontal divisions. The groin-vaulted aisles, the galleries and the clerestory encircle three sides of each transept. Piers with engaged colonnette clusters on the insides of the arches support the arcade. A windowless arched gallery, with a setback double-arched opening, rises above. At the top, small arcades in the clerestory alternate with the taller, triple lancet windows setback in the oversail. Corner towers were begun but never completed. In 1107, the central tower collapsed which prompted its rebuilding with stronger crossing piers.[26]

The Romanesque crypt still stretches beneath the entire eastern end, supported by heavy columns and ribbed groin vaulting. This structure, with a horseshoe-shaped, four-bay area beyond the crossing surrounded by an ambulatory with a squared end and rounded apse beyond, reflects the layout of the original eastern end of the cathedral. Although the nave was extended in the fourteenth century and little remains of the original eastern end, which was enlarged in the late twelfth century, what remains in the nave arcade and transepts shows that the Romanesque Cathedral of Winchester provided a majestic setting for religious rites and royal rituals. The scale and grandeur of this cathedral clearly demonstrated that William considered himself the peer of the German Holy Roman Emperors and their Roman predecessor, Constantine.

The Abbey Church of St Albans

The Benedictine Abbey Church of St Albans, Hertfordshire (later St Albans Cathedral) offers a rare example of Norman construction in brick (Fig. 2.4). The legend of St Alban, perhaps a third- or early fourth-century Christian convert and the first English martyr, located his death on the site where this church is built. According to Bede, writing in the eighth century, a beautiful Saxon church stood here near the Roman settlement of Verulamium, and the Saxon king Offa sponsored the Benedictine monastery there in 793. The rebuilding of this church in the eleventh century shows something of the power of saints in Norman England. By the eleventh century it may have fallen into disrepair, for the Saxon abbots had begun to collect building materials, especially bricks, from the nearby Verulamium. Paul of Caen, like Lanfranc, was Italian by birth, Norman by profession, and, as the first Norman abbot, English by vocation. Like his contemporaries, Abbot Paul favored rebuilding in the new Norman style, perhaps by necessity but also through snobbery and the desire to glorify of the new Norman rule: he called his Saxon predecessors "*rudes et idiotas*."

In 1077, when he began the church, Abbot Paul put the scavenged building materials to good use. The masonry technique of brick mixed with knapped flint on the exterior shows a refined sophistication. Abbot Paul, in fact, refers to "Robert the Mason" as being the best of his time. The outside aisle walls contain more flint than the walls at the clerestory level, but corners and window moldings throughout consist exclusively of brick. Salient buttresses between the windows on both the aisle and clerestory levels add support. Stringcourses divide the four-story brick tower. The three upper levels have arched openings trimmed in stone. Each face of the top level has a pair of tall rounded arches subdivided by brick piers that support tympana with a triangular pattern; on the next, shorter level, each face has two pairs of arches divided by stone columns with engaged columns supporting the inner arches. Inset windows stand at the lowest level. Little exterior squinches at each corner below the eaves join the tower to the walls. The original appearance of the façade remains uncertain, since in 1195, the nave was extended by three bays. It may have resembled the north transept, with a round window, probably the traditional triple doorway, and twin towers extending higher above the gable. The original windows in the aisles were recessed and had brick moldings.

Inside, the nave of ten bays measures 75 ft (23 m) wide and 62 ft (19 m) high (Fig. 2.5). Beyond the crossing and tower, which has windows and a gallery below, are a choir, which was about two-thirds as long as the nave, an ambulatory, and transepts, each with two east-facing chapels. The plan reflects that of the Norman cathedral at

Canterbury, but St Albans is considerably larger, even exceeding the size of Santiago da Compostela in Spain, the undisputed major European pilgrimage site.

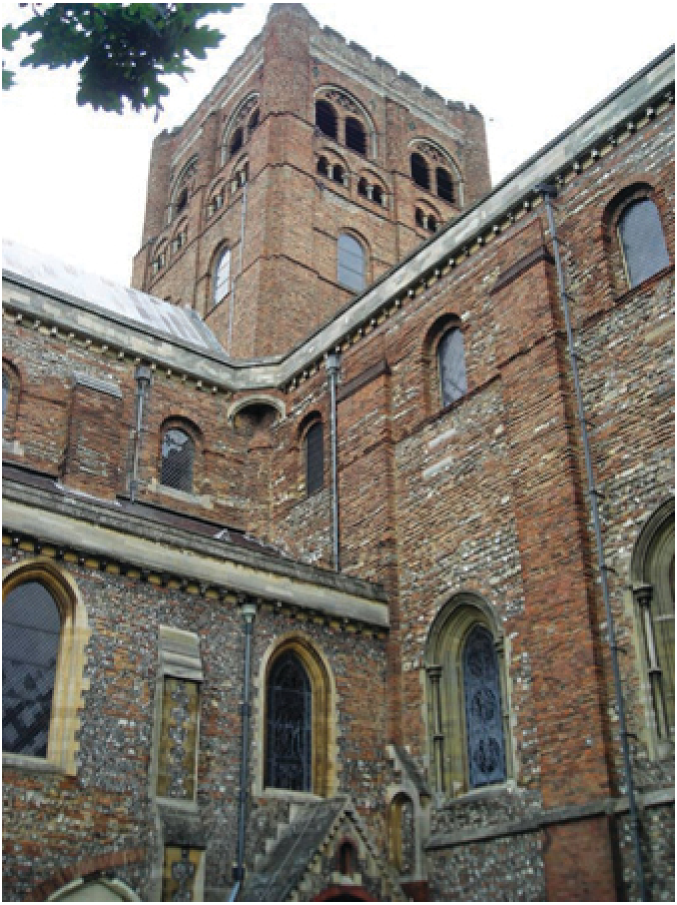


Fig. 2.4 St Albans Cathedral, Hertfordshire, exterior at crossing, 1077 ff. Photograph: author

The interior walls are of Roman brick, plastered and scored to imitate the appearance of stone, since the old brick was too hard and brittle to be carved, making architectural detail spare. The Norman elevation, which remains in the north nave, consists of a nave arcade resting on heavy piers, a gallery of nearly equal height, and a clerestory with oversailing and a passage. A solid wall separates the choir from aisles to give additional support, a feature that occurred in a few other Norman churches, including Lincoln Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. The screen in front of the choir, refurbished in the Gothic period and once filled with sculpture, has a pair of rounded wooden doors that the monks could only open from the inside. The ceiling is of wood in the nave and aisles, but groin vaulting in the aisles along the choir indicate that the eastern arm may have had a barrel vault. The support for such weight is certainly there.

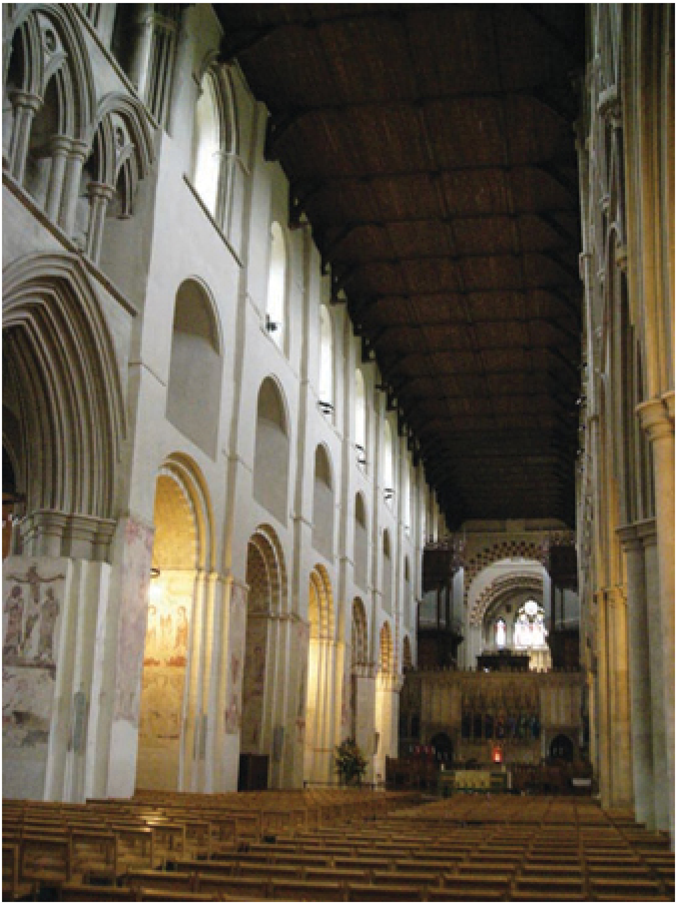


Fig. 2.5 St Albans Cathedral, Hertfordshire, interior of nave to west, 1077 ff. Photograph: author

In the absence of incised decoration, builders substituted painted embellishment at St Albans, which survives on the plastered surfaces of the arches. The earliest decorations, typical of early twelfth century, are geometric patterns that imitate stone carving – dogtooth, stripes, lozenges, and chevrons – on the underside of several of the Norman arches. The outer parts of the triple-recessed arches stripes painted in earth red and yellow pigments alternate with white. Some vertical surfaces have a black-on-white pattern. The two easternmost Norman piers have decorative bands of color.

The Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided

Trinity, Ely

Ely Cathedral, located on an island at the western edge of East Anglia in the flat, watery, but fertile area called The Fens (now drained), remains one of the great examples of English Norman Romanesque architecture (Fig. 2.6). It developed out of a double monastic house (men and women), founded in 673 by Etheldreda, Queen of Northumbria, who served as the first abbess. After her death of plague and the removal of her incorrupt body from the grounds of the monastery to the Saxon church, a cult of curing developed. In 870, the abbey suffered damage in a Danish raid. In 1081, King William appointed Simeon, an elderly relative, as abbot. He began renovations in the Norman style the east end and tower; by 1106, construction was completed. In 1109, Ely gained cathedral status, presiding over a diocese carved out of the diocese of Lincoln.

The Norman choir, which occupied the east end but no longer survives, had four bays with an echelon end that appeared square from the outside, but inside, while the flanking aisles remained flat-ended, the central portion had a rounded end with no ambulatory. The northeast transepts followed, then the nave, with square towers over the crossing and the entrance. By 1189, the southwestern transepts by the entrance were complete. The builders used limestone from Barnack near Stamford, brought to the site by water.

The plan of Ely Cathedral, with clear horizontal divisions, well-lighted nave and transepts, and delicate uniformity in the elevation, gives an open feeling of lateral spaciousness. Architecturally it is a successor to Winchester and anticipates engineering achievements to come at Durham.[27] The bays of the groin-vaulted aisles are half the width of the timber-truss nave, which later was covered with decorated panels. The 13 bay nave rests on an arcade of majestic piers with slender half-column responds reaching from floor to ceiling (Fig. 2.7). The double setbacks of the arches in the nave arcade and in the gallery alternate between large engaged columns and engaged colonnette clusters with flat, cushion capitals on either side. As at Winchester, the nave and transepts have a tripartite elevation, each level roughly equal in size. Unlike Winchester, which is dark at the gallery level, at Ely light comes through each part of the elevation. At the clerestory level, both Winchester and Ely have an outer gallery arch containing a recessed inner double arch supported by a central column. At the clerestory level, the oversail at Ely does not follow the usual form of alternating between a recessed window and a protruding low passage; instead, it is hidden behind a high, wide arch supported by delicate columns and flanked by two narrower arches that sit forward, as in the gallery. Ely sets a precedent for a harmonious, open clerestory. It also provides an early example of the English emphasis on horizontal divisions and uniformity, as opposed to the French emphasis on verticality. Delicate stringcourses that continue across the responds highlight these divisions. The refinements increase the grandeur and the dramatic play of light and shadow, in turn, enhances the mystery surrounding the rituals.

The massive late twelfth-century west front of Ely (less the Early Gothic Galilee porch), a rare Romanesque survivor, gives an early example of the English propensity for the wide, screen-like façade. Ely also clings to the Saxon tradition of the single projecting central tower (with Gothic alterations), which serves as the entrance. A transept once flanked the entrance tower, giving the original façade a long, low appearance; only the south side remains. A pair of rounded towers flanks the end of the transept with an apsed chapel lying next to the nave to the east. Several bands of blind arcades, distinctly separated by stringcourses, and intervening windows, emphasize the horizontal axis. Such strong horizontal emphasis and profuse surface decoration, which recalls the Anglo-Saxon love of pattern, would come to be a defining feature of English cathedrals.

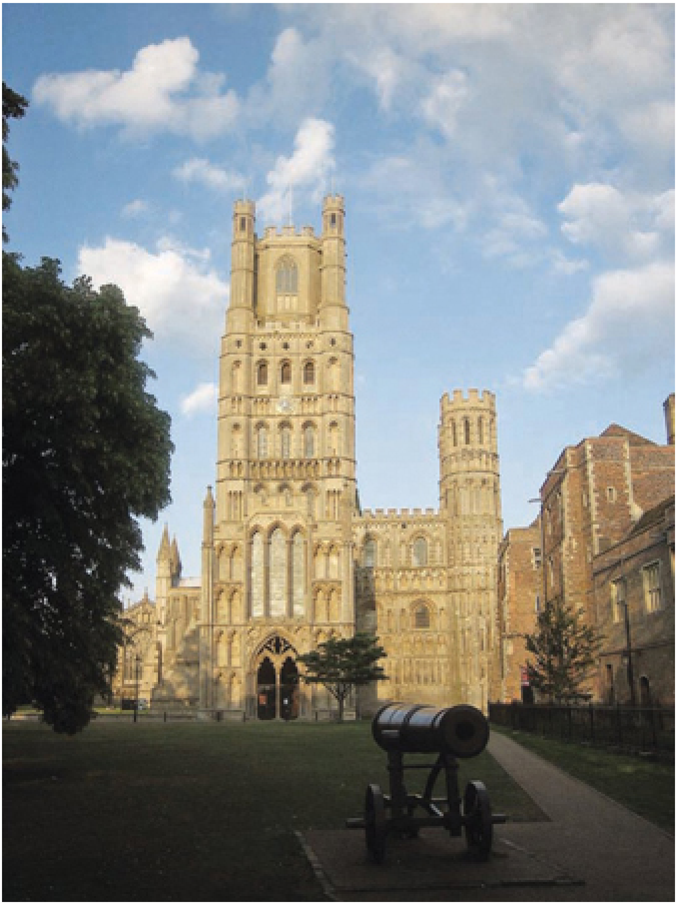


Fig. 2.6 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, west façade, 1081–1106, Photograph: author

Innovations on a Norman theme: cathedrals in the southwest and north of England

The veneer of Norman architecture, laid first in southern and eastern England, continued to spread westward and northward. Some of the best surviving examples and most daring innovations occur at Gloucester, Bristol, York Minster, and most notably, Durham Cathedral.

Abbey Church of St Peter at Gloucester

The Abbey Church of St Peter at Gloucester, in the West Country near Wales, represents a variation of Norman architecture distinctly different from eastern examples. Founded in 691, the church suffered devastating earthquake damage in 1089, after which the Norman Abbot Serlio (served 1072–1100), who had come from Mont Saint-Michel, began building a Romanesque building. The consecration in

1100 probably applied only to the choir and transepts. The nave, built in the early twelfth century, was consecrated in 1121. Parts of the twelfth-century construction survive in the crypt, nave, and chapter house. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the church underwent extensive Gothic renovation. After the Reformation, in 1541, the abbey at Gloucester was raised to cathedral status.

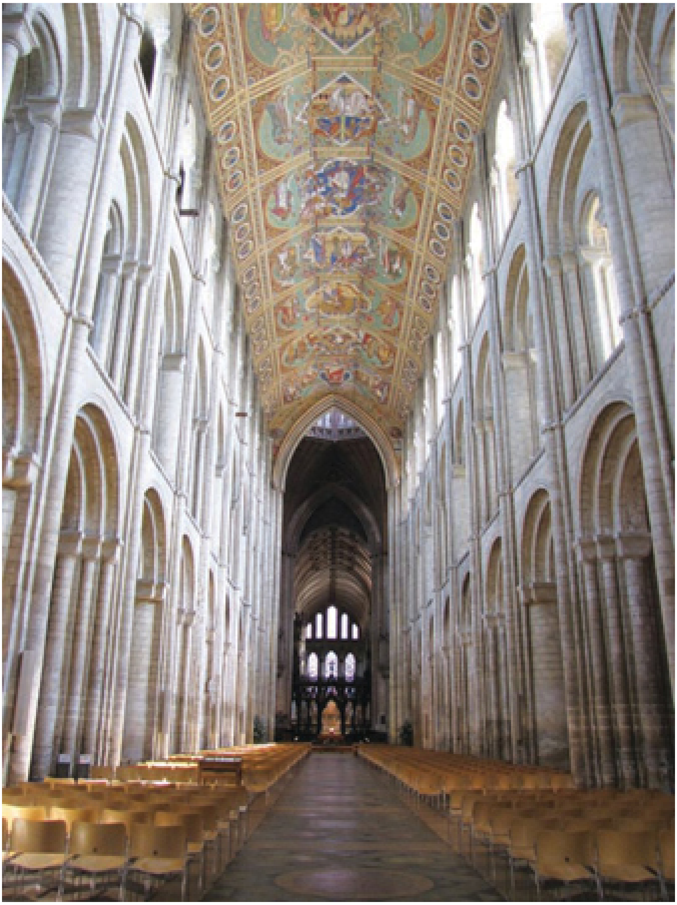


Fig. 2.7 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, interior from west, 1081–1106 (ceiling repainted in the nineteenth century). Photograph: author

The original plan of the church is apparent in the Norman crypt, which survives intact. The Norman choir, no longer intact, consisted of three full bays encircled by a groin vaulted ambulatory and three apsidal chapels. The transept had no aisles, but each arm had a vaulted, polygonal chapel on the east side. The combination of ambulatory, radiating chapels and a crypt recall Rouen and Mont Saint-Michel in France and four of William's English churches: St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury (1081), Worcester Cathedral (1084), Winchester Cathedral (1079), and Bury St Edmunds Abbey (1081); the elevation, however, is new.

In the nave at Gloucester, the majestic Norman columns and elevation of survive largely intact. Instead of an evenly spaced elevation, with nave arcade, gallery, and clerestory of similar height, the eight large arches rest on unadorned, massive cylindrical piers half as tall as the building (Fig. 2.8). Such a high arcade with massive, majestic columns is typical of buildings in the West Country. It occurs also at Tewkesbury Abbey. The love of surface decoration appears too. The three parallel setback archivolt bands around the arches above the columns have Norman dogtooth designs, as do the arches of the gallery and the stringcourses. The gallery, which is approximately one-quarter the height of the colonnade below, has two large arches for each bay of the nave, each divided into two smaller arches by a center column.

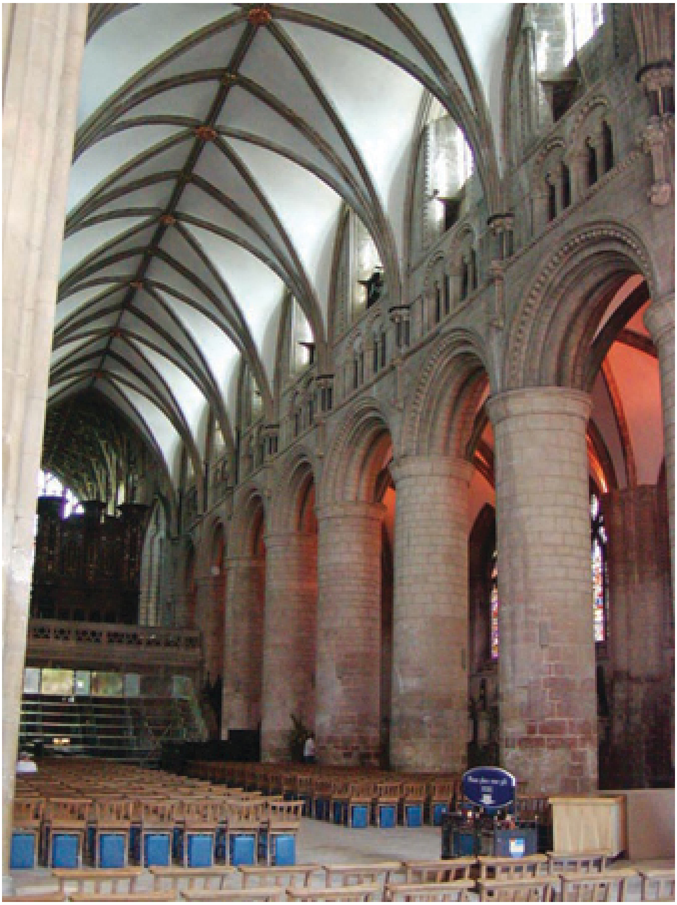


Fig. 2.8 Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucestershire, nave, 1100–1121. Photograph: author

Since a Gothic clerestory and Gothic groin vaulting system replaced the original clerestory and ceiling, the Romanesque intention for the ceiling in the nave is disputed. The thickness of the walls and the barrel vaulting in the galleries suggest that the nave was vaulted – or was intended to be. Once the walls were up, the builders may have feared risking the unknowns of stone construction, for a barrel vault with transverse arches adding support at the springing of the arches would have been precarious for such a broad space. To attempt to groin vault such a wide space presented a greater risk, as it was untried. At that point, the Norman builders may have decided to choose the safer alternative of wood.[28]

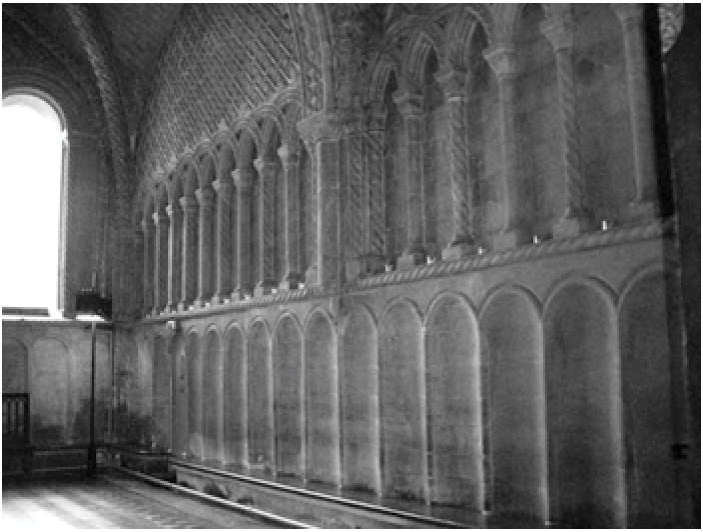


Fig. 2.9 Bristol Cathedral, Bristol, St Augustine's Abbey, Chapter House, 1150–1164. Photograph: author

St Augustine's Abbey Chapter House, Bristol

In 1148, Robert Fitzhardinge of nearby Berkeley Castle founded St Augustine's Abbey for Augustinian canons (rather than the usual Benedictine monks) high on a hill overlooking the important southwestern port city of Bristol. Little of the Romanesque church survives, but a few of the monastic buildings. Among them the chapter house, built between *c.* 1150 and 1164, is England's finest surviving Norman example (Fig. 2.9). Situated in the traditional place on the east side of the cloister on the south side of the church the chapter house is accessed through a glazed corridor. The rectangular space, which consists of two square quadripartite vaulted bays with a heavy transverse arch between, represents one of the widest groin vaulted spaces to date. A triple echelon window on the eastern wall admits strong morning light. The lower section of each side wall contains 20 round-headed recesses with benches below for seating. This space offers a glimpse into the appearance of other non-extant chapter houses at English Norman cathedral and abbey complexes.

York Minster

As the previous chapter mentions, the northern city of York, which retains much of its medieval character, held an important place in the political and ecclesiastical governance of England. In 1075, the Danes destroyed the Saxon cathedral that the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux (served 1070–1100), had repaired. The absence of remains of a Saxon structure on the present cathedral site implies that Archbishop Thomas moved the site of the cathedral from its yet unknown Saxon location to the site of the Roman fortress in the center of the old fortified town. Between *c.* 1080–1100, Thomas built an impressive Norman cathedral, the grandest building in York since the Romans, a feat that he could accomplish only with a tremendous workforce. As with other Romanesque churches, it made a political statement of the cultural and political superiority of the Normans.

The Romanesque building, which stood on substantial foundations, consisted of a nave 45 ft (13.7 m) wide, walls 7 ft (2.1 m) thick, with no aisles. Beyond the crossing tower were an unusually long rectangular choir – two-thirds as long as the nave – supported by massive piers with an aisle (or ambulatory) and a rounded apse. The full length of the church extended at least 350 ft (105 m), longer than Canterbury. The transepts had a curved apsidal chapel in the center of each. The plan more closely resembled aisleless churches in France, such as Angers Cathedral (after 1032) in Anjou, and structures in Germany, including the late Roman basilica at Trier (converted into a church) which, like York, had associations with Constantine. Likewise, the Ottonian Imperial church of St Pantaleon in Cologne, Germany (984–1002) had an aisleless plan and large blind arches along the side walls, features that York shared. Since Thomas was a Norman who studied in Germany, perhaps these buildings served as models for the unusual Romanesque cathedral at York. Thomas may have chosen this imperial form in a deliberate attempt to be grand but also to distinguish it from the other English archdiocesan church at Canterbury, especially since in 1072, the primacy of Canterbury was confirmed. On the other hand, the model could reflect ties to the Roman emperor Constantine, who received the imperial crown in York. Archbishop Thomas's distinctive building had few English successors; in fact, it underwent so many renovations that few vestiges of it remain.

The first overhaul occurred in the mid-twelfth century, when Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evêque (served 1154–1181) extended it at both the east and west ends. These renovations may have resulted from fire damage in 1137, although the desire to create a more sumptuous northern counterpart to Canterbury seems a stronger motivating factor. By 1170, Roger had rebuilt and lengthened the choir about 40 ft (12.2 m) to seven bays, making it longer than any choir in England except Canterbury. As at Canterbury, the choir stood considerably higher than the nave and transept; unlike Canterbury, it ended with a squared Gothic east end and ambulatory. Roger also added two western towers, lengthened the transepts and added chapels on the east side. He extended the crypt, which still survives, the only major crypt at that time in the north of England. Roger also retained many distinctive qualities of Thomas' building.

Although the plan may reflect foreign sources, the design work is purely English. The stumps of massive cylindrical columns that supported the Norman choir survive in the undercroft, or crypt. One column has diagonal stripes running counterclockwise from the bottom with an outlined dogtooth pattern attached below. Particularly striking are a pair of columns decorated with incised lozenges (rhombuses), even more elaborate than similar ones in the nave at Durham. The marks of several masons appear on the surfaces, confirming the large work force. Moreover, as with Durham, the stones were cut identically, then set into the spiral design. The interior of the church had biblical murals in bright colors – red, white, and black. The capitals varied from rounded to four-sided cushions, and like the columns, they exhibit a highly sophisticated sense of design and superb artisanship. The windows glistened with stained glass, some of which survives, reset, in the clerestory and south transept. The exterior of the building was covered in white plaster with narrow painted red lines emphasizing the edges of the building stones.[29] York Minster, with up to date architecture and refinement, gloried in its archepiscopal status.

The Cathedral Church of Christ, Blessed Mary the Virgin and St Cuthbert of Durham

Durham in Northumbria dominates the next generation of architectural developments in England. The cathedral-monastery-castle complex is among the largest, most complete, and least altered Romanesque complexes in Europe (Fig. 2.10). This cathedral is the only one in England to preserve almost all of its original Romanesque artisanship, and among the few to retain the harmony and integrity of the original design. Moreover, some of the most daring and enduring engineering innovations in Norman Romanesque architecture develop there first.

In 1081, King William I called French bishop William of St Carileph from Calais to Durham to replace William Walcher as prince-bishop. Unlike most bishops, he managed both the political and spiritual welfare of his Northumbrian subjects. In the same year, Bishop William of Carileph refounded the monastery to include the resident monks from the revived Benedictine houses of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. Thus, several buildings around the cloisters at Durham either predate or coincide with the present cathedral: the library, kitchen, priory (now the deanery), and a monks' dormitory (now a second library). The two-bay rectangular chapter house, a faithful nineteenth-century copy of the original, which occupies the traditional place on the east side of the cloister, bears a striking resemblance to that at Bristol. The monks' dormitory, located on the northwest side of the cloister (rather than the usual east side), retains its original stonework and wooden truss roof.

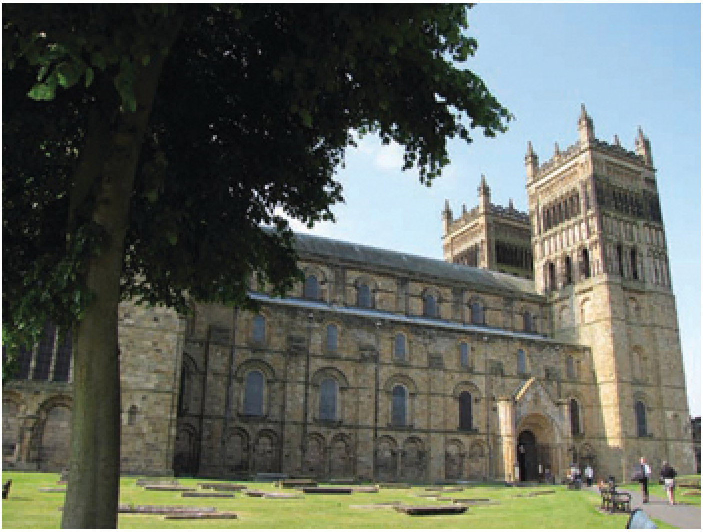


Fig. 2.10 Durham Cathedral, Northumbria, exterior, north side, 1093–1132. Photograph: author

In 1093, Bishop William of Carileph laid the cornerstone at Durham on the site of the stone Saxon minster, which had been built a century before by Bishop Uchted. William knew Romanesque architectural developments in Normandy, and planned for his new cathedral to be equally magnificent, although he did not live to see it completed. The eight-bay nave measures 210.1 ft (61.3 m); the four-bay choir and echelon apse bring the overall length to 383.1 ft (117 m). A square tower marks the crossing of the nave and transept. The transept has the first example of a single eastern aisle, a feature that continues in England, notably at various Cistercian churches: Peterborough, Ripon, and possibly York. The bays of such aisles appear to have functioned liturgically as chapels rather than as processional paths.[30]

Rather than the more common elevation of three nearly equal parts, as at Winchester and Ely, the elevation at Durham, like Gloucester, has a higher nave arcade than gallery and clerestory (Fig. 2.11). Stringcourses clearly delineate the three parts of the elevation. The massive columns supporting the nave have spiral, dogtooth, diamond, and other carved patterns. The designs were cut into the stone first, and then the stones were joined. Compound piers with engaged column shafts alternate with the massive columns. The ribs of the vaults and the setback arches of the arcades in the nave also feature dogtooth patterns. In contrast to the relatively plain buildings of the first generation of Romanesque architecture in southern England, such as Winchester, Durham is the most handsomely articulated building of its age.

The engineering of the building contributes equally, if not more, importantly to the history of architecture than its aesthetics. Although the structural system at Durham develops from a culmination of achievements in other cathedrals and monastic churches, it also represents a radical break with the Norman tradition and marks a turning point in European engineering. Until now, barrel vaulting and timber frame were the usual solutions for roof support in the large areas of the nave, transepts, and choir. However, wood was prone to fire and barrel vaults produced tall, but dark and narrow, spaces. Roman builders had used groin vaults with rounded arches over square bays in naves of their basilicas and bath complexes for height and light, but they did not use the pointed arch, the ribbed vault, or flying buttresses to support them. Innovative builders at Durham would boldly experiment with the rudiments of all three, laying the foundation for the Gothic style.

Construction at Durham, which took 39 years, began in the choir, where the innovations started. The first ribbed groin vaults over square bays transpired in the aisles of the choir in 1096, perhaps inspired by pointed arches at the Abbey of Cluny III in France. The ribs began as a decorative motif, harmonizing with the heavy articulation of other surfaces and perhaps hiding uneven joints in the stonework.[31] Ribbed groin vaults followed in the high vault of the choir, the first time since the Romans that ribbed groin vaulting covered such a large area.[32] By the time Bishop Ranulf Flambard

(1099–1128) assumed the bishop's chair, it stood in a finished choir. By 1104, Flambard had brought construction as far as the crossing and had moved the remains of St Cuthbert to a shrine at the east end. The builders showed increased confidence as they continued to use vaulting throughout in the galleries and the ceilings of the transepts, which were complete by 1110. In the thirteenth century, the high vaults of the choir were replaced following a collapse; thus, those in the north transept are the oldest ones to survive, followed by the south transept.[33]

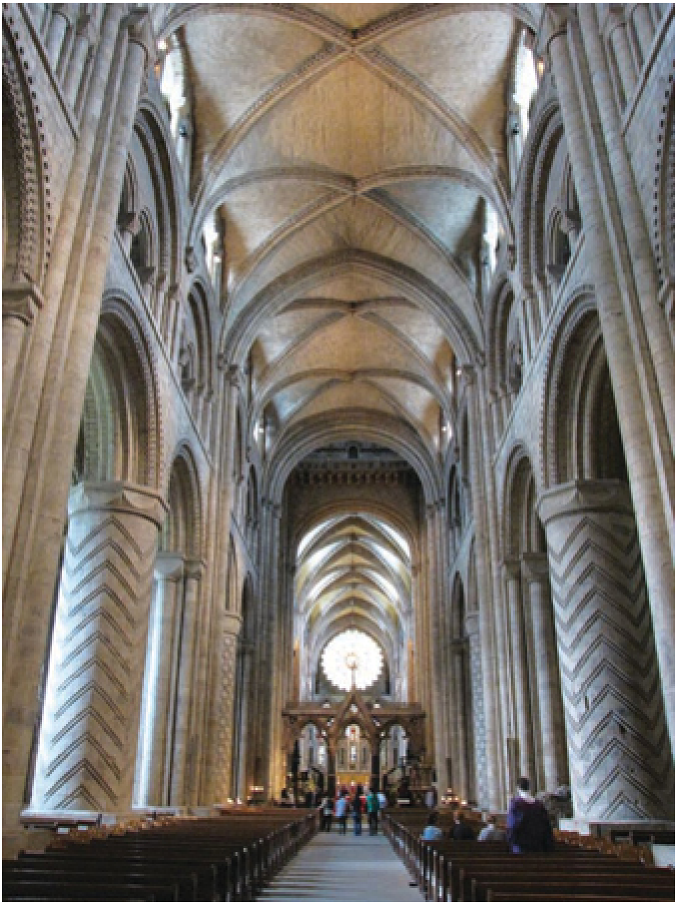


Fig. 2.11 Durham Cathedral, Northumbria, interior, nave view to east, 1128–1133. Photograph: author

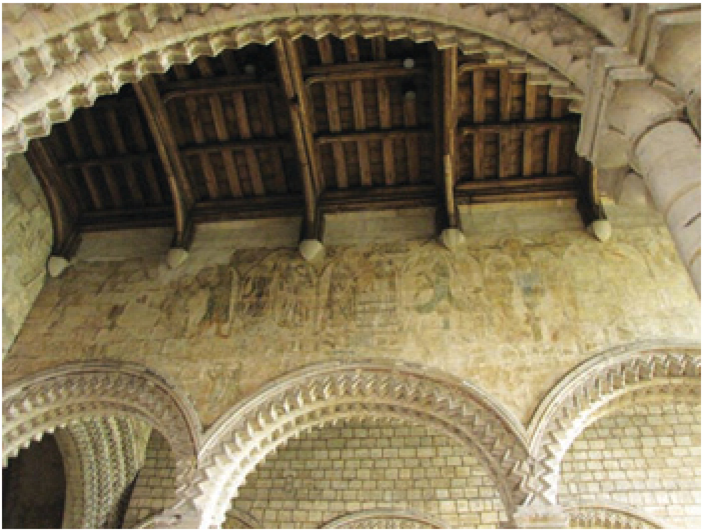


Fig. 2.12 Durham Cathedral, Northumbria, Galilee Porch, c. *1170–1175. Photograph: author*

Between 1128 and 1133, the builders vaulted the nave, using slightly pointed arches with chevron ornamentation on the ribs. These vaults represent a landmark in architectural history as the first pointed ones, albeit only slightly pointing. The ribs not only add visual interest, but also, as would later be realized, add support, which would make even taller clerestory windows possible and thus admit more light. In order to make the bays more square, builders incorporated two rectangular bays of the ceiling into one vault and pointed the arch. Pointed arches proved to be more flexible, in that they did not have to fit over a square, and stronger. In experimenting with how to vault the space, builders devised a unique seven-part, double-X vaulting pattern. Transverse (or diaphanous) arches in the vaults correspond to clustered responds on the piers, making an alternating pattern along the nave elevation. In the nave arcade, weighty piers alternate with colossal cylindrical columns, each pair incised slightly differently, repeating this rhythm. The rolled moldings of the arches have, in the more eastern bays, chevron designs on the outer rolls. Hidden arches in the gallery, precursors of flying buttresses, alleviate stress from the nave supports and transfer the weight to salient buttresses outside. The vaulting at Durham represents the earliest surviving example of pointed, ribbed groin vaulting used on a monumental scale throughout the building.

The lower walls of the outer nave, like the articulated columns and dogtooth designs around the arches, also show an interest in surface decoration. Pairs of engaged columns with plain cushion capitals line the nave walls. Above each column is an arch, which reaches to the next pair such that the arches overlap and give a sense of depth to the wall. Other engaged columns are single, with trefoil arches above. Some of the engaged columns retain some of the original paint.

Bishop Hugh de Puiset (tenure 1153–1195) added the Galilee Porch at Durham (*c.* 1170–1175), a new architectural form that will reappear at Ely and Fountains Abbey. The Galilee is an aisled narthex-porch added in front of the west entrance.[34] The cold, damp, windy weather for which Durham is known may have inspired a practical function of the Galilee: to allow processions to gather inside during inclement weather. The Galilee has five aisles, or divisions, of equal height, like a hall church, and a ceiling of wood truss (Fig. 2.12). Several Lady Chapels at the east ends of cathedrals will imitate this plan. The Galilee has more ornate decoration than the nave, with more carved surface decoration, usually in a variation of the dogtooth pattern. Moreover, some of its twelfth-century murals survive, which are among the few examples of wall painting in England.[35]

The Galilee at Durham also serves as a Lady Chapel; that is, it also functions as a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. At Durham, however, the title “Lady Chapel” had a double meaning: this space was also the single area of the church where women could worship. A line of black stones in the floor of the cathedral beyond, just east of the baptismal font and slightly west of the cross-aisle that joins the entrance on the north with a monk’s door on the south that leads into the cloister, indicates the point beyond which women were not allowed. The Benedictine monks allowed women inside the cathedral to baptize their babies and nothing more.

Durham Cathedral, with its new spatial aesthetic of a taller, better-lighted, and more fire-resistant space, exhibits some of the most daringly innovative engineering since the Romans. While the seven-part system has no successors, making the sequence of its influence difficult to trace, this bold step in groin vaulting in the high, wide nave inspires subsequent Gothic ribbed groin vaulting. Similarly innovative vaulting techniques appear concurrently in Normandy at Caen, at the Abbey Church of Saint-Étienne, begun by William the Conqueror and remodeled around 1130. During this time the builders used sexpartite vaulting in the nave. Later, bolder experimentation occurs at other French locations, including the royal Abbey Church of S. Denis in the Île-de-France, where, by 1144, it evolved into the Gothic style.[36]

Architectural ingenuity in the parish church

More than the lofty cathedrals, Norman parish churches show English architecture moving in directions independent of developments in France. The priests, too, led simpler life than their superiors in the cathedrals or brethren in the monasteries: they actively participated in village life, often married, and farmed their glebes. Typically, Norman parish buildings exhibit a blend of the boxy Anglo-Saxon structures, retain the irregular fieldstone construction, and blend in the round-headed molded arches and window openings, and the massive piers and columns of the Romanesque, such as St Mary's at Sompting and St Mary's at Shipley. Others, such as the 1054 choir at St Mary's at Stow, Lincolnshire (noted in Chapter 1) incorporate dogtooth patterns. Still others, such as the Church of Sts Michael and Mary at Melbourne, follow the basilical plan.[37]

Among the more unusual of the parish and special use churches are the crusader churches, most often associated with the Knights Templar. Their circular plans are intended to evoke the holiest site in the crusaders' world: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. England has five remaining examples, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge (*c.* 1125) and Temple Church in London (*c.* 1160 ff). Built of cut stone, the Cambridge Church has a three-story elevation, which was meant to replicate the post-1048 appearance of the church at Jerusalem (Figs 2.13 and 2.14). On the lowest level, eight massive cylindrical columns (rather than the 12 found at Jerusalem) support the central dome. Above the arcade are a windowless gallery and small, splayed clerestory windows. Engaged columns reach down from the ribs of the dome, end between the foliate capitals of the gallery, and rest on carved faces. The rounded arches of the nave and the gallery have recessed inset arches to decrease the heaviness. The gallery arches encase a double arch, supported by a column. A barrel-vaulted ambulatory surrounds the central space. Again, supporting arches alternate and rest on engaged columns with foliate capitals or brackets that rest on heads, each with a different face. The feeling is one of measured majesty.

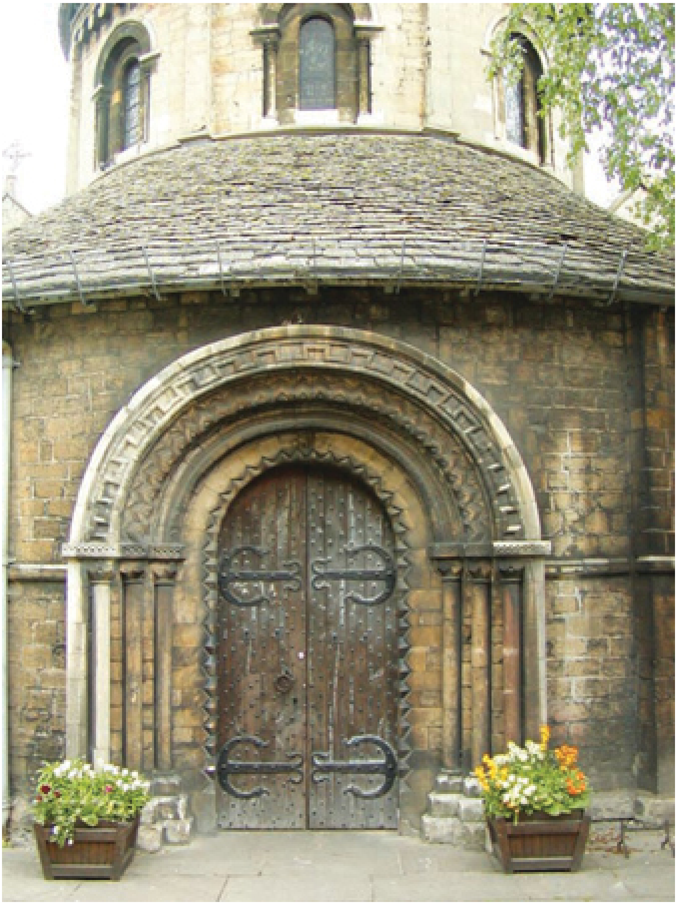


Fig. 2.13 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, exterior c. *1125. Photograph: author*

In the twelfth century, the Knights Templar in the London area moved their headquarters from High Holborn to London and built Temple Church to serve as the home church of their order. Construction seems to have begun soon after 1160; in 1185, in the presence of King Henry II, the patriarch of Jerusalem performed the consecration. The style of the building bridges the transition from Romanesque to the Early Gothic style (Fig. 2.15).[38] The austere, almost fortress-like, round exterior of the western end is pure Romanesque, built of limestone, with two levels of recessed, round-headed windows and a stringcourse of dentil work above. A one-bay, groin-vaulted portico gives cover to the sculpted doorway. The dogtooth carved design of the archivolts arching concentrically over the heavy, splayed opening of the doorway is reminiscent of Durham. The engaged columns supporting the archivolts alternate between plain colonnettes with simple foliate capitals and smaller patterned clusters topped with little human figures, perhaps praying knights, in the place of capitals. As with the round examples, the basilical parish churches exhibit ingenuity, but more often the greater creativity is in architectural sculpture, as discussed below.

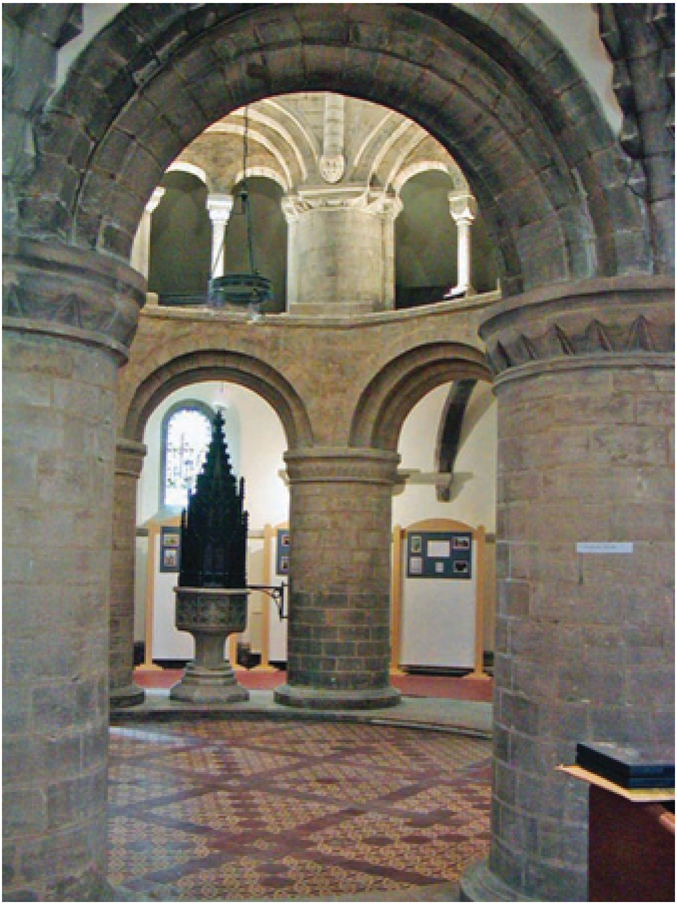


Fig. 2.14 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, interior, c. *1125. Photograph: author*

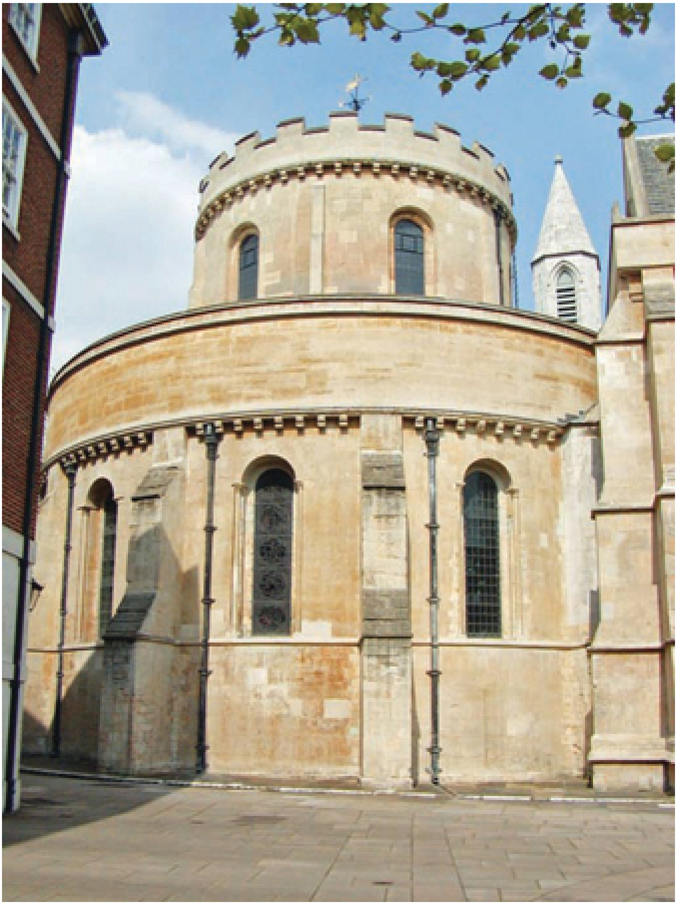


Fig. 2.15 Temple Church, London, north side of the exterior, c. *1160. Photograph: author*

Often medieval builders selectively copied architectural features, and these churches offer cases in point. These buildings are not alike in appearance, yet each symbolically evokes the important aspects of Jerusalem: the round shape, tripartite elevation, and the dedication.[39] Such imitation served a further practical purpose: it allowed those pilgrims who could not travel to the Holy Land to make a spiritual pilgrimage or crusaders to honor their destination city. Crusaders and other pilgrims would have encountered churches in Greece and the east that served similar symbolic purposes.

Monastic contributions to the development of the Romanesque style

Monastic orders for both men and women, especially the Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Cistercians – which belonged to international monastic networks – developed large landed foundations that contributed important innovations to the development of English architecture. Many of the Norman cathedrals, as we have seen, developed from preexisting monasteries, usually Benedictine. Other monastic houses remained cloistered, some in the remote countryside and others, like the tenth-century Benedictine nunnery at Romsey in southern England, offered oases of solitude along the edges of towns. The form and architecture of Benedictine monasteries often reflected their joint Norman and Saxon origins, but as the orders migrated to England, the Burgundian ideas they brought with them showed greater refinement and sculptural detail.

As England was recovering from the last of the Nordic invasions, the Benedictine order in France underwent a series of reforms, beginning in 910 with the founding of the Abbey of Cluny and lasting through the twelfth century. Along with organizational and liturgical reforms at Cluny, many architectural innovations developed during the course of the construction of three buildings there. The third building, Cluny III, begun in 1089 and consecrated 1131/2, incorporates especially bold developments in stone construction. In addition to the increased stability and fireproofing that stone construction offered, plainsong, or chant, an essential part of worship, resonated more clearly in the acoustically superior spaces with ceilings covered in stone vaults rather than wooden trusses. Other inventions included the use of figurative stone sculptural decoration, often whimsical, around doorways and on capitals. As the motherhouse of the Cluniacs, the innovations and sculptural details at Cluny III immediately influenced the development of the late Romanesque and early Gothic architecture, as seen at Romsey Abbey.

More influential in England than the Cluniacs were the Cistercians, founded in 1098 by St Robert of Molesme at the Benedictine Abbey of Cîteaux, France. Appalled by the opulent surroundings and the lack of discipline into which they perceived the Cluniacs had fallen, Cistercians, inspired by the austerity of their leader, Bernard of Clairvaux, re-established simplicity in their ceremonies, which their architecture reflects in clean, simple architectural form, and the absence of sculptural detail, ambulatories, and radiating chapels. Their architecture is one of purist ideals and light, with white light admitted through the clear glass windows complementing the spare architectural forms and creating an atmosphere of peace and simplicity.[40] Their focus on architectural needs rather than on ornamentation inspired innovative building techniques that were essential stepping-stones toward the Gothic style in France and in England.

Events surrounding the Norman Conquest in the north of England also played into the hands of the Cistercians. Waves of revolts north of the River Humber, especially in the winter of 1069–1070, had devastating consequences for the peasants who tilled the fertile valleys and grazed livestock on the grassy moors. William of Malmesbury reported a swath of destruction some 60 miles (97 km) wide near York, as William I's troops, in pursuit of insurgents, purged the countryside. Around 1130, the Cistercian monks from France began to acquire large tracts of these desolate English lands for the farms, orchards, and grazing lands needed to support their self-sufficient monasteries. Thus, in addition to innovative architecture, the Cistercians introduced efficient farming to Northern England. By 1154, the year of King Stephen's death, the Cistercians in England had established over 30 houses, each with extensive lands; by the end of the century, they had built 50. Of these monasteries, significant above ground structural remains exist in only eight locations.[41]

In 1132, two years after the bishop of Winchester established the first English Cistercian abbey at Waverly in Sussex, 12 monks founded the first Cistercian house north of York, Rievaulx Abbey, tucked into a remote edge of the moors near the River Rye. In December of the same year, 13 monks from the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's in York, who sought a more ascetic rule, founded Fountains Abbey, which lies in the valley of the River Skell, also north of York, about 2 miles (3.2 km) west of Ripon. Roche Abbey in South Yorkshire followed in 1147, with influential innovations. From these modest beginnings, grew some of the most impressive monasteries of medieval England. These institutions thrived until the late 1530s, when King Henry VIII's henchmen devastated them during the Dissolution of the Monasteries; however, enough remains, especially at Rievaulx, to be able to discern some of the architectural innovations.[42]

As with the Norman architecture favored by William the Conqueror, the Cistercian variation of the Romanesque style bore little resemblance to existing structures in England. In compliance with Bernard's dictate for simplicity in liturgical practice and in architectural form, the Cistercian churches bore little sculptural decoration, stained glass, or extraneous luxuries. The earliest Burgundian stone churches had aisleless naves, three-story elevations, square chancels that were narrower than the nave, and transepts with one or more square chapels along the eastern side. Cluniac-style ambulatories and radiating chapels that reinforced their elaborate liturgical practices gave way to squared eastern ends, clear light, and striking austerity, which became hallmarks of Cistercian architecture.

The Cistercian monks who migrated to England brought the austere but refined plans and architectural innovations that occurred at the Burgundian abbey churches at Fontenay (1139) and Sénanque (1148), but added twin towers and vaulted side aisles.[43] Such innovations appear in the English Cistercian church at Rievaulx.

Abbey Church of St Mary and St Ethelflæda at Romsey

From its beginning in the tenth century, the wealthy Benedictine nunnery of St Mary and St Ethelflæda at Romsey in Hampshire had royal associations and a reputation as a center of education, especially for the daughters of the nobility. The fine Norman stonework, the gentle dogtooth designs, and the sculpture with traces of paint place it on a par with the refinement and scale of many contemporary cathedrals. After the Conquest, the village that emerged to the northeast of it developed into a market town, with which the abbey formed a mutually beneficial relationship.

Several architectural features of the church demonstrate that English builders, although inspired by French Norman prototypes, soon diverge from strict adherence. Work begins on the present building *c.* 1120–1140 under the auspices of Henry Blois, the Norman bishop of Winchester and abbot of Glastonbury. The first phase of construction includes the three-bay choir supported by heavy compound piers built to the east of the existing Saxon church.[44] The basic cruciform plan with a squared east end recalls Saxon antecedents, and Romsey retains the only Norman survivor. A groin-vaulted ambulatory follows the rectangular form and extends around three sides of the choir, as do the gallery and clerestory. Off the east end, the two center arches open into a Lady Chapel below the gallery; to either side is an unusual pair of double axial chapels with rounded ends set inside a rectangle. These chapels, which likely held the relics of the two founding abbesses, are accessed through the side aisles and probably were visible to the worshipers from the presbytery. Lively carved figures, both individual and narrative groups, peer down from the capitals of columns supporting the eastern bays, reminiscent of those in St Gabriel's Chapel at Canterbury, carved around 1100, and, like them, they recall Saxon sources rather than the more austere Norman capitals.

When the east end was complete, the Saxon church was razed to accommodate the nave. The center portion of the nave was approximately the same width as the aisleless predecessor upon whose foundations it partially rests. A stone tower stands above the crossing of the nave and the transept arms, each with an east facing chapel. The roof of the tower rests on short, high stone columns. The second building campaign includes the first three bays of the nave, extending roughly the length of the former church (Fig. 2.16). A fourth bay was added in 1150–1180. Majestic columns that reach through the gallery to the springing of the arch at the clerestory level, as at Gloucester, support the first eastern bay of the nave. The change from columns in the first bay to piers may mark the change from space for the laity to that reserved for the nuns. In 1230–1240, the church was extended to the west, this time with gently pointing arches of the Early Gothic style. Construction probably began in the west, keeping the western wall until necessary to join the two parts, for the easternmost of these arches is slightly wider, with a triple rather than a double opening in the clerestory, evidence of an adjustment to accommodate the addition.

The proportions of the relatively low nave arcade, high gallery, and clerestory recall Winchester. The gallery at Romsey is twice set back and divided in half by a double lower arch supported by a stone column. In the eastern arm and in the first three bays of the nave, the double inner arch is open, which increases the sense of surface decoration; in the western bays, a tympanum fills the top of the inner arch. The deviations from the Norman model at Romsey go beyond a simple variation on a theme. Instead, they show the development of a distinctly English aesthetic, born of its Saxon roots. The square choir, the interest in surface decoration on the capitals, the focus on varied surface patterns, and the horizontal emphasis of the wall indicate the early emergence of a synthesis between Saxon and Norman architectural elements that will continue in England.

The Cistercians and Rievaulx Abbey

Of the new religious orders that developed in twelfth-century Europe, the Cistercians established the strongest foothold in Britain. In 1098, Abbot Robert and 21 of his monks left the Benedictine Abbey of Molesme to establish a new monastic community at remote Citeaux. This new Cistercian Order, an offshoot of French Benedictine monasticism, sought a more ascetic adherence to the monastic rule established by Benedict of Nursia (d. 547). Between 1132 and 1150, Cistercian missionaries not only established houses on the continent, but also they founded eight communities in the isolated moors of Yorkshire. The first house in England began at Rievaulx (1132) with a small, simple wooden church in a remote ravine, built by Abbot William (d. 1147). From this humble start, Rievaulx burgeoned into a large and influential community.

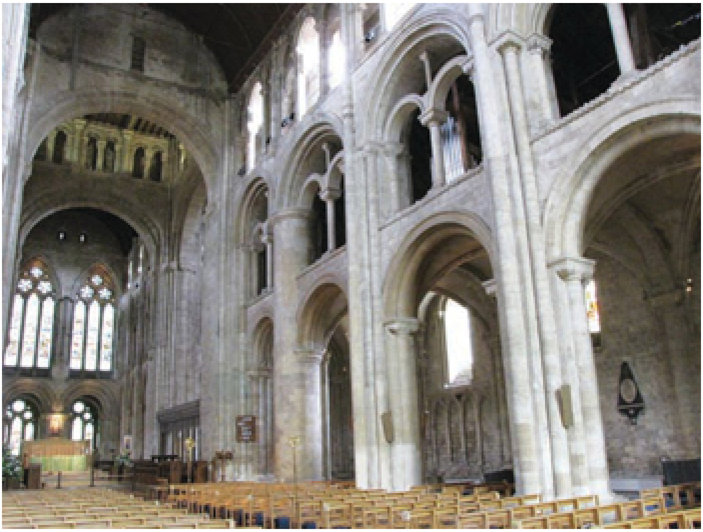


Fig. 2.16 Abbey Church of Sts Mary and Ethelflaeda, Romsey, Hampshire, interior view to east, nave and choir, begun c. *1120–1140. Photograph: author*

The Romanesque abbey church was begun *c.* 1134 and completed around 1145, during the abbacy of the renowned Aelred (d. 1167). It was one of the first of the stone buildings at the abbey and the first large-scale stone Cistercian building in England (Fig. 2.17). Unlike most churches, which lie on an east–west axis with the altar in the east, Rievaulx Abbey Church lies on a north–south axis with the altar in the south because of uneven rocky terrain and the shallow site. The scale of the church alone is remarkable: a nine bay nave with an aisleless presbytery that continues the width of the nave and crossing, and a transept with three east-facing chapels in each arm. Only the great pillar bases of the nave remain, but the transept and presbytery elevations leave substantial evidence of innovation. Walter Espec, a powerful Yorkshire baron, visited Bernard of Clairvaux in Burgundy in 1131; the following year he helped found Rievaulx Abbey. The visit to an abbey with the novel feature of pointed arches could account for the use of pointed arches at Rievaulx, which represent the first systematic use in England since Durham. Unlike Durham, however, the nave roof was timber; the aisles, although vaulted, had transverse barrels in each bay. Other Cistercian abbeys in northern England, including Fountains, adapted several of the new features in this church, including the pure unbroken plane of the inner surfaces, the unintegrated rectangular crossing, and the narrow aisles, which together reduce the emphasis on individual bays in the interior and make it more unified. Salient buttresses, however, mark the bay divisions on the exterior.[45]

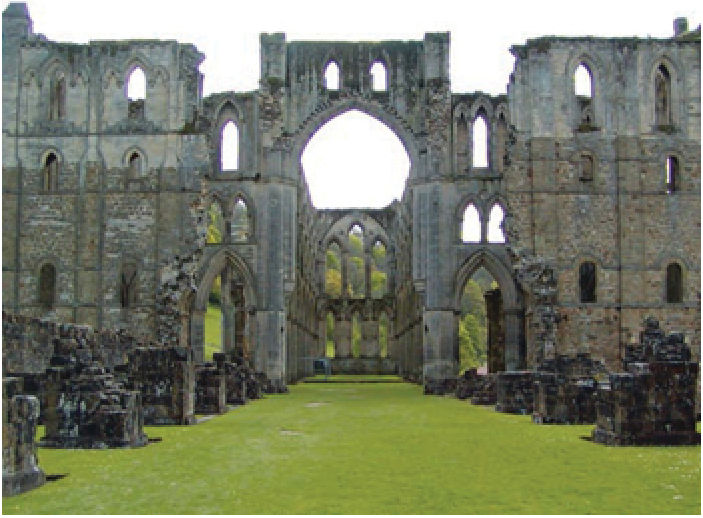


Fig. 2.17 Rievaulx Abbey Church, Helmsley, North Yorkshire, interior view to east, nave and choir, 1134–1145. Photograph: author

The importance of ecclesiastical buildings to the history of Anglo-Norman architecture extends beyond churches. Monasteries include support structures, arranged in a predictable cloistral pattern and enclosed within a precinct wall, as laid out in the monastic plan of St Gall. Rievaulx leads England with the first Cistercian cloister, which probably looks back to the French monasteries of Clairvaux and Cîteaux, for the charismatic Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx probably visited St Bernard as he made his way to Rome in 1142. The square covered cloister walk, usually supported by a colonnade, joined the refectory, infirmary, and living quarters with the chapter house and church and gave dry passage in inclement weather.

Perhaps the most interesting and most unusual of Rievaulx's monastic buildings of this period is the chapter house, built in the 1150s. So named because the chapter of monks gathered there, the chapter house served as the center of daily business. This important Cistercian building did not appear in earlier monastic plans. Similarities existed between this sole-surviving horseshoe shaped structure and the rectangular chapter house at Bristol. Both buildings sat on the center of the eastern side of the cloister, architecturally and functionally joining religious function with daily living. Whereas Bristol's Chapter house was a one-story, aisleless space with two large vaulted bays, the remains of the chapter house at Rievaulx indicate that it had two stories. An aisle with rectangular vaults completely encircled it, with the area of the aisle across the doorway doubling as a narthex (or vestibule).

The curved form of the chapter house at Rievaulx may reflect Abbot Aelred's interest in, and firsthand knowledge of Early Christian Rome, for it recalls the form of Roman *coemeteria* basilicas (those used for burial), such as S. Sebastiano. To evoke memory by emulation figures strongly in the medieval mind and may have inspired this unusual form, for this chapter house also housed tombs. Also significant, the chapter house lies adjacent to the shrine of St William, the founding abbot of the monastery.[46] Three rows of tiered seats for the brothers encircled the walls. Like the nave of the second church at Rievaulx, the chapter house anticipated the transition from Romanesque to Gothic. Whereas the exterior articulation was round-headed, the entrance had both round-headed and pointed arches and the columns of the arcade supported pointed arches.

The remains of these Romanesque buildings, both in floor plan and design, give the audience of today a glimpse into the sophistication of Romanesque architecture and surface design as well as the types of buildings that served monastic communities. Architecturally the buildings present a majestic and imposing silhouette. The style remains handsomely austere, yet never cold. The sparingly applied geometric architectural decoration never overpowers the overall design, but harmonizes in a manner that is dignified and engaging. Similar communities appeared in the same year at Fountains, also an offshoot of Citeaux. Monastic facilities also existed for women, such as the Benedictine abbey at Romsey, but fewer female houses survive as intact.

Romanesque architectural sculpture

Whereas Saxon churches and Norman Romanesque churches on the continent display little figurative architectural sculpture, most fully developed Romanesque churches in England, like their Burgundian counterparts, probably had sculptural decoration. Little, however, remains and less survives intact. Depending on the setting, embellishments range from surface pattern to sculpture, both of which complement but never overpower the overall design. Fully developed, monumental Romanesque sculpture marks a return to the classical and Byzantine emphasis on the human figure and narrative, and most often, it appears in public spaces. Although the English saw little of such public art before the Conquest, Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), the same pope who sent Augustine to Canterbury, had justified pictorial art as a method of teaching the illiterate and thereby aiding in their salvation. For the clergy and educated laity, narrative sculpture reinforced knowledge and challenged the intellect.

Sculpture first emerges as non-figurative decoration around architectural features – patterns, and vegetal motifs as at Bristol; then animals and monsters tucked into capitals, as in the crypt at Canterbury Cathedral (*c.* 1115–1125); they even borrow pagan imagery (also seen at Romsey and Kilpeck). With figurative sculpture, as with contemporary manuscript illumination, narrative requirements, dramatic delivery, and fitting the figures into the proscribed space take precedence over naturalism. Drawing with line, rather than modeling with light and shadow, determines the form. The abstracted, almost two-dimensional figures with willowy bodies leer with large eyes and gesture with long fingers. Multiple parallel lines and stylized highlights define folds of cloth. Just as drawing ignores spatial depth, so figures in shallow relief appear to float above narrow ledges. As the sculptors gained confidence, compositions increased in size and complexity, filling archivolts around and tympana, or half-circles, over doorways.

Independent sculpture might depict a Virgin and Child or a Crucifixion, as at Romsey. Stories might appear as vignettes, such as a Last Judgment scene glaring from a tympanum and figures huddled along the jambs, as at the Prior's doorway at Ely. Judgments often appear over exterior doorways to emphasize the vital role of the church in salvation. Sometimes symbolic systems affected the placement of scenes. For example, the complex, but predicable system of typology might be invoked, in which a system of scenes showing Old Testament prophecy might pair with compatible scenes showing the New Testament fulfillment, as seen first in England at St Paul's, Jarrow (Chapter 1) and later at Malmesbury. Other sculpture might constitute a full narrative that vividly recounts the tenets of their faith, such as the interior panels at Chichester. Sometimes several sequential scenes or thematic narratives occur, as spread across a cathedral façade at Lincoln.

Sculptural decoration was not universally popular: some theologians felt that the best and finest should adorn the house of God; others found embellishments superfluous and distracting. St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the conservative Cistercian scholar, best expressed this dichotomy in his letter to William of St Thierry (near Reims) in which he criticizes the lavish decoration at Cluny (Cluny III). Ironically, Bernard's descriptive attack gives one of the best contemporary descriptions of Romanesque sculpture:

> But in the cloister, under the eyes of the Brethren who read there,

> what profit is there in those ridiculous monsters, in that marvellous and deformed comeliness, that comely deformity! To what purpose are those unclean apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half-men, those striped tigers, those fighting knights, those hunters winding their horns! Many bodies are there seen under one head, or again, many heads to a single body. Here is a four-footed beast with a serpent's tail, there, a fish with a beast's head. Here again the forepart of a horse trails half a goat behind it, or a horned beast bears the hinder quarters of a horse. In short, so many and so marvelous are the varieties of divers shapes on every hand, that we are more tempted to read in the marble than in our books, and to spend the whole day in wondering at these things rather than in meditating the law of God. For God's sake, if men are not ashamed of these follies, why at least do they not shrink from the expense![47]

Crypt at Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury

Vestiges of Romanesque sculpture from what must have been a spectacular church appear in the crypt at Canterbury Cathedral on intricately carved shafts of columns, varying from plait-work, knots, and S-shaped designs to barley-sugar stripes and scale-like designs, which give a window into the refinement of the largely destroyed Norman upper building. Capitals, too, display composite animal and vegetal design against colored fields reminiscent of Hiberno-Saxon manuscript designs. Narratives fill odd spaces and faces peer out from under lintels of doorways, notably at Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals – just the sorts of things that St Bernard of Clairvaux condemned.

Ely Cathedral: Prior's Doorway

At Ely Cathedral, The Prior's Door on the northwest side of the cathedral (*c.* 1150), now protected by a porch, is a rare survivor in England of a frequent theme in contemporary Burgundian churches; perhaps other such elaborate portals once existed (Fig. 2.18). A large central figure of Christ in a mandorla (an almond shape made from two overlapping circles that show the intersection of heaven and earth) flanked by mirror images of angels who hold the mandorla aloft, dominate the bilaterally symmetrical composition. Christ raises his right hand in blessing; in his left, he holds a cross and an open book, borrowed from Byzantine imagery. Such images offer a glimpse into the richness of church sculpture now lost to time.

Three archivolts, or arches, extend upward from the splayed doorjambs over the tympanum. The archivolt closest to the tympanum is heavily carved, repeating the designs of the engaged columns and doorjambs below, which show an odd mix of richly carved figures from Christian narrative, pagan legend, labors of the months, animals, fruits, vines, and symbols. The linear and stylized figures, some even rather crude, exude extraordinary energy. Two disembodied, wide-eyed heads peer from the brackets below the lintel, riveting their attention on clergy entering the cathedral. Additional brackets carved with less confrontational, drollery-like Romanesque creatures lurk overhead inside the cathedral.

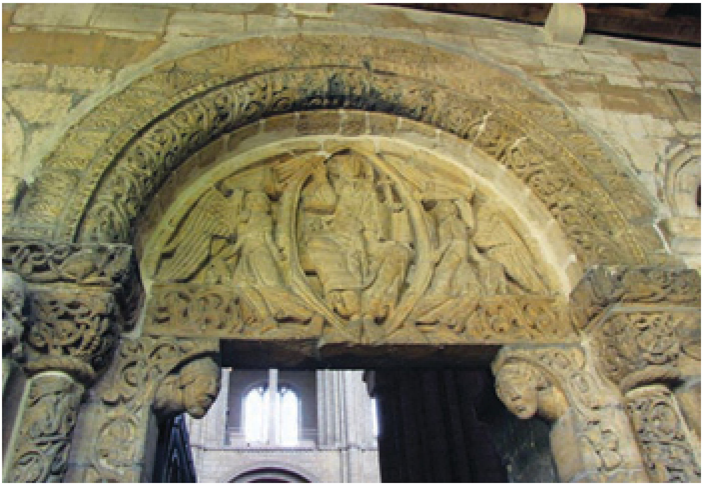


Fig. 2.18 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, Christ in Majesty (The Last Judgment), Tympanum over Prior's Door, stone relief sculpture, c. *1150. Photograph: author*

Malmesbury

The Norman church at the Benedictine monastery of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, which dates to *c.* 1160–1170, retains vestiges of a rich sculptural program. The south porch near the west façade contains especially rich carving.[48] A heavily carved continuous arch of eight archivolts with simple continuous moldings frames the exterior entrance; that is, no capitals separate the arches between the doorjambs and the upper arch. The inner doorway also has richly carved continuous arches, with, among other things, badly worn typologically paired almond-shaped medallions displaying Old and New Testament scenes, which were originally painted and gilded. The east and west walls of the porch contain facing tympanum-shaped arches, each with six apostles and an angel flying above (Fig. 2.19). Christ in Glory bursts forth from the tympanum above the doorway. The exterior limestone decoration has weathered, but inside the porch, the carvings are among the finest of their type in England. The sophistication of the carving, along with the rich and varied emotions of the figures and the more refined compositions, reflect the style of contemporary English manuscript illumination and perhaps a Burgundian influence.[49]

Lincoln Cathedral

Perhaps the largest, most complete and most interesting program of Romanesque narrative sculpture to survive in England adorns the west façade of Lincoln Cathedral, where the original mid-twelfth-century Romanesque portals remain embedded within a later Gothic façade. The format of the continuous frieze recalls an earlier narrative program at the cathedral of Modena in northern Italy (*c.* 1115–1120) and a later one at the Cluniac abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in Provence (1175 ff). The panels of the frieze at Lincoln depict various biblical scenes, all of which reflect either judgment or punishment for sins but imply a hopeful message of salvation. Exaggerated gestures and movements of the figures reinforce the narratives. If read from left to right, the narrative scenes begin with a Last Judgment, which contains six panels and occupies the largest space. These panels depict punishment for lust, sodomy and avarice, the harrowing of hell, and the elect. A parallel New Testament story of judgment follows, illustrating in two panels the Feast of Dives (Fig. 2.20), the rich man who refused hospitality to Lazarus the beggar, the Death of Lazarus, Dives in Hell, and Lazarus and the good in the Bosom of Abraham.

The Old Testament scenes that follow also prefigure the Last Judgment and salvation: The Fall of Man and the story of Noah. Adam and Eve occupy three panels with the Expulsion from Eden, Adam's labor in the fields, and Eve's labor of spinning. Four scenes follow, with God instructing Noah to build the ark, Noah building the ark, the disembarkation from the ark, and God's covenant with Noah. Later, a scene of Daniel in the lion's den was placed between the last two panels of the story of Noah.[50] The final frames on the right side represent parts of the Last Judgment, with the final frame giving a fine example of a medieval Hellmouth that resembles those used in theatre productions.

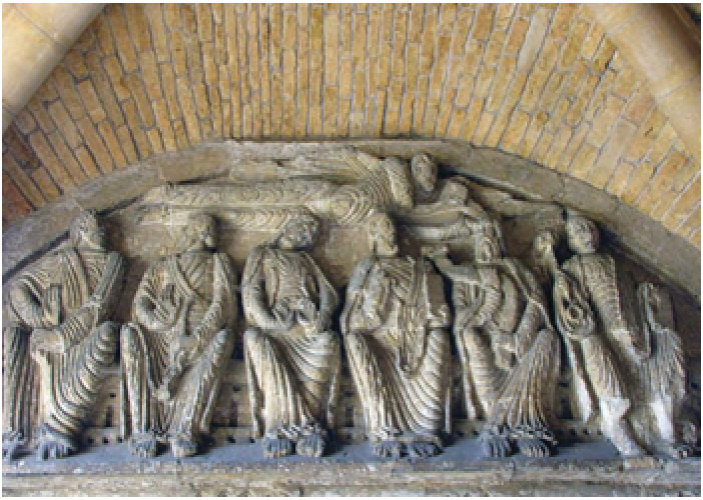


Fig. 2.19 Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, angel blessing six of the Apostles, interior of the vestibule, south porch, stone relief elief sculpture, 1160–1170. Photograph: author

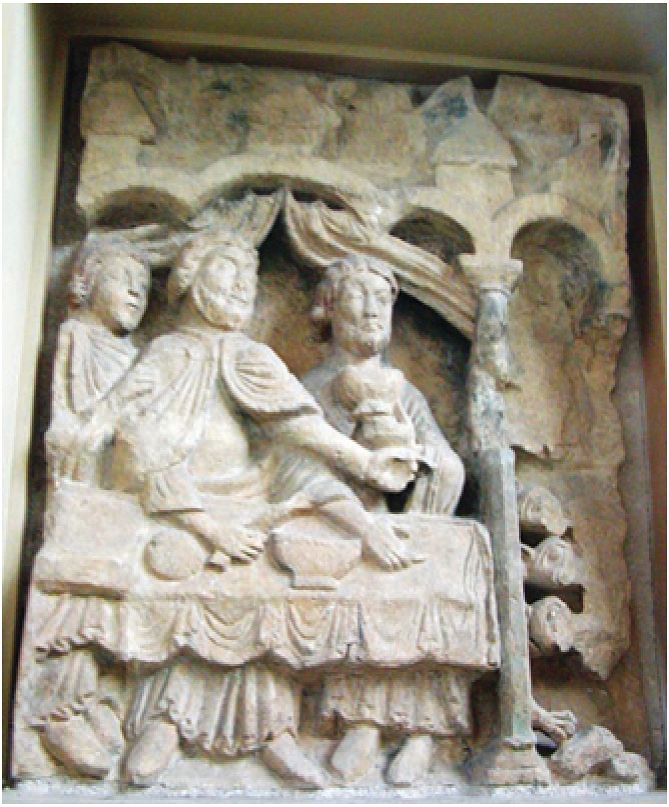


Fig. 2.20 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire. The Feast of Dives, detail of the stone sculptural frieze on the west façade, relief sculpture, 1123–1148. Photograph: author

These sculptures at Lincoln show the interrelationship between architecture and sculpture (or painting), teaching and learning, and dramatic enactments. The choice of stories may reflect the texts and stage directions of contemporary local liturgical dramas, or mystery plays. At Lincoln and Chichester, sculpture, like religious drama, presses beyond the superficial to theological truths. Unlike the transitory nature of theatre, however, art remains ever-present. The dramatic scripts, which elaborate upon biblical texts cited in the corresponding liturgy, often contributed ideas for artistic programs. Theatrical presentations breathed life into the texts and could provide additional inspiration for artistic compositions. Moreover, whereas today's theatre audience consciously acknowledges "make believe" or commemoration in dramatic productions, Medieval and Renaissance viewers saw theatrical performances as vividly recreating the historical event in the present, transcending time and space.[51] For those audiences, art, like liturgical drama, portrayed the past and/or future as a present reality.

Romanesque painting: religious manuscript illumination

Around 1130, monastic and liturgical reforms begun by Dunstan of Glastonbury before the Conquest, along with the post-Conquest political and economic stability, led to a revival in English book illumination, exceeded only by the eighth-century Golden Age of Northumbria. The equilibrium advocated by the Rule of St Benedict for prayer, work, and study had put the structure into place to devote time to the pursuit of learning and bookmaking. Benedictines led the way in producing liturgical manuals to carry out the reforms, such as lectionaries and sacramentaries, along with psalters, commentaries on the scriptures, and, most notably, a series of richly illuminated great Bibles. As in late Anglo-Saxon times, the chief centers of illumination were in the south of England at Canterbury and Winchester. Bury St Edmunds, St Albans, and London also moved into the forefront, accompanied by Durham and York in the north.

The artists achieved a splendid balance between decorative embellishment and representational forms, producing some of the most charming, heart-wrenching, and perceptive narrative illustrations of all times. The sinuous line, the patterning, the lilting style, tender emotion, and ghoulish humor seen in Anglo-Saxon works continued in a in the Norman Romanesque manuscripts. Formal stylization and the natural fold comfortably into a more refined style that depended on a gentle, fluid line, whether for figures, decorative initials, or foliate borders. Rich painted colors occur more frequently.

Scribes used interlacing ribbons and modified leaf designs to form the letters, embellishing them with luminous colors, including costly blue from lapis lazuli, glued on with glair (egg white), and gold. Initially, gold was applied in a liquid state; by the twelfth century, it was laid on in extremely thin leaf and highly burnished, a method that creates a brilliant effect. A more liberal use of gold leaf and silver appear in manuscripts for wealthy patrons and the royal court, following the examples of imperial books on the continent.[52] Among the richest examples are the St Albans Psalter, the Bury Bible, the Winchester Bible, the Harley Psalter, and the Eadwine Psalter.

St Albans Abbey: the St Albans Psalter

In the first half of the twelfth century, St Albans Abbey, north of London, produced some of the first and finest Romanesque painting in England, both in manuscripts and in murals. In particular, the style of a master known as the Alexis Master, who painted the images in the St Albans Psalter of *c.* 1130 (Hildesheim, Dombibliotek, HS St God.1), greatly influenced subsequent murals, manuscripts, and stained glass windows, especially those in the Canterbury Cathedral (Chapter 3). The St Albans Psalter contains the most extensive series of full-page illustrations of the life of Christ and ancestors of Christ to date in England. These illustrations incorporate a palette of rich colors to form well-modeled, expressive monumental figures in complex poses. The borders have patterns of elaborate floral and vine motifs. Interestingly, the St Albans Psalter also includes the text from a letter written by St Gregory the Great around 600 – about the time the abbey was founded – that encourages the use of images to aid in devotion and instruct the illiterate in “what they ought to follow.”[53] Significantly, the book repeats this directive in the wake of the Iconoclastic Controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries in the eastern, or Greek, branch of the church, when the use of images was forbidden, and the subsequent Great Schism of 1054, which forever separated the Greek and Roman branches of Christianity.[54]

Abbey of Bury St Edmunds: Bury Bible

Also in the 1130s, monks at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk produced the magnificent, oversize, two-volume Bible for their abbey. Only the first volume remains, which contains Old Testament scriptures, ending with the Book of Job. A chronicler at the abbey recorded that Hervey, the sacristan, commissioned the Bible for his brother, the prior, and that a Master Hugo illuminated it. Legend holds that Master Hugo, seeking only the best parchment, acquired some 350 calfskins from as far away as Scotland. The 357 leaves, each of which measures 20.6 × 13.8 in (52.5 × 35 cm), contain six full-page miniatures, 39 decorated initials, and three historiated initials. Although several scribes contributed, Master Hugo, the illustrator, shines as perhaps the most outstanding illuminator of his day. Hugo may also have been a master craftsman. He may have crafted the bronze doors and other furnishings for Bury St Edmunds, one of the richest monastic houses in England.

The rich, abstracted designs and twisty interlacings of Master Hugo indicate that he, in typical English fashion, absorbed ideas from several sources: earlier works in England, including works from St Albans, Imperial art on the continent, and the latest ideas from Byzantium. The full page illustrating Moses Expounding the Law is divided horizontally into two scenes: the top shows Moses with a book and the lower, Moses pointing to the unclean animals (Fig. 2.21). As with narrative sculpture, figures stand against a flat background that implies some landscape set against a deep blue sky. Heavy outlines define figures, plants, and animals, and within the wide areas of flat color, a few lighter lines give detail to the forms. Exaggerated gestures and facial expressions animate the narratives. The margins, like architectural borders, teem with colorful, modified leaves. Hugo developed a more naturalistic approach to his subjects in form and composition, which, especially in his miniatures, led painting toward the more naturalistic Gothic style.[55]

Canterbury: Harley Psalter and Eadwine Psalter

Scribes at Canterbury, England's principal See, not only absorbed ideas from Carolingian art on the continent, as discussed in Chapter One with the Tiberius Psalter, but the Harley and Eadwine Psalters give evidence that the scribes borrowed and copied books. Three surviving "copies" of the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (*c.* 820), produced at the Abbey of Hautervillers near Reims, now in Utrecht, verify its presence at Canterbury from around the year 1000. The Harley Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero C iv, f. 39), made in three phases at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury and finished *c.* 1020, gives the earliest and most easily traceable evidence. Twelve hands were involved in the making of the Harley Psalter: two scribes, two scribe-artists, and eight artists. Some of the artists can be identified with other Canterbury manuscripts. The earlier artists held more closely to the original than the latter, who has been identified as Eadui Basan of Christ Church, Canterbury. The nervous style of the illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter, characteristic of the Carolingian School at Reims, and the sinewy line drawings in ink appealed to the

English scribes. The Harley Psalter duplicates much about the distinctive agitated drawing style of the Utrecht Psalter: the pen technique, with changes in the thickness of the line; bent figures with heads jutting forward; and expressive gestures, although all features are overstated in the English examples.

Some illustrations curl around and within the text. The page illustrating Psalm 111 (modern 112) is characteristic of the entire book.[56] Although the text of the psalm speaks to intangible qualities and spiritual matters, such as generosity, righteous behavior, and the torment of the wicked, the illustrators – Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon – charmingly and successfully translate it almost verbatim into a continuous narrative format. The Harley sketches in colored ink – blue, red, and sepia – have more vitality than the sepia monochrome of its Carolingian forbearer. Anglo-Saxon artists were not afraid to be original. The artists of the Harley Psalter introduced several new compositions, including the first illustration of the Coronation of the Virgin, the first illustration of the entrance to Hell as the mouth of a monster (Psalm 139 f.70v), and the first surviving composition of St John writing at the foot of the Cross.

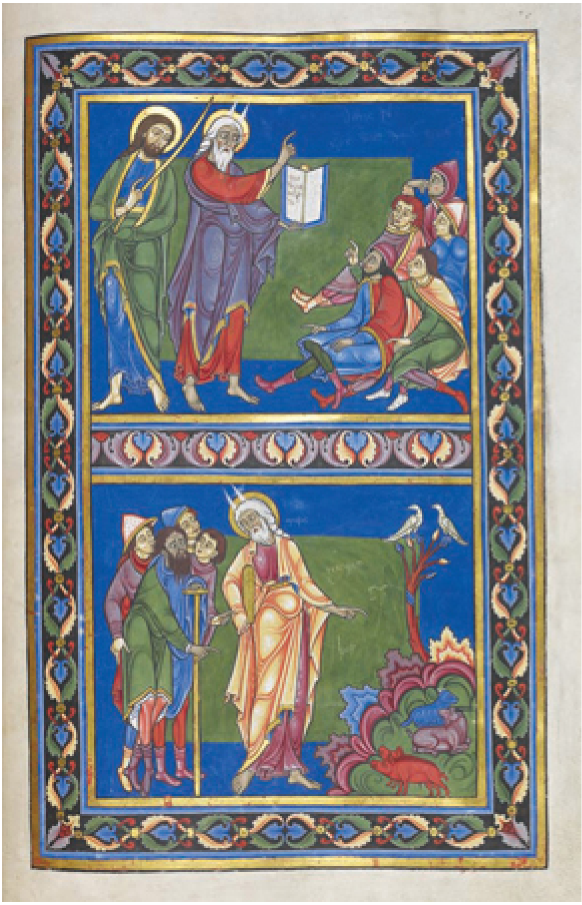


Fig. 2.21 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, Master Hugo: Moses expounding the law of the unclean beasts, illuminated manuscript page from the Bury Bible, MS.2, f. 94r., c. *1130. Photograph: Masters and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*

By the middle of the eleventh century, the practice of making elaborate initial letters and the sketchy Utrecht style of Canterbury began to fuse with the colorful, more monumental Winchester style. The result yields elaborate, sinewy initial letters and taller, sketchy figures with more expression, and a tendency toward flattening forms into lively patterns, especially in the drapery. This art is softer in palette and style, more lyrical, graceful, and gentler, than its Hellenistic, Byzantine, or German counterparts. English art is never as naturalistic as the classically-derived Hellenistic, as rigid and structured as the Byzantine, or as stoically majestic as the German, yet it retains their dignity and refinement. The English, with their vivid imaginations, are not afraid to invent new compositions for traditional subjects or new subjects to illustrate. They are the first to see the entrance to Hell as a ravenous beast; they are the first to interpret the calendar – the cycle of seasons and labors of the month – visually. Other English and continental painters and sculptors will quickly embrace these ideas. Moreover, unlike the continental counterparts, the English do not always take themselves so seriously; rather their art retains a human quality, a cleverness, a whimsy, even a sense of humor and an earthiness that will continue to characterize English art.

The Eadwine Psalter of a century later, arguably the most ambitious manuscript produced in twelfth-century England, is the richest of the replicas of the Utrecht Psalter. Moreover, its unique drawings of the monastic complex, including maps of the hydraulic system, increase its modern appeal. The Eadwine Psalter contains all three versions of the Latin Psalter that were currently in use in Europe, all attributed to St Jerome and all with interlinear commentaries: the *Romanum*, a Latin version; the *Gallicanum*, a revision that contains Greek and Hebrew versions; and the *Hebraicum*, which claims to be a translation from the original Hebrew. The triple translation reflects contemporary Carolingian practices; however, additional prototypes for texts and images also influence the Eadwine Psalter.

The full page illustrating Psalm 36 (fol.62v) (Fig. 2.22), representative of others, reveals the blending of the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon styles. The narratives, drawn in red, green, blue, and sepia ink and tidily contained within a simple border near the top of the page, recall the sketchy style of the monochromatic sepia illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter and other Carolingian manuscripts from Reims. On the other hand, the rich color, interlacing foliage and animals decorating the three initials of the letter N below evoke Anglo-Saxon examples. The drawings also bridge the shift from more conceptual Romanesque architectural drawings to the precision and clarity of the Gothic, most notably seen in the notebooks of French artist Villard de Honnecourt (active *c.* 1220–1240). Although about a dozen scribes contributed, the uniformity of the illustrations lead some scholars to speculate that a single artist drew them.

Finally, the colophon offers a new and ultimately influential feature: perhaps the first portrait – possibly a self-portrait – since classical antiquity. Such focus on an individual who was neither a saint nor royalty rarely occurred in medieval Europe. Although usually modest in size, the colophon portrait of a tonsured scribe (f.283v.), presumably Eadwine, since he signed the border and the prayer on the preceding page, fills an entire page near the end of the manuscript. The composition derives from a classical prototype, but the artist transforms it with the sinewy lines and patterns characteristic of the

Anglo-Saxons into one of the most charming images in Romanesque painting. Shown in a modified profile view, Eadwine sits on a throne-like chair, hunched over a bookstand in front of him, which allows him to fit inside the trefoil-topped frame. Silhouettes of Byzantine-style domes fill the upper corners on either side of the figure, leaving no wasted space, again an Anglo-Saxon characteristic. The linear style of the manuscripts throughout corresponds to styles in sculpture. Perhaps some of the manuscript illuminators also designed sculpture and murals.

In addition to textual importance, the transfer of styles, and the charming portrait, the Eadwine Psalter also contains three aforementioned illustrations giving a general survey of Canterbury Cathedral and Priory (Fig. 2.23), along with the renowned waterworks. Based on the presence of the older choir of the cathedral and certain monastic buildings, the illustrations were made between 1157 and 1161; the portrait could date to a decade or two later.[57] The point of view of the maps is the center of the complex, complete with compass points and inscriptions for clarity. Scholars continue to debate the purpose of such a complex manuscript. One of the most intriguing suggests that the drawings of Canterbury serve both concrete and abstract purposes as factual records and metaphors for Heavenly Jerusalem. Such duality of thought typified medieval exegesis and sermons.[58] However, at its most basic level, such detailed illustrations continue the chronicling tradition begun by Bede and show that the monks of Canterbury also valued contemporary record keeping as a means of passing on information to posterity.

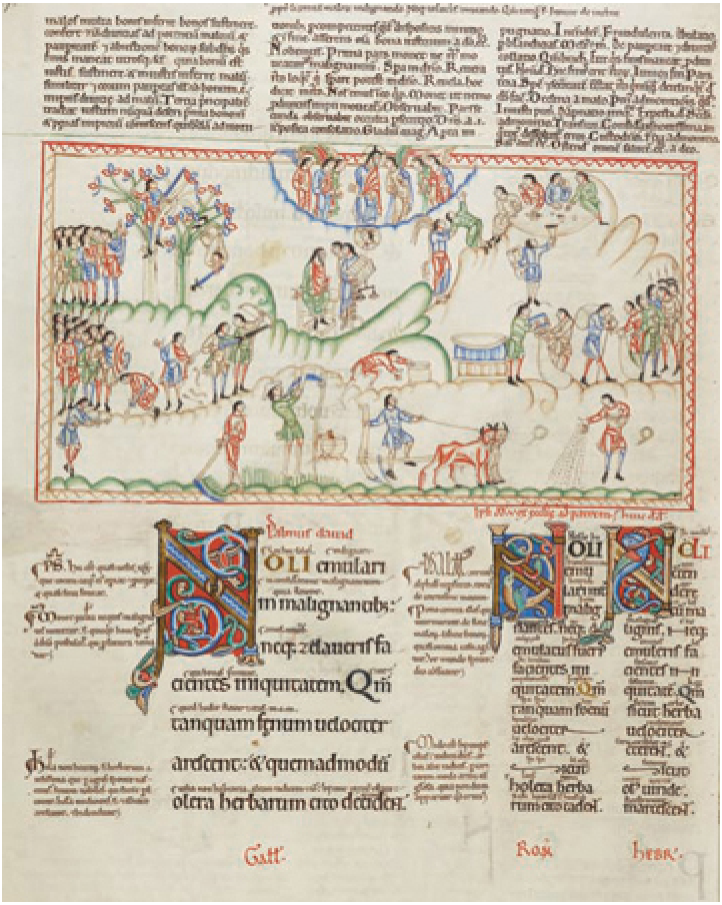


Fig. 2.22 Psalm 36, Eadwine Psalter, MS R.17.1, f. 62v., 1155–1170, produced at Canterbury, now in Trinity College, Cambridge. Photograph: Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge

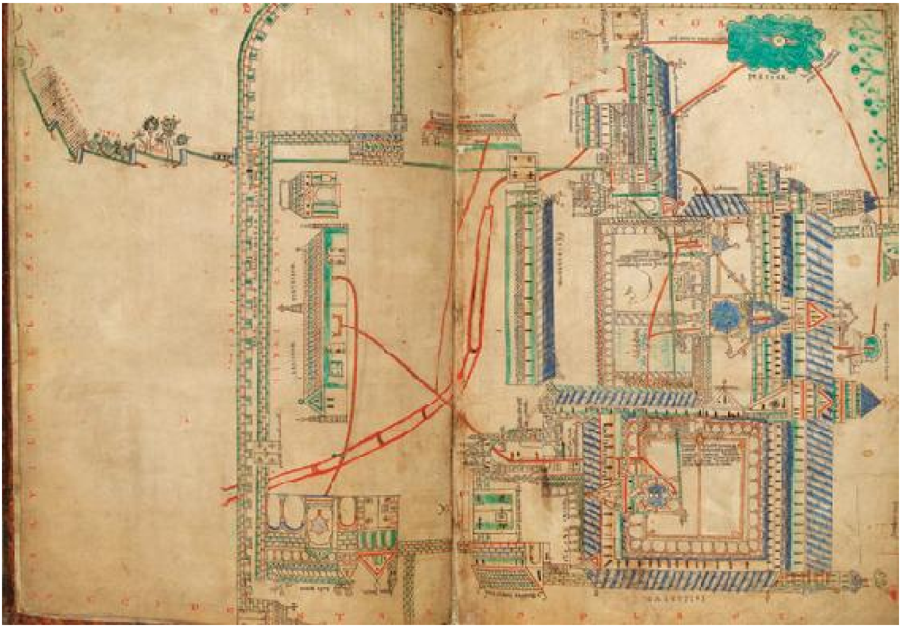


Fig. 2.23 Waterworks at Canterbury, Eadwine Psalter, MS R.17.1, ff. 284v–285r., 1155–1170, produced at Canterbury, now in Trinity College, Cambridge. Photograph: Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge

Romanesque painting: secular books

In the twelfth century, more books with secular subjects begin to appear aiming at a broader audience. These book types included history books, scientific manuals, herbal books, medical books, and bestiaries. In general, the line-based style of these books resembles that of religious books, but with less elaborates ornamentation, less gold, and limited color. They tend to contain tinted drawings of ink or watercolor wash, which recalls pre-Conquest examples and the Eadwine Psalter, rather than the rich, thick color found in the Bury Bible.

Historical accounts follow in the tradition of the English Chronicles, going back to Bede in the eighth century and later the Domesday Book, commissioned in December 1085 by William the Conqueror as a census and an account of tax units throughout the land. The first draft of the Domesday Book, completed in August 1086, contains records for 13,418 settlements in the English counties south of the border with Scotland. This unique assessment, the most comprehensive document to survive from medieval times, is an invaluable source for scholars of all sorts.

Worcester Chronicle

The earliest known illustrated history in England, the *Worcester Chronicle* (2.50), continues the English tradition of documenting current events. Made *c.* 1118–1140 at Worcester by monks named Florence and later John (and perhaps others), the text reveals the reciprocal exchange of information between various English centers of historical writing, such Worcester, Romsey, Glastonbury, and Durham, all places where historical works were composed. The illustrations, which depend on line and have a limited palette of thinly applied color washes, primarily red and green, fit within the text, which could indicate that John served as both scribe and the illustrator. Some of the most charming illustrations accompany events from the life of Henry I (ruled 1100–1135), the second son of William the Conqueror to sit on the English throne. The narrative sequence of the Dream of Henry I addresses his subjects' wish for tax relief. First, farmers, knights, and monks confront the king: those who toil, those who fight, and those who pray. Next, he endures a storm at sea. Finally, the storm subsides when he agrees to lower taxes for seven years.[59] For the first time, English chronicling and English illustration come together, establishing a new book type.

Other secular books

Other examples that show the breadth of secular subjects include the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D.xvi), a moralizing allegorical poem addressing the battle between good and evil, Christianity and paganism, written in fourth-century Spain.[60] This edition of the poem dates from *c.* 1120 with tinted drawings illustrating the text. The monk Byrhtferth of Ramsey Abbey in East Anglia was eleventh-century England's leading man of science. He probed the idea of the power of human reason to penetrate nature's secrets. Among other topics, his *Manual* (or *Enchiridion*) of *c.* 1110 includes diagrams of the harmony of the universe in terms of the elements, seasons, humors, time, and the course of the planets.[61]

Finally, bestiaries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were especially popular in England as instructional books.[62] These books typically contained descriptions and tinted drawings of animals and birds, some remarkably accurate. Some bestiaries contain also mention of plants, maps, and heraldry. Typically, images predominate over text. Generally, the style of the illustrations is outline drawing, tinted with color as found in the early thirteenth-century *The Bestiarius*, or *De Bestiis*.[63]

Although bestiaries clearly fall into the category of secular and even educational literature, since they address the characteristics of various kinds of animals, both real and imaginary, they also offer fodder for homilies, for they include explanations of animals' moral behavior and have symbolic significance. For example, the phoenix rising from the pyre forms a parallel to Christ's Resurrection. Similarly, texts on physiognomy discussed various monsters and drew analogies between physical and personality characteristics of people and animals. Overall, by the twelfth century, book production had vastly increased, with styles and subjects more varied than in the past.

Romanesque painting: murals

A strong tradition of Romanesque mural painting developed in England, although most either have perished or deteriorated. The line-based style of the paintings, with broad areas of bright, clear color, resembles contemporary manuscript illustrations. Some Byzantine inspiration appears, both in style and in arrangement of individual scenes, recounted in segments, which also resemble the patterns of contemporary French murals. Sometimes more than one scene related to the same event appears in a single box, with narrative outweighing any concept of a unified composition. Figures stand along a single plane, flattened and stylized, often crudely, with hands and eyes exaggerated in size. Although the narratives depend on figures to enact biblical stories in pantomime, there is little attempt at naturalism or the third dimension. One of the earliest and most complete programs, especially remarkable for its extensive scope, survives at St Botolph's Church in Hardham. Often murals occur at manuscript centers, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Westminster, and Durham, with the style, predictably, following local painting traditions. Stained glass windows, contemporary with these murals and related in style, survive at Canterbury and York.

St Botolph's Church, Hardham

The medieval murals in the tiny eleventh-century church of St Botolph's at Hardham in West Sussex were discovered in 1866 beneath whitewash. Dating from 1050 to 1100, these murals, like the contemporary Bayeux Tapestry, run in continuous narrative format with a Latin text above. A single workshop may well have executed the program, possibly from the great Cluniac priory at nearby Lewes, established 1077, the first Cluniac priory in England. The flat, linear style of the paintings is readily apparent, but the bold colors, with reds and yellows predominating, have faded. The stories include a cycle of the life Christ. Following the Byzantine tradition, the cycle begins on the two sides of the arch separating the nave from the chancel with the Annunciation. The Angel Gabriel and Virgin face each other with the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*) encased within a circle in the center between them (Fig. 2.24). The upper band of the north wall begins with the Adoration of the Magi and continues with the childhood of Christ. Scenes of the adult life of Christ fill the lower band of the south wall. The narrative ends on the south side by the arch into the chancel. The band on the north wall below the youth of Christ contains the life of St George of Cappadocia, which is the earliest known English narrative of this saint. On the south wall, scenes of "Moralities" include the story of Lazarus and the Feast of Dives. Typical of Byzantine decoration, a Last Judgment appears to have filled the west wall, with the Torments of Hell and the Bliss of Heaven still visible. The chancel completes the history of human salvation in a sort of Old Testament-New Testament typological arrangement with the Fall of Man, and scenes from the Passion of Christ, including the Last Supper, Betrayal, Entombment, and Resurrection.[64]

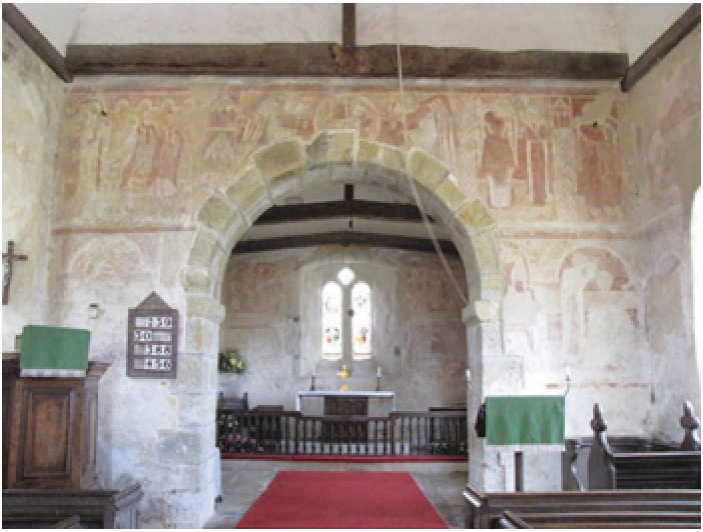


Fig. 2.24 St Botolph's Church, Hardham, West Sussex, Adoration of the lamb in the center; right: Annunciation and Visitation in the center, Annunciation, Visitation, Baptism; left: Christ among the Doctors, mural, east wall 1050–1100. Photograph: author

Winchester Cathedral: Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre

Murals of Christ's Passion also fill the small Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Winchester Cathedral, built beneath the north arch of the crossing tower. These Romanesque murals are the finest to survive in England. Dating from *c.* 1170, the patron probably was Bishop Henry of Blois, who also commissioned a surviving psalter. In the thirteenth century, the chapel received a repainting with more murals of a similar theme. In 1963, as these paintings were undergoing restoration, conservators discovered earlier paintings underneath.

In the fashion of contemporary Italian and Byzantine mural programs, the Deposition of Christ (Fig. 2.25) stands above in a triangular-shaped space, while the Entombment takes place directly above the altar. A decorative border of geometrical shapes separates the two paintings. The pattern consists of a row of diamonds that alternate holding crosses and smaller diamonds in red and green on black. Although damaged, enough survives of the murals to see the relationship of the moving pathos and linear style to the Winchester style of manuscript illumination. As with the illuminations, the figures fill the shallow, crowded picture space. The bold, flat colors, with reds and greens predominating, and are encased within heavy outlines. Lyrical movements, poignant facial expressions, and theatrical gestures overtake any interest in naturalism. Moreover, here mural decoration meets liturgy and function. In medieval times, the Easter Vigil ceremonies took place in this chapel.

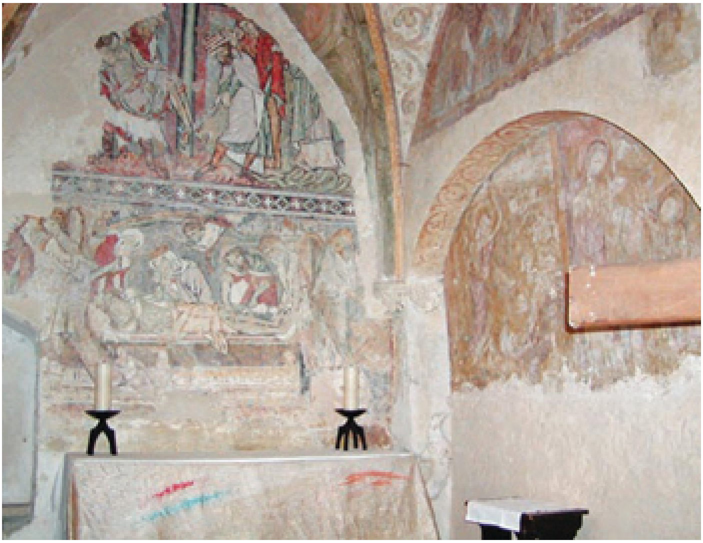


Fig. 2.25 Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, east wall of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, Deposition and Entombment, mural, c. *1070. Photograph: author*

Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury: Chapel of St Gabriel

Two chapels at Canterbury Cathedral have remnants of Romanesque murals. The sinuous line and broad areas of color recall Byzantine mural decoration and paintings found in manuscripts from Winchester and Canterbury. St Gabriel's Chapel in the south aisle of the crypt contains a fresco program in the apse that dates from *c.* 1160 – possibly as late as the 1180s – after Prior Wilbert made architectural alterations. During subsequent building campaigns, the chapel was blocked and filled with stones; it was reopened in the 1800s. The mural decoration on the curved wall of the apse shows the infancy of John the Baptist on the left, the infancy of Christ on the right, and apocalyptic subjects, including a Christ in Glory, in the center. A pair of large seraphim standing on wheels facing each other on the inside of the arch (Fig. 2.26). The vaults contain medallions on ornamental ground. Following closely the styles in manuscript illumination, compositions are crowded and figures, drawn with heavy outline, overlap. The warm palette consists of red, orange, and blue with touches of ochre, green, and yellow. The similarity of tones and chemical contents of the colors with surviving contemporary murals fragments in the nearby infirmary chapel indicate a similar date and artistic team.[65] Moreover, similar stylistic characteristics indicate that the artists who installed the first stained glass windows, discussed in Chapter 3, also knew contemporary mural painting.

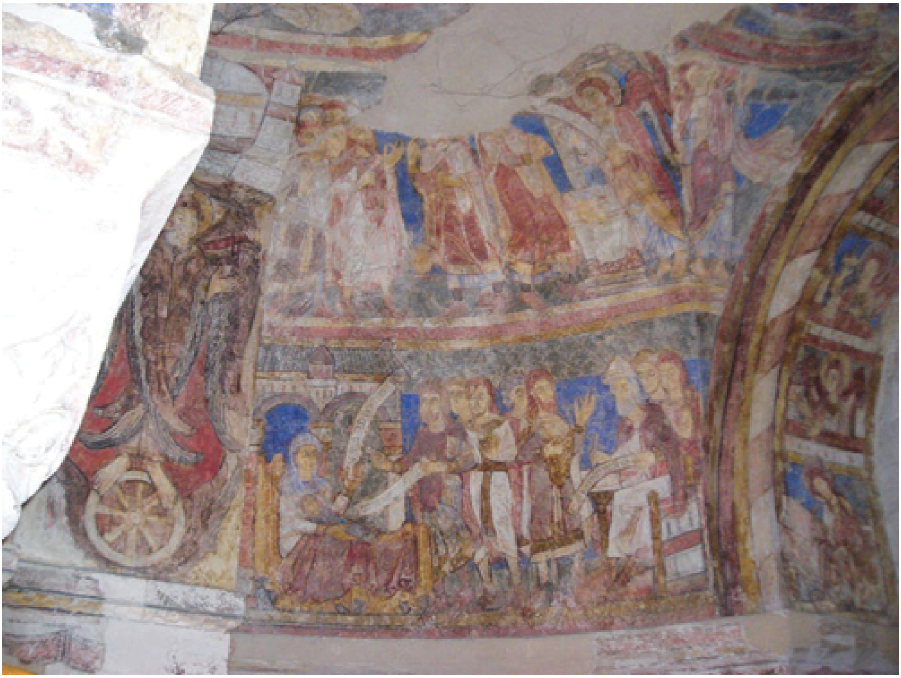


Fig. 2.26 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Chapel of St Gabriel, apse of the crypt, Seraphim and detail of the Birth of John the Baptist, mural, c. *1160. Photograph: author*

Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury: Chapel of St Anselm

High up in the upper left corner of the east-facing apse of the Chapel of St Anselm in the north aisle (Fig. 2.27) stands a remarkably well preserved mural of *c*. 1160–1180 depicting St Paul Shaking off the Viper, rediscovered in 1888. Just as several hands appear in manuscript illumination at Canterbury, contemporary sculpture, stained glass production, and mural painting follow the same pattern. Although directly above St Gabriel's Chapel and roughly contemporary, the St Paul mural bears little resemblance. The palette is cool, with blue, green, and yellow predominating. The more open picture space and the rendering of the monumental figure show greater sophistication. Remnants of further decoration extend on to the stringcourses above and below the mural, and around the obstructed north window.

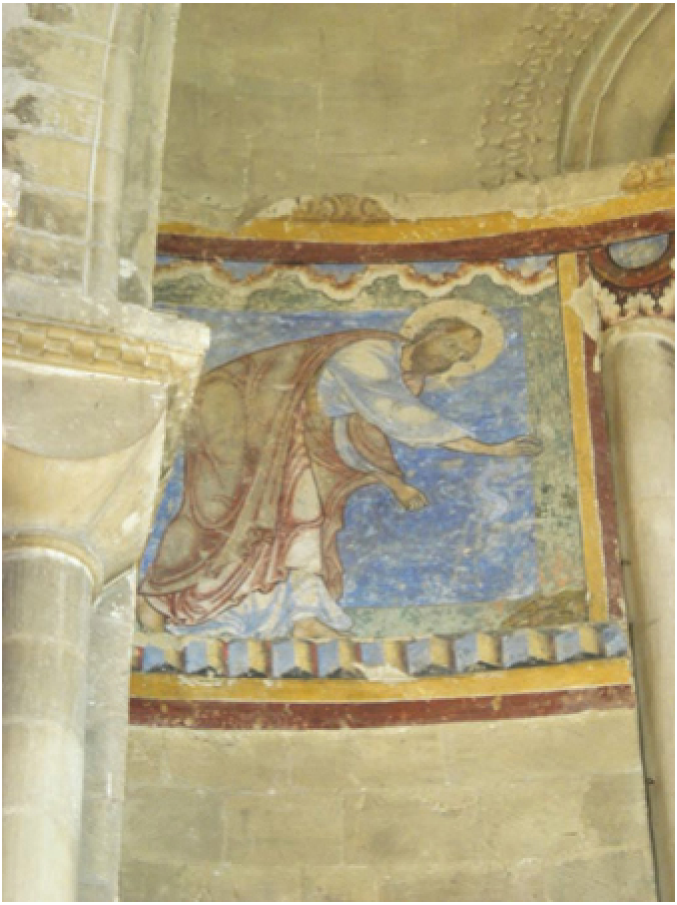


Fig. 2.27 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Chapel of St Anslem, east wall of the south aisle of the choir, St Peter and the Viper, mural, 1160–1180. Photograph: author

The unusual subject, which derives from Acts 28: 1–6, may have been a part of a cycle recounting St Paul's career, as the chapel was originally dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul. St Paul, dressed in a while robe with a reddish cloak, stands against a blue background and walks along a line of green earth above a ribbon-like border. Above, the scalloped border resembles a line of clouds. A tree trunk stands on the right. St Paul leans over, filling the register from top to bottom and to each side. He seems almost to dance as he shakes off the squirming viper, which resembles a little dragon.

Durham Cathedral: the Galilee Chapel

The remnants of murals of *c*. 1175–1180 similar to the those in St Anselm's Chapel at Canterbury in style, warm color palette, and sense of monumentality appears in the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral, built by Bishop Hugh De Puiset (bishop 1154–1195). On the north wall, the paintings over the altar in the second bay depict St Cuthbert and St Oswald. Each stands in a rounded lancet frame with a blue background. An animated Cuthbert, who wears the white mitre (hat) and robe of a bishop, blesses with his right hand and carries his crosier in his left (Fig. 2.28). The central space originally held a pietà. The spandrels above the arches in this bay contain the dim remnants of scenes of Christ's crucifixion. Blue, yellow, and green predominate in both, as opposed to the red in the murals at Winchester and St Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury.

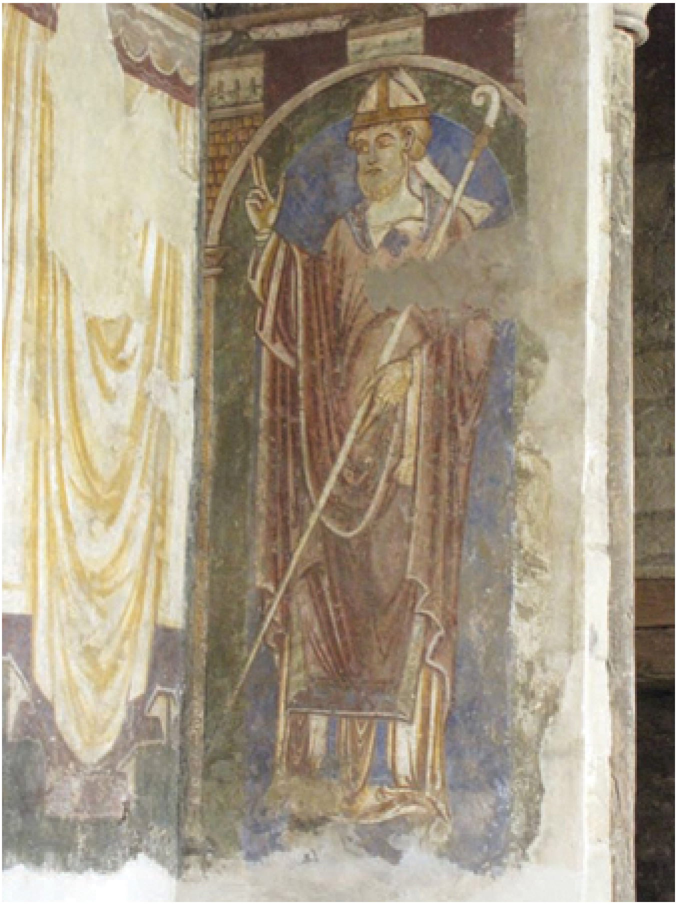


Fig. 2.28 Durham Cathedral, Northumbria, Galilee, east wall, St Cuthbert, mural, 1170–1175. Photograph: author

Interior church furnishings and decorative arts

Just as architectural sculpture once adorned medieval English churches, so did furnishings, such as reliquaries, crucifixes, baptismal fonts, pulpits, and devotional images. Such objects enhanced the spiritual life of medieval people, giving them a narrative, an image upon which to meditate, and a tangible touch with the past. Some objects were quite splendid; others were plain, depending on who made the objects and for whom. Often, the decoration directly related to the function of the object or to the dedication of the church for which they were made. Such objects include crosses, such as that from Bury St Edmunds, and baptismal fonts, such as those at Winchester and Lincoln.

Bury St Edmunds: Altar Cross

The exquisite carved Altar Cross from Bury St Edmunds (*c.* 1150) is formed from five pieces of walrus tusk, carefully joined. The 92 intricately carved figures, each about a half-inch (1.3 cm) tall, and 98 inscriptions form a complex theological program that has yet to be adequately explained. The front contains a Tree of Life. Square reliefs depict the Deposition on the right, the three Marys at the tomb on the left, and the Ascension at the top. The reverse side depicts a sacrificial lamb surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists at the center and many additional scenes. The base may not be original. Although believed to have originated at Bury St Edmunds, the artist, the patron, and the purpose of the cross remain unknown. Some scholars have noted stylistic similarities between the cross and Master Hugo, who illustrated the contemporary Bury Bible; others disagree.[66] The meaning of the inscriptions proves equally conflicted: some scholars have interpreted them to have a disdain for the Jews; others disagree, making this cross one of the most enigmatic pieces of Romanesque art to survive. Although many similarly embellished crosses of silver, enamel and other precious materials would have stood on altars in wealthy medieval churches, most were not as intricate as this one.

Winchester and Lincoln: baptismal fonts

Larger church furnishings included baptismal fonts. Two similar twelfth-century examples survive at Winchester and Lincoln. Both fonts have a large square bowl set on four colonnettes and a heavy central drum, all formed of a dark, carboniferous limestone imported from near Tournai in France, which, like Purbeck architectural decoration, was waxed and polished to resemble black marble. The low sculptural relief reflects the stylized images of contemporary painting. Two sides of the Winchester font contain roundels with birds. The other two sides contain miracles from the life of St Nicholas of Myra, including his gift of gold to a poor man for dowries for his three daughters; reviving three murdered boys from a sausage tub; and rescuing men from a wrecked ship, with an early rendition of a fixed rudder. Since the legend of St Nicholas of Myra gained popularity in the mid-twelfth century in England, the font at Winchester possibly dates from the episcopacy of Bishop Henry of Blois (1129–1171). In 1141, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln visited Winchester Cathedral to receive Empress Matilda; perhaps the font at Winchester inspired him to acquire one for Lincoln Cathedral, but without narrative content; instead, all four sides contain grotesques and lions with foliate tails.[67] Romanesque sculpture, whether for church furnishings or for architectural decoration, reflect both the indigenous love of lurking faces, ghoulish composite beasts, and vegetal designs, blended with the figurative narrative tradition. Many years will pass, however, before independent, freestanding sculpture of significant size will appear.

Secular architecture: castles and engineering works

A fundamental difference separating late antiquity from the High Middle Ages in Europe was the shift from an urban culture to an agrarian-based feudal society controlled by local nobles. Saxon administrative structure had included a series of defensive fortifications, built of timber and maintained by the local lord. The idea of combining fortifications with a residence seems to have come into England from France during the reign of Edward the Confessor, although the practice on the continent extends back at least to 864 under Charles the Bald.[68] Unlike their continental peers, English lords did not own or control armies and needed royal permission to build a fortified castle or to add crenellations (a broken parapet, or wall, at the top of a defensive wall or castle used for battlements). The English rural fortified house or castle had an estate that sustained it, an adjacent park for hunting game, and a neighboring village that could supply goods and support.[69] Cottages and farmhouses also dotted the countryside, supervised by the local lord. Although these buildings do not survive, buildings of the next century indicate that the basic construction module for Saxon houses was the vertical post and horizontal beam system with a triangular truss above the beam to support the roof.[70]

Although continental lords held greater local power and built more fortresses than appeared in England, the Anglo-Saxons vastly outshone them as administrative organizers. Before William arrived, the Anglo-Saxons had systematically divided and subdivided the land into organizational districts, hundreds, and shires, for government, assessment, and taxation. The Normans conquerors immediately replaced the Saxon lords with Norman ones, but they adopted the existing Saxon-style administrative structure, maintaining an organized strong central government. This Norman decision determined much about the later government of England, as the Domesday survey that William commenced in 1086 proves.[71]

One of the direct consequences of the Norman Conquest was the proliferation of imposing stone castles, first built to defeat, then to suppress the Saxon population, and most of all, to assert the strength and supremacy of the new Norman regime. These castles, the most foreign of the Norman art and architectural forms, would soon assimilate into the English mindset and form the backbone of both the English military and social structure, with the social function outliving the military usefulness. Along with the technology of building Norman castles came more sophisticated engineering works, such as municipal defenses and bridges.

The architectural form of castles, like cathedrals, followed a predictable form. Although more sophisticated than Anglo-Saxon castles, many of the parts remained the same. Normans sought natural hills as sites, as stone was too heavy for manmade hills. Moreover, an effective castle needed to be defensive on all sides. Some initial Norman fortresses, like the Saxon ones, were built of timber, probably in the interest of economy and speed. Quickly, however, the Norman conquerors introduced into England monumental stone and mortar construction, with rubble and mortar between walls, as Romans had done. Periodically a course of slate or brick tiles was laid to give an even surface for building higher.

The heart of a fortress was the keep or donjon on a hill or a motte (artificial hill), surrounded by a yard and defensive walls. The keep served both as living quarters and as the last line of defense. The earliest stone keeps in England, like the Norman ones, usually consisted of a square, four story tower with a well and storage rooms at ground level and a two-story hall above. Later, after knights on the First Crusade (1095–1099) saw Muslim and Byzantine defenses in the east, the shape changed to the circular. Although keeps varied in size and shape, the interior parts remained constant. The most important room was the great hall, used for eating, entertaining, and for living quarters. As castles and keeps became increasingly complex, more components developed, including private quarters for the lord and his family and a chapel. Local lords took pride in the appearance of their castles, and the designs incorporated some features associated with church architecture, such as articulated doorways and windows; pilasters (a slightly projecting decorative rectangular column attached to a wall or a pier) and rounded shafts articulating the walls; stone vaults for the ceilings; and multiple levels, with arcades, galleries, and interior passageways.

The Normans introduced heavy fortified outer walls of stone, called a curtain wall or barbican, with staircases, fortifiable entrances, small windows, towers, and crenellations. Staircases were usually circular, ascending clockwise (a left-handed helix), a typically English feature. The design places the sword-hand, presumably the right, on the inside of the stairway to hamper the swing of the sword-hand and expose the body of the ascending enemy; conversely, defenders descending the stair have room to strike from the wider outside.

The entry point was an arched opening in the wall, usually surmounted by towers, which opened into a vaulted passageway. Heavy wooden doors stood on the outside with a portcullis, or a drop gate made of iron rods laid in a grid pattern, inside. Visitors entered this portal from a drawbridge, a device unknown to the Romans, which allowed access over the enclosure moat or ditch that usually was filled with water. Many castles had double moats. The bridge could be raised in case of siege, and the portcullis served as added protection. The large bailey yard between the keep and the walls held support facilities, including a kitchen, stables, barns, forges, and workshops. Sometimes these support facilities were built into the walls; sometimes they were freestanding.[72]

William established or strengthened towns at strategic locations throughout the country for defense and trade, adding castles as a part of municipal fortifications and cathedrals to show the power of the church, under whose banner William had conquered England. Castles, then, could serve different purposes, as seen at Lincoln, the city castle; Durham, the ecclesiastical castle; and Berkeley, the rural lord's castle.

Lincoln Castle

In 1068, William established one of his earliest city castles at Lincoln, the third largest city in England, which stood at the conflux of important roads and waterways. The castle complex crowns the top of Lincoln Hill on the northwest side of the city, the strategic site of the Roman fort. The Domesday Book records the demolition of 166 houses to prepare the site for the castle. Recently archaeologists discovered remains of a church in the precinct that pre-dates the Norman castle, documenting the extent of the Norman demolition. The cathedral stands on adjacent land, also confiscated from the town. The proximity of the two was unusual: more often, the two seats of power sat on opposite sides of the city.[73] In 1113, fire destroyed the original timber fort, soon replaced by a stronger stone structure.

The rectangular Roman city wall in Lincoln forms the boundary for the outer bailey of the castle. Additional massive walls, with distinctive herringbone masonry in some places, remain intact and surround an almost square 6-acre (2.4 ha) castle precinct, accessed through gates on the east and west sides. The Norman western gate, rebuilt in the 1230s, stands on the site of the west gate to the Roman upper town. The Gothic East Gate, now the main entrance to the castle, was originally a plain Norman arch, but the Norman barrel vault within survives. A barbican wall spanning a moat once stood in front of the gatehouses. A drawbridge and portcullis once granted access to the inner precinct, but these were destroyed in 1791.

On the inside of the castle precinct stand two manmade mottes and two keeps. Only double keeps exist in Britain: Lincoln and Lewes in Sussex. Lincoln's twelfth-century keep, called the Lucy Keep after Lucy de Taillebois, the builder, is a 15-sided roofless structure with a stringcourse, plain buttresses, and a consolidated parapet. Such an open structure is sometimes called a shell-keep. The Lucy Keep probably contained lean-to wooden buildings against the inner wall. The square fourteenth-century Observatory Tower, situated on the taller motte, stands at the southeast corner.[74]

Durham Castle

In the north of England, away from the centers of power, Durham stood vulnerable to attack from the Scottish north. William therefore combined the ecclesiastical powers of the bishop with the political powers of the Earl of Northumbria, who had his own parliament and his own army to fortify the Scottish border. The king dubbed William Walcher, the first Norman "prince-bishop" of Durham (tenure: 1071–1080). The even more capable William of St Calais (or St Carileph) succeeded him and oversaw the early construction of the cathedral and much of the castle.

To suit the dual offices the bishop held, the king conceived the castle and cathedral as a unit, sited atop a steep hill on a peninsula created by a sharp right bend in the River Wear. In 1072, the king authorized building the castle to accommodate the bishop's household. One of the greatest of the Norman castles, the plan, remnants of which remain, follows the typical Norman "motte and bailey" design (Fig. 2.29). The keep sits atop the motte, the largest in England, and dominates the center of the neck of the peninsula, protecting both the ecclesiastical realm and the town below. The present keep, reconstructed in the nineteenth century following a fire, follows the plan of the original.

On the west side of the bailey, Bishop Walcher built an enormous hall block, exceeding most in England. The hall stood at the first floor level supported by an undercroft. Although the hall does not survive as built, parts of the undercroft give evidence of its size. In 1284, Bishop Anthony Bek built the present Great Hall. Although shortened by Bishop Richard Foxe in the late fifteenth century, the hall still stands 46 ft high and over 90 ft long (14 × 30 m).

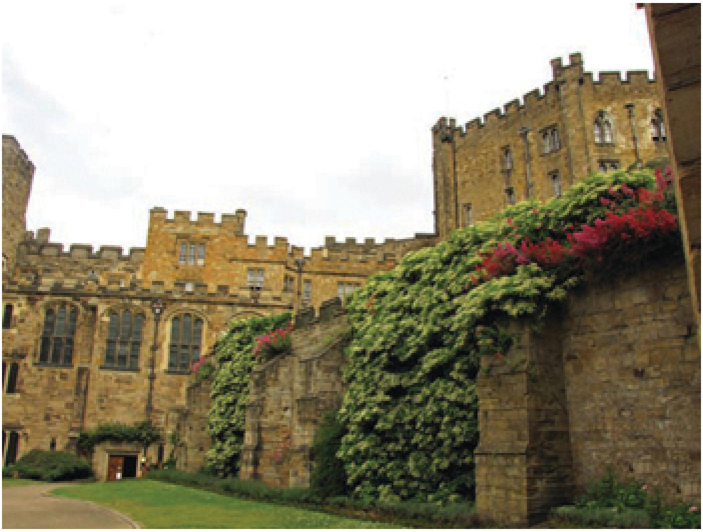


Fig. 2.29 Durham Castle, Northumbria, 1072 ff. Photograph: author

The second building and oldest remaining part of the castle is the Norman chapel, which lies in the undercroft in the northeast corner of the bailey near the motte. Probably built 1080–1093 by William of St Calais, it predates the cathedral. The small rectangular space, vaulted in twelve bays with three aisles of equal height, is dimly lit by small, high set windows. The magnificent stonework includes a herringbone pattern on the floor. Columns of golden sandstone with swirls of color support the vaults topped by beautifully carved capitals. Although the volutes on the corners derive from classical models, the carvings introduce such exotic creatures as lions, tigers, snakes, and a mermaid in the right aisle. The northwest column contains a fascinating scene of a hunt in progress. Another later chapel exists above, which could have been the case in Norman times.

The exterior of Constable's Hall, which lies west and above the Norman chapel, also bears distinctive traits. This hall probably dates from the episcopacy of Hugh de Puiset (Pudsey) in the late twelfth century and now is divided and hidden from external view by a later hallway. The entrance is through a richly decorated splayed Norman portal. Three engaged columns in the doorjambs, each in a different geometric pattern, alternate with ropework that extends over the arch to form an unusually sumptuous triple archivolt. The alignment of the castle and cathedral, not to mention their formidable silhouette, convey at a single glance the powerful alliance between the Norman church and government.[75]

Berkeley Castle

Berkeley Castle on the Severn Estuary near Gloucester represents a castle that served not only as the defensive residence of a local lord but also as an example of the March Castles built to defend against the Welsh. William fitz Osbern, a relative of and counselor to William I, began the castle between 1153 and 1156 (Fig. 2.30). Maurice Berkeley, however, under the authority of Henry II, gave the building its present form. For over 900 years, the castle has been the home of the Berkeley family. This castle and its owners have many connections with momentous events in history and literature; numerous locations take their name, including Berkeley Square in London, Berkeley Plantation in Virginia, and Berkeley, California.

The primary Norman parts survive: the tall, heavy walls, arrow slits, huge barred doors, and a massive keep with turrets reaching as high as 60 ft (18.3 m). The uneven blocks of pinkish-colored native stone change to a lighter color for the narrow salient buttresses. An austere pointed stone arch marks the entrance, which sits back from the moat and the defensive walls. Slots visible above indicate where the portcullis once fell. A small inconspicuous door just beyond the gate gives entrance to the three-story keep, accessed by a poorly lit spiral staircase. In addition to the typical left-hand helix design, the steps at Berkeley purposefully rise at inconsistent heights – literally to trip up the enemy. The keep also contains living quarters, including the cell and the dungeon where the deposed King Edward II was held and murdered in 1327. This gruesome event was the subject of one of the first history plays, published in 1594 by Christopher Marlowe.

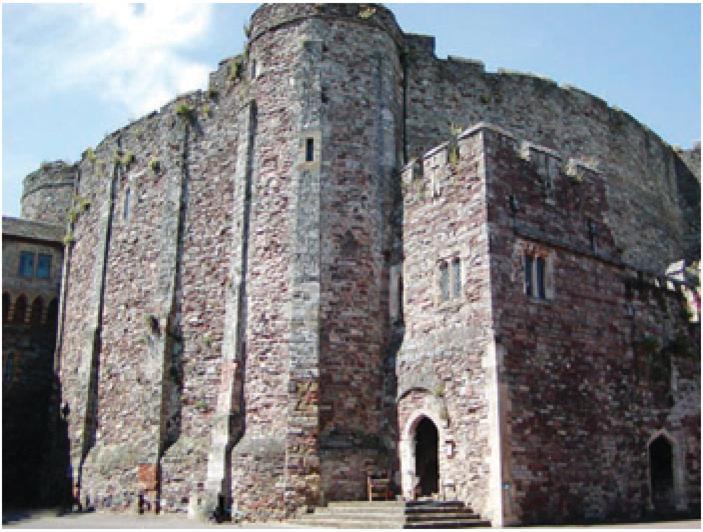


Fig. 2.30 Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, exterior of the keep, 1117 ff. Photograph: author

The complex includes a great hall where, in 1215, the barons of the west gathered before departing for Runnymede, where they met King John and demanded the privileges recorded in the *Magna Carta*. Since that time, the ancient castle gradually has been enlarged to include a medieval buttery and kitchen, a chapel, a Tudor dining room, and Tudor living quarters. A sixteenth-century Berkeley family wedding may have inspired Shakespeare to write *A Midsummer Night's Dream*·

Bridges

The Normans built the first stone bridges in England since the Romans. A few survive, including the one that connects Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral, which stand less than 300 ft (*c*. 90 m) apart. The construction probably coincides with the large tower and the eastern arm of the cathedral; similar mason's marks at the castle and cathedral place the date at *c*. 1100. The Normans built bridges over waterways as well. One of the oldest bridges still used in England survives at Bradford-on-Avon. Built of stone with arches over the river, the Norman core has been widened and refaced.

The Romans built a wooden bridge at London, which was destroyed, or partially so, several times. The Normans rebuilt it in 1077 and 1086, and again in 1092, following a storm with heavy winds and tides.[76] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* confirms its presence with a mention that in 1114, at the time of a great ebb tide, people could cross to the east of the bridge. Thus, although little survives of Norman civil engineering works, their extraordinary building efforts did extend beyond castles and churches.[77]

Royal castles and halls

William also built fortified castles that served as royal power bases, royal family residences and, when necessary, as fortresses. In a castle, the Great Hall, the largest room, served as living quarters and reflected the basic domestic design on a larger scale, which consisted of a single rectangular room with an open hearth in the center of the floor. Roofs needed a high pitch with a central louver through which smoke could escape. Life centered around the hall. The owner and his family, the household staff, and servants all lived, ate, and slept there. The most impressive royal castles were the Tower of London and Windsor; they still stand and incorporate Great Halls into the keep. Lesser fortified residences at Oakham and Westminster had living quarters independent of a keep, which prefigure later developments in residential design.

Tower of London

The Tower of London, the greatest secular building in England since the departure of the Romans, was built to impress, intimidate, and subdue the belligerent citizens (Fig. 2.31). William the Conqueror founded it in 1078; his son William Rufus completed in 1097. It served as one of at least three strategically located fortifications in London, the largest and most important city in England. The Tower defended the southeast; Baynard's Castle protected the southwest; and Monfichet, near Ludgate Hill, oversaw the north central area of the city. The Tower appears today much as it did nearly a millennium ago: austere, forbidding, and, in spite of being dwarfed by modern skyscrapers, imposing. The primary royal residence in the area, however, developed and remained at Westminster, beyond the west side of the London.

William and Gundulf of Bec, a churchman trained in Rouen and the bishop of Rochester, modeled this keep after Norman examples, but on a larger scale, as apparent in William's stone castle-palace illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry. Gundulf who had built a castle in his native Normandy and a similar great stone keep at Rochester, supervised the building of the White Tower. Nicknamed the "White Tower" after Henry III whitewashed it, this structure established the precedent for later castles in England, such as the copy at Colchester, which is slightly larger. The White Tower measures 118 × 107 ft (36 × 33 m) externally and 90 ft (27.4 m) high with a foundation varying from about 15 ft to as much as 26 ft (4.6–7.9 m) thick.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes many men forced into service to build the wall around the tower.[78] Although the old Roman city walls protected the Tower to the east and south, an earthwork with a wooden wall on top and manmade ditches as much as 25 ft (7.5 m) wide and 11 ft (3.4 m) deep protected the north and west sides.

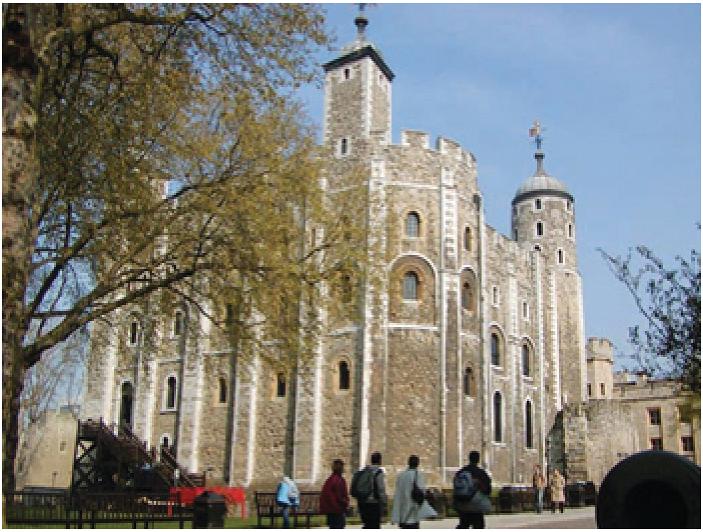


Fig. 2.31 Tower of London, London, White Tower, southeast corner of the exterior of the keep showing the apse of St John's Chapel, c. *1080. Photograph: author*

The Tower contains a basement and three stories, although here the second floor may have originally been two stories tall. An internal wall divides the almost square building in half from tip to basement on a north-south axis and parallel gabled roofs cover each half. Each floor is divided into the same three spaces: a large room fills the western side and a parallel room lies on the northeastern side, cut short in the southeast corner by St John's Chapel, its crypt on the first floor, and its subterranean, barrel vaulted sub-crypt below. A timber staircase on the outside, removable in the event of an attack, leads to an entrance on the first floor. The vaulted basement has a separate entrance. The basement, intended for storage, contains an eleventh-century well, an indispensable component in case of a siege. Two spiral staircases connect the basement with the first floor. The more important stair fills the massive round turret in the northeast corner, intentionally placed farthest from the entrance to thwart intruders.

The more refined ground floor, with its south and east facing windows, two halls, and the barrel-vaulted crypt below St John's Chapel, probably served as living quarters for the Constable. Each of the two halls contained huge window embrasures and a large, round-backed fireplace, rather than the more common hearth in the middle of the floor with a louver above. The chimney, embedded in the wall, provided a more effective way of removing smoke. This new and more efficient heating method gave both direct and indirect heat through the heated stones. Two garderobes, or toilet facilities, are hidden within a little outer wall tower on the north wall of the larger hall.

The first floor, the most refined of all, is the king's floor. Accessed by two spiral staircases, it maintains the same basic plan of the floor below, with the same number of windows and fireplaces. This level has two large rooms and the main floor of St John's Chapel. The larger room functioned as the royal hall for entertaining; the smaller one as the king's private chamber, complete with a fireplace and garderobe. Three doors led out of the king's chambers: one to the northeast stair in the large rounded tower, one for private access to the chapel, and a third, near the chapel door, opened into the hall. The floor plan for the third floor mirrors the floor below: two halls and the upper level of the two-story chapel. A passageway extends around the building, except for the chapel area, at which point the passage becomes a gallery overlooking the nave. Some scholars believe the top floor was added later, which would explain the lack of fireplaces and garderobes.[79]

The austere but majestic Chapel of St John occupies the southeastern side of the building. Its plan is that of a small basilica, with its rounded apse projecting from the eastern corner (Fig. 2.32). Built of white stone, the chapel is both the most refined room in the castle and the oldest complete Norman Romanesque church in England. A handsome stone barrel vaulted ceiling covers the nave and ends in a semi-dome over the apse. Barrel vaulting for large spans was rare in Normandy and England, and this is the only known early English example. The nave arcade consists of heavy, majestic cylindrical columns with simple leaf designs on the corners of the cushion-shaped capitals. Originally, they were painted. These chamfered capitals join the arches that support the gallery above. The unadorned piers of the barrel vaulted gallery arcade align with the supports of the arcade below. Unlike contemporary cathedrals and chapels of other English keeps, the gallery, which is groin vaulted, runs completely around the horseshoe shape, but does not stretch across the east end. Because of being enclosed within a castle keep, the aisles and gallery have windows only on the south and east walls.[80] The Tower set the precedent for castle architecture in England.

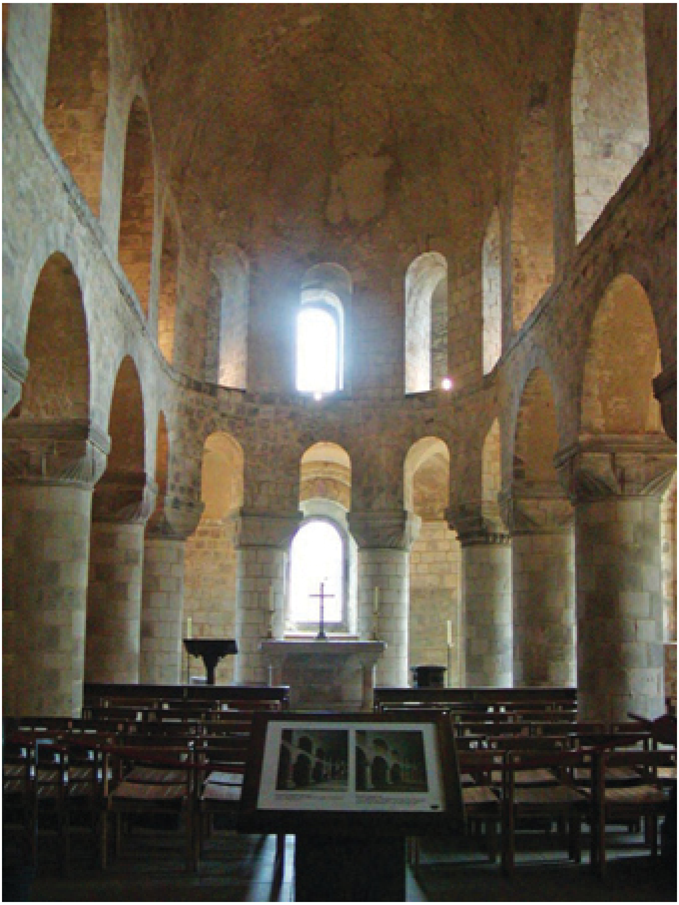


Fig. 2.32 Tower of London, London, St John's Chapel, interior view to the east, c. *1080. Photograph: author*

Windsor Castle

Another link in the chain of defenses that William set up throughout England is Windsor Castle, founded *c*. 1090. It lies 2 miles (3.2 km) west of the site of a Saxon palace, also called Windsor, which William confiscated and used. The castle, which is the only naturally occurring defensive site west of London, dramatically crowns a steep chalk ridge 100 ft (30.5 m) above the River Thames. As with most of William's fortifications, Windsor was a motte and bailey castle built entirely of wood. The original wooden keep at Windsor, stood on a manmade chalk earthwork motte 50 ft high and 300 ft in diameter (15.2 × 91.4 m). Surmounted by palisades, the keep was visible from every approach. The lowest story had a well, which still exists beneath a bedroom floor within the present tower. A yard, or bailey, and wall surrounded the keep. Three wards protected the motte, each divided from one another by a ditch and wooden defensive walls, or ramparts.

These defensive divisions, although greatly altered, remain today. The Middle Ward, the highest ward, held the keep. On the descending side of the ridge, bordering the Thames to the north, is the Lower Ward; the Upper Ward lies south of the keep. The castle not only was strategically located for the site, but also for distance, as Windsor is a day's march from the Tower of London.

Windsor was especially popular as a hunting lodge; indeed, some hunting grounds remain on the northeast side of the castle, now a park. As with other castles, Windsor had a town, or, more specifically, two towns, for support. The town of Windsor nestled around the foot of the castle to the north and west and spilled down the hillside to the banks of the river. The Saxon town of Eton, or "Etonne," directly across the Thames and linked to Windsor by either a ferry or a wooden bridge, served as the primary stabling place for the king's horses and living quarters for the king's men; in fact, King Stable Street still exists.[81] William's son Henry I abandoned the earlier Saxon palace downriver and converted the military fortress at Windsor into a royal castle by building royal living quarters within the precinct. As early as 1110, Henry added domestic quarters to the north side of the Upper Ward. Since then, Windsor has been a royal residence and remains the largest inhabited castle in the world.

Oakham Castle

Since Norman times, Oakham Castle, located in rural Rutland, has passed in and out of royal hands several times. Royal ownership originated with the dowry lands of the last Anglo-Saxon queen, Edith, widow of Edward the Confessor; the Domesday survey of 1086 lists it as royal property. Soon after, Walkelin de Ferrers, or Farrier, a Norman baron, built a fortified manor house complex there. By the early sixteenth century, many of the buildings at Oakham, had fallen into disrepair. The earthen banks, stonewalls, and the two or more towers that originally encircled the complex have vanished. Additional ruins lie beneath the inner bailey yard. To the north were gardens and fishponds. However, the great hall survives, as do parts of the adjacent motte and bailey.

The surviving gable-roofed great hall at Oakham, a stand-alone building of 65 × 43 ft (19.8 × 13m), offers one of the most splendid and complete examples of late twelfth-century domestic architecture remaining in England. Masons who were laid off from work at Canterbury Cathedral built Oakham; hence, the detail work of the architecture, especially around the windows and doorways, and the sculpture are remarkably refined. The building was constructed of irregularly shaped stone with large, alternating long and short stone quoins at the corners. A stringcourse runs below the windows. Neither crenellations nor defensive masonry exists, signifying that the complex, although called a castle, more closely resembled a manor house. The slightly setback doorway sits in the center of the long side and is flanked by a pair of engaged columns. As is typical of early halls, the interior reflects the basilical shape, this one with wide aisles and a clerestory that is too short for windows. No partitions exist in the hall, nor were there any service wings, although doors at the east end indicate that a detached kitchen once stood nearby. Stone columns support an arcade of rounded arches four bays long, which reaches to a timber beam ceiling. The borders of the arches of the arcade are carved in a Norman dogtooth pattern. The capitals have a refined leaf and fruit pattern, with further patterned surface decoration above. The hall has an assortment of twelfth-century figure sculpture carved from Clipsham stone from Lincolnshire. These images include corbels supported by human heads and fanciful animals, as well as six musicians, each playing a different instrument. Other such buildings follow in later periods, and form the link between the local lord's castle fortress and the grand country estates of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century nobles.

An unusual custom at Oakham reflects the purpose of the building. More than 200 horseshoes hang on the walls of the hall as evidence of a custom that a peer of the kingdom, on his first visit to Oakham, had to relinquish a horseshoe to the lord of the manor. This custom probably originated with the builder, because it is also a pun on his name, Farrier, which refers to the makers of horseshoes. The oldest surviving horseshoe is probably the large elaborately formed one with a plain shield at the head installed by Edward IV in about 1470. Some of the horseshoes are far too large for a horse; rather they acknowledge a ceremonial purpose and signify the status of the donor.[82]

Westminster Palace

The most important royal Norman great hall, although it does not survive in its original form, is at Westminster Palace. The original hall dates to the reign of Edward the Confessor, who built unfortified royal living quarters adjacent to the abbey. It served as the heart of Westminster, the prime royal residence throughout the Middle Ages. Edward's great hall appears three times in the Bayeux Tapestry, which gives the best record of it. The images depict a two-story palace constructed of uneven rough stone with staircase towers at either end.

The exterior and interior views indicate the presence of aisles and a clerestory. First Edward appears seated on his throne in the hall; then he appears instructing Harold; and, near the middle, his recumbent body rests in the upper story of the palace. These figures illustrate for posterity both the form and function of great halls.[83]

Between 1097 and 1099, William Rufus (William II) razed Edward's hall and replaced it with a new stone structure. The hall appears to have been designed as a 12 bay structure, each of 20 ft (6.1 m), measuring about 239 ft long by 67 ft wide (73 × 20.4m). The Norman hall was roughly the same size as Richard II's subsequent hall, which stands on the site today. From the beginning, the king intended for his impressive hall – the first large, non-military, secular structure in England and the largest Great Hall in Europe – to serve as more than a banqueting hall. Surely, one of William's motives was a display of magnificence and power to impress English subjects and foreign dignitaries. The king summoned councils of bishops, nobles, and ministers there, the distant forerunner of the present House of Lords.[84]

Archaeologists generally agree that the original Westminster Hall, like Oakham, was a free-standing structure. The irregular stone walls of 6.7 ft thick (2 m) extended up about 20 ft (6 m) to a continuous arched gallery at the window level. The gallery encircled the space for some 660 ft (201 m). A large arch framed each window, with two lower arches between. From the gallery, including the four-course checkered stone pattern above the windows, the wall extended upward another 20 ft (6 m). It may have had a clerestory passage, as at the White Tower. Each end had three windows, separated from the lower story by a string course. The north end had a central entrance.[85] The interior piers supporting the main roof were probably of hewn timber rather than cut stone, since no restorers, past or present, have noted traces of them either on the ground, in the foundation, or on the gable walls. The roof must have been much like contemporary barn and hall architecture, with rafters supported by trusses and braced tie beams with king posts.[86] Nine carved capitals found on the site may originate with William's hall; if so, traces of paint indicate that they were brightly colored in red and blue. Since it was too large for everyday use, in the twelfth century, a smaller, more practical hall, called the Lesser Hall or White Hall, was built to the south, along with an adjoining King's Chamber. The grandeur of Westminster Palace, and especially the Great Hall, helped assure the primacy of the London area as the administrative and judicial seat of the kingdom.[87]

The Norman legacy

The century between the Battle of Hastings and the accession of Henry II in 1154, William's great-grandson and the first king of the Angevin line, was one of transformation. Not only did the political situation change forever, but trade improved, religion became more centralized, and closer ties developed with the continent. Moreover, in the arts, especially architecture, change also abounded. Many larger, sturdier, and more fireproof structures of cut stone supplanted wooden and fieldstone structures. Stone ballast filled the holds of French ships headed for England while native stones rolled across the countryside from English quarries, arriving at building sites by countless ox-drawn wagonloads. William the Conqueror used Norman Romanesque art, especially the architecture, as a political tool. He built imposing stone fortresses and cathedrals within walking distance of almost every citizen, from noble to peasant, forcefully announcing that the Normans were strong and intended to stay in England. The Norman tradition in art and architecture continued with slightly less royal enthusiasm and support under William's sons William and Henry. However, Henry I died in 1135 and left no male heir. His only legitimate son died in a shipwreck, as recorded in the *Worcester Chronicle*. His daughter Matilda, who married the powerful Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, was no match for her first cousin Stephen, who seized the throne, but he lacked the necessary administrative skills to hold a strong rein on the government. Central government broke down, leaving the feudal lords in their castle strongholds to their own devices, some loyal to Matilda the heir, and others to Stephen the usurper. The turmoil threw the country into fifteen years of civil war, which placed a stalemate on art and architecture. In 1152, Matilda's son Henry succeeded his father as Count of Anjou. At the same time, rivaling forces in England joined at a great council and named Henry heir to the throne of England. This resolution was extraordinarily progressive, considering that English aristocratic inheritance customs obstructed women from inheriting lands and titles. Henry's peaceful accession to the throne in 1154 through a female line was unheard of on the continent and set a precedent that would have enormous consequences for England. The new king took charge and is remembered as one of the most energetic and important kings in English history. Connections with France rejuvenated: Henry II and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, together controlled as much land in France as the French king. The legal reforms and resulting stable English government under Henry II and the close ties to France shaped art and architecture: early in his reign, new Gothic principles of architecture crisscrossed the channel between England and Henry's native France and tenaciously took hold, opening a new and important chapter in the English arts tradition.

Notes

1 Simon Thurley, *The Building of England: How the History of England has Shaped our Buildings* (London, 2013), 6.

2 Deborah Kahn, "The Norman World of Art". *History Today* 36(3) (1986), http://www.historytoday.com/deborah-kahn/norman-world-art (accessed 5 June 2013).

3 Eric Gustav Carlson, "Religious Architecture in Normandy, 911–1000". *Gesta* 5 (Jan. 1966): 27–33 (27). Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/766576 (accessed 6 June 2013).

4 Richard Gem, *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture* (London, 2004), vol. 2, 713, 714–18.

5 Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories,* ed. and trans. John France (Oxford, 1989. 111–32, 165–9, 185–95, iii, http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/medmil/pages/non-mma-pages/text_links/historium_english.html (accessed 6 June 2013).

6 Richard Landes, "The White Mantle of Churches: Millennial Dynamics and the Written Architectural Record", in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, Nigel Hiscock, ed. (Art History, 2; International Medieval Research 10, Turnhout 2003), 248–64 at 248–50.

7 Webb, Geoffrey Fairbanks, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, The Pelican History of Art, Nicholas Pevsner (Baltimore, MD, 1956), vol. 1, 46; Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 511, 722–5.

8 Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT, 1986), 48.

9 Eric Fernie, An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral (Oxford, 1993), 68–9. Fernie argues against the ambulatory having been brought up from the crypt for the convenience of pilgrims. First, pilgrimage traffic was crowded and noisy; second, churches without important relics, such as Norwich Cathedral, have ambulatories.

10 Eric C. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (New York, 2000), 14, 90–102; David Talbot Rice, *English Art, 871–1100,* vol. 2; *Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford, 1952), 71–2; Carlson, "Religious Architecture in Normandy", 30; Loren Carey MacKinney, "Pre-Gothic Architecture: A Mirror of the Social-Religious Renaissance of the Eleventh Century". *Speculum* 2(1) (1927): 11–32 at 24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2849594 (accessed 6 June 2013).

11 William of Malmesbury cited in Fernie, *Norman,* 20; G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England* (London, 1903), vol 2: http://archive.org/stream/artsearlyengland02brow#page/342/mode/2up (accessed 6 June 2013), 313–14.

12 *Vita Ædwardi Regis* cited in Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 417–18.

13 Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 431–3; Fernie, *Norman,* appx I, 304–5, gives many church dimensions in England and on the continent, as does Gem.

14 Fernie, *Norman,* 90–8, who cites the contemporary anonymous author of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (*c.* 1068).

15 Legend states the in 604, East Saxon King Sebert founded the abbey, although no archaeological evidence exists for a Saxon Church on that site. St

Dunstan, bishop of London, is said to have brought 12 Benedictines there to a monastery *c*. 960; no traces of that building have been found. Fernie, *Norman,* 96–8; the triple apse was probably replaced in the mid-twelfth century in anticipation of the raised shrine of Edward the Confessor behind the altar, dedicated in 1163. Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Building History of the Lady Chapels", in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer, eds (Rochester, 2003), 188–204; T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100–1216*, vol. 3 *Oxford History of English* Art, ed T. S. R. Boase (Oxford, 1953); and Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 423–39.

16 Andrew Bridgeford, "Whose Tapestry is it Anyway?". *History Today*, April 2004, http://www.historytoday.com/andrew-bridgeford/whose-tapestry-is-it-anyway (accessed 13 June 2013); Daniel Terkla, "Cut on the Norman Bias: Fabulous Borders and Visual Glosses on the Bayeux Tapestry". *Word and Image* 3 (1995), 264–90; Madeline H. Caviness, "Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries". Tufts University, http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/abstract.html, and Chapter 2: "Norman Knights, Anglo-Saxon Women, and the 'Third Sex': The Masculinization of England After the Conquest" http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/chapter2.html#anch15 (accessed 5 June 2013)

17 Fernie, *Norman,* 19–20.

18 Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (New York, 1985), 18–23 and ff; Fernie, *Norman,* 19; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 71–2.

19 Colin Joseph Dudley, *Canterbury Cathedral: Aspects of Its Sacramental Geometry* (Bloomington, IN, 2010), 61–5.

20 Jeffrey Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows: Context, Program, Development", in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline H. Caviness, eds (Los Angeles, CA, 2014), 12, 17, 28–9, and 39; Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 99–100; "The Visual and Cognitive Impact of the Ancestors of Christ inn Canterbury Cathedral and Elsewhere", in Weaver and Caviness eds, *Christ Windows*, 75. The raves of time, Reformation, and bombings in World War II have reduced the number of old windows at Canterbury.

21 Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 512–14.

22 Fernie, *Norman*, 26, 104–5; Peter Fergusson, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Age of Becket* (New Haven, CT, 2012), 22, 137–8; G. H. Cook, *Portrait of Canterbury Cathedral* (New York, 1949), 19–21; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1845), 64–5; Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 19; Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architectur*, vol. 2, 456–6, 470–5.

23 Fergusson, *Canterbury*, chaps 5–7, 59–123. The segregation of accommodations according to class was commonly practiced and is explained on p. 75.

24 Fergusson, Canterbury, 20–2, 26–7, 36–9, 135–40, and pl. 3, pp. 4–5.

25 Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 475–87.

26 Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 564–86; The Norman cathedral measured 535 ft (164 m) in length. This is 13 m longer than the present structure; the Norman towers at the West front were removed about 1350. For this and other dimensions of primarily Norman churches, see Fernie, *Norman,* 117–22 and appex I, 304–5. Winchester remains the largest

cathedral in England. Winchester 81 m/265.8 ft nave; Speyer: 72 m/235 ft, nave, internal; Mainz: 76.2 m/250 ft nave, internal dimensions; Old St Peter's in Rome: 90.6 m. or 297.3 ft nave. Winchester Cathedral: History and treasures http://winchester-cathedral.org.uk/history-treasures/ (accessed 5 June 2013).

27 Robert Calkins, *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: from A.D. 300 to 1500* (New York, 1998), 163–3; Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (New York, 1999), 231; Fernie, *Norman,* 124–7; Wilkin, David. *English Architecture: A Concise History*. rev. ed., London: Thames and Hudson, 2001, 13–14, 29.

28 Fernie, *Norman*, 157–60; Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, 162–3; Talbot Rice, *English Art*, 2, 73–6.

29 Fernie, *Norman*, 122–4, 209–19; Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, eds, *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2000), 236; Norman: The Norman Minster, History of York, http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/norman/the-norman-minster (accessed 7 June 2013). Fernie and the York website disagree on the length: Fernie, 305, states 345 ft (105.2 m) and the website states 365 ft. Boase, *English Art* vol. 3, 234–5 and Alfred William Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (Oxford, 1964), 25, say William Rufus laid the cornerstone in 1089. Willis, *Canterbury*, chaps 1–3, credits the plan to Canterbury, which, like an Early Christian basilica, did have aisles and a curved apse. The drawing by J. Hutchinson in Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London, 1999), 10, does not indicate the presence of side aisles. M. F. Hearn, "Ripon Minster: The Beginnings of the Gothic Style in Northern England". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* NS 73(6) (1983): 83–92, concurs with the influence of York on, or competition with, Canterbury in the twelfth century. Today Roger's Norman crypt is called the western crypt to distinguish it from the fourteenth-century eastern crypt.

30 Hearn, "Ripon Minster", 84–5.

31 John Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (New York, 1967), *ad passim*.

32 French scholars may take issue with this point of view; however, no prior French example survives, although the reworking of the ceiling at Saint-Étienne at Caen follows shortly. S. Ambrogio in Milan perhaps pre-dates Durham, but lacks ribs and the smooth transition between bays; thus, it could be regarded as a transitional building. Monte Cassino in Italy had rib vaults and pointed arches in the narthex (1071), followed by pointed arches at Cluny III. Talbot Rice, *English Art* 2, 76 and n. 1, 76; Fernie, *Norman,* 36, 133–5; Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, 164; Erwin Panofsky, ed. and trans. *Abbot Suger on the Abbey of St. Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, NJ, 1946), *ad passim*.

33 Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 140–1.

34 This architectural innovation was a case of necessity as the mother of invention: it probably accommodated processions, such as that at Palm Sunday, which took place before the great west doors during what could be, in Northern England, rainy, cold spring weather. The name is also a biblical reference to Christ, after the resurrection, leading his disciples into Galilee. For most churches, the Galilee is a large narthex; the double use as a chapel at Durham is unusual. Interestingly, churches with Galilee porches do not have the elaborate south or north porches found on many English Cathedrals. Edward S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (Wakefield, 1974), 38 no. 2.

35 Michael Sadgrove, *Durham Cathedral: The Shrine of St. Cuthbert* (Norwich, 2005); Douglas Pocock, "Place Evocation: The Galilee Chapel in Durham

Cathedral". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21(2) (1996): 379–86; Fernie, *Norman*, 304–5, 34–9, 131–40, 266–77.

36 Boase, *English Art*, vol. 3, 23–4 and ill. 3a; Webb, *Architecture*, 45; Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 225–7.

37 See Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. 2, 747–51, 761–3, 775–7.

38 Alison Stones, "Images of Medieval Architecture: Temple Church", http://www.medart.pitt.edu/image/England/London/Temple-Church/London-Temple-Church.html (accessed 13 June 2013); Temple Church, London, "The Temple Church", http://www.templechurch.com/ (accessed 13 June 2013).

39 Richard Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Architecture* (London, 1971) *ad passim*; Sara James Laster "The Renascence of Classical Art and Form in the Carolingian Period", (M.A. thesis, Old Dominion University, 1984), *ad passim*.

40 Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), 12–13.

41 Fergusson, Peter and Stuart Harrison. *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999, 30–31.

42 The Earl of Rutland demolished the nave at Rievaulx. Peter Fergusson and Stuart Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 73. Peter Fergusson, Glyn Copack, and Stuart Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey* (London, 2006), *ad passim*.

43 Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx*, 45–8.

44 Fernie, *Norman*, 172–6; M. F. Hearn, "Romsey Abbey: A Progenitor of the English National Traditional in Architecture", *Gesta* 14(1) (1975): 27–40.

45 Fernie, *Norman*, 190; Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 33–5.

46 Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 12–14 and 33–35; Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx*, 83–99.

47 Bernard of Clairvaux, "Letter to William of St. Thierry", in *A Mediaeval Garner*, G. G. Coulton, ed. and trans. (London, 1910), 70–2; Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas* trans. Hugh Bredin (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 8–9.

48 The church holds the tomb of the Saxon King Althelstan who died in 939. By the fourteenth century the church was as large as a cathedral with two towers and an enormous spire. Both towers collapsed, badly damaging the building. Henry VIII's commissioners sold the abbey in 1539 to William Stumpe, a clothier, who used the building briefly for business purposes and then gave it to the people of Malmesbury as their church. Watkin *English Architecture: A Concise History* (London, 2001) 22–3; Edwin Smith, *English Parish Churches* (New York, 1989), 17.

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Chapter 3

VARIATIONS ON AN IMPORTED THEME: EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC UNDER THE ANGEVINS AND THE PLANTAGENETS. HENRY II–HENRY III, 1154–1272

Just as in the eleventh century, Norman Romanesque art and architecture, imported from France, transformed English architecture, so in the twelfth century, a new French style, the Gothic, redirected the course of art in England. In the hands of Gothic builders, the large, sonorous, more fireproof stone vaulted Romanesque interiors would soar into taller, more light-filled spaces making the majestic proportions more attenuated and mysterious. Moreover, just as the Romanesque style had entered England bearing political association with the Norman kings, the Gothic style also had political overtones, especially in the hands of Henry III. As with the synthesis of Norman Romanesque and Anglo-Saxon stylistic elements, the English would enthusiastically embrace elements of the imported style, but immediately pushed it in distinctive directions. Unlike the Romanesque style, which remained closely aligned with Norman developments on the continent, indigenous aesthetics elements and innovative engineering would distinguish the English Gothic from continental examples. The Gothic style in England would evolve through a succession of variations that would persist into the sixteenth century – longer than most places in Europe – and later reappear in several revivals. The English would find their voice in the Gothic and mold it into the first distinctive English national style, especially in architecture, and the most enduring.

The Gothic style entered England from France from two directions. First, the architectural elements, primarily the pointed arch, flying buttresses, and groin vaulting throughout, slipped quietly into northern England with the Cistercian monks, who established their first English houses in Yorkshire in the 1130s. These basic components, grafted onto the Norman Romanesque, evolved into a handsome, if austere, Gothic style. In contrast, the Gothic style entered the south with fanfare and opulence. Accompanied by political intrigue, murder in a cathedral, and a subsequent devastating fire, the rich Gothic style associated with the French court arrived more developed at Canterbury, England's mother church. Subsequent builders adapted and transformed this courtly Gothic at Westminster Abbey, confirming it as the English royal church. These churches establish important precedents with far-reaching consequences.

A simultaneous development that transformed the Gothic style in England is timber frame construction. Unlike architecture on the continent, some of England's most remarkable Gothic engineering feats occurred in large-scale timber construction. Perhaps the English proficiency and ingenuity with timber came from the shipbuilding industry, for the arches used for the hulls of ships functioned similarly to those used in the roofs of churches and great halls – and an island nation depends heavily on shipbuilding.

Because of the longevity of the Gothic style in England and the distinctive variations that evolved, Thomas Rickman, in 1817, classified the variations of the style. Rickman's system remains in place. He reasons that the Gothic style began with William the Conqueror and lasted until the middle of the sixteenth century. Relying largely on the changing shapes of the windows, Rickman noted four major developments. The first he called Norman, which continental scholars classified as Romanesque. He named the second style Early English, which continental scholars called Early Gothic. The third, which runs roughly parallel to the sparer continental High Gothic, he called Decorated Gothic, further subdivided into Geometric and Curvilinear. Finally, the last and most enduring phase, which developed at about the same time as the Rayonnant or Flamboyant Gothic in France, he called Perpendicular Gothic.[1] The organic nature of architecture, of course, causes developments to occur in one place sooner than in another and regional styles to vary; yet the classifications give scholars a vocabulary.

Plantagenet ascendancy: the character of the monarchs

The competitive relationship between England and France continues under the dominion of the Angevin line (early Plantagenet), and again manifests in art and architecture. The royal houses continued to be intertwined through a succession of marriage alliances. Henry II (1133–1189), the first Angevin/Plantagenet king, inherited the English crown through his mother, Matilda (daughter of Henry I), who had married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. In accordance with custom, she took his name for herself and their children, and thus changed the name of the dynasty.[2]

When Henry II ascended the throne in 1154, he had already inherited the titles of Lord of Normandy and Count of Anjou. In 1152, he had married Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), 12 years his senior, after the annulment of her marriage to the king of France. As duchess of Aquitaine in her own right, she was the greatest heiress in Europe. In England, Henry peacefully ascended to the throne in a kingdom that had survived periods of anarchy during the power struggle between his mother, Matilda, the only surviving legitimate child of Henry I, and Henry's nephew Stephen, who claimed the crown through the rules of primogeniture. Thus, Henry II not only controlled England, but through his father and his wife, he controlled even more land in western France than his Norman predecessors had. Like them, he continued to rule England primarily from France, with French as the language of the English court. He returned order to England through fortifications and a reformed judicial system, the foundation for which rested on a universally applicable system of common law rather than on continental practices of local custom, baronial privilege, or Roman law. He also instituted uniform monetary and tax systems, all of which strengthened the central government and the monarchy.

Absentee government continued under Henry II's son Richard (reigned 1189–1199), called the "Lionhearted" for his prowess as a warrior and crusader. Richard's younger brother John succeeded him (reigned 1199–1216). Most scholars regard him as the worst monarch in English history. The love-hate rivalry with France intensified after John lost English holdings, including Anjou in 1204. Thus, the royal house, although still Plantagenet, was, without Anjou, no longer Angevin. John ruled harshly and arbitrarily. In 1207, he challenged the pope's authority to appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the pope prevailed, choosing Stephen Langton, a strong and capable leader. In order to uphold the just legal system established by Henry II, Langton enlisted the aid of nobles and continued the struggle, which was resolved in 1215 at Runnymede. At this meadow, which the Saxon kings had designated as a place for political councils to meet, Langton's supporters forced King John to sign the Magna Carta. This momentous document made the king accountable to laws of the land and insured certain political and civil liberties for all of the king's subjects, including appeal against unlawful imprisonment. The Magna Carta paved the way for a responsible monarchy, a parliament, a just court system, and meaningful constitutional government.

With a French political base and much unrest to handle in England, the early Angevin royalty were less inclined to patronize art and architecture extensively in England; fortunately, others did, especially churchmen. The tide in royal patronage turned with John's heir, 9-

year-old Henry III, also English-born, who ruled 56 years (1216–1272). Historians usually remember Henry III for being the first English king to be crowned as a child, the only king to be crowned twice (at Gloucester in 1216 and at Westminster in 1220), for his military failures, including his further loss of lands in France, and for his conflicts with the English barons. However, on the positive side, Henry was the greatest individual patron of the arts in medieval England. In the tradition of his Angevin predecessors, Henry married a French wife, Eleanor of Provence, who encouraged Henry's patronage of the arts and his emulation of things French.

Partly due to diminished English landholdings in France, Henry III spent more time in England than any of his predecessors and established the royal court there as the center of cultural life and artistic patronage. Born at Winchester, Henry took pride in his Englishness and strengthened royal ties to the Anglo-Saxon past. He gave his sons Anglo-Saxon names. For his firstborn, he chose the name of his saintly English ancestor Edward; for his second, the illustrious warrior Edmund Ironsides, Edward the Confessor's older brother. Some historians designate Henry's son Edward, a homegrown Englishman, successful warrior, lawmaker, and promoter of the English language, as the first truly English king. This "Englishness" may be the culmination of a trend; however, the growing Englishness of the kings would have a parallel in the increasing distinctiveness in English art.

Later in life, Henry developed an obsession with the cult of St Edward the Confessor, which would shift the focus of royal patronage to ecclesiastical works, especially Westminster Abbey, Edward's burial place. Henry would enhance the shrine of his ancestor, who was canonized in 1161, the first king in Europe to attain sainthood, and establish Westminster as the burial pantheon for the English kings. By Henry's death in 1272, the Early Gothic style, tied closely with Henry's desire to emulate and surpass the elegance of the French court, evolved into a more sinuous, elegant style that subsequently would become increasingly independent of continental developments. Because of subsequent fires, renovations, and destruction resulting from religious conflict, evidence today of Henry's artistic patronage is a shadow of what once existed.

Origins of Gothic stone architecture and vaulting

Between the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Europe, three related engineering methods developed independently that transformed the Romanesque into Gothic: the pointed arch, the rib vault, and flying buttresses for external support. When combined in the mid-twelfth century, they would revolutionize stone masonry construction beyond the legacy left by the Romans. This system of support, one of the greatest engineering feats of the Middle Ages, enabled builders to attain higher vaults, thinner walls, and larger windows.

The pointed arch came from the east, perhaps India, perhaps the Middle East. The first example in the west appears in 1071 at the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino in Italy. Abbot Hugh of Cluny in Burgundy saw pointed arches there and used this technology in building the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny III (1088–1130). The pointed rib vault emerged first in Norman Romanesque buildings, most notably in the slightly pointed seven-part ribbed vaulting at Durham Cathedral (1128–1133) and in the six-part vaulting at Saint-Étienne at Caen in Normandy (*c.* 1130). Unlike the rigid demands of the 180° semi-circular arch, the pointed arch offers both greater strength and more flexibility in angulations. Pointed arches can withstand widening or narrowing without altering the height of the arcades or vaults. This flexibility allows pointed bays to be rectangular or even trapezoidal and pentagonal. Rudiments of flying buttresses appear first at Durham as supportive arches concealed beneath the gallery ceiling. Used together, the pointed arches, ribbed vaults, and buttresses form a strong but hidden skeletal system of support (much as steel-frame does today). This skeletal system, in turn, permits lighter interior piers, because the arches above thrust the load to buttresses on the exterior of the building – first salient, or solid, as used at Durham, and later open arches, or flying buttresses, as first used throughout at Chartres Cathedral in France.

The renovated choir and ambulatory at the French royal abbey church of Saint-Denis near Paris, dedicated in 1144, signals the advent of the Gothic style. For the first time, builders systematically used the pointed arch, complex ribbed vaulting, and external salient buttresses throughout. A lighter and proportionately taller pointed arcade separates the choir and ambulatory. This new height permits light to pour in through larger stained glass windows so that the central space appears open and weightless. The weight, however, transfers to salient buttresses on the exterior that align with the columns inside. No one knows who worked out this splendid engineering, although Abbot Suger receives much credit. The dedication of the new choir at Saint-Denis took place on 14 June 1144 in the presence of Louis VII of France and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, along with five archbishops, 12 bishops, and a host of additional distinguished guests. Immediately these guests and others hailed the design as sensational.

Successors emerge even before Saint-Denis is finished: pointed vaults appear at Sens Cathedral by 1140.

Early Gothic architecture in northern England: the Cistercian connection

Quickly the new Gothic style made its way abroad, each region with its own variation. In the late 1150s, the style crossed the Channel with Cistercian monks, even before it appeared in France at Paris (1163) and Laon (1165), or Germany at Limburg an der Lahn (1211), or Italy at Assisi and Siena (*c.* 1228). The Cistercians adopted architectural innovations at Cluny III, in spite of having adopted the conservative reforms of Benedictine abbot Bernard of Clairvaux rather than the opulence of the Cluniacs. The new pointed arches not only gave structural advantages, but also they may have appealed to Cistercian spirituality because they evoked a more heavenward focus than rounded arches. Cistercian innovations laid the groundwork for the Gothic style in Northern England, notably at Rievaulx, Fountains, and Roche Abbeys and at nearby Ripon Minster. Over the course of the mid-twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Cistercian communities in England stabilized and grew. Subsequent alterations to their abbey churches, though varied, developed from practical needs: to accommodate a larger congregation, to give greater space and light in the choir, and to increase the number of altars for the celebration of the Mass. Even in their ruined state, these abbeys demonstrate the practicality, versatility, and ingenuity of the builders.[3]

Rievaulx Abbey

During the abbacy of Aelred (*c.* 1109–1167; abbot 1147–1167), the church at Rievaulx, one of the first buildings to have been built of stone, gained a new transept that showed more distinctive Gothic elements, including pointed arches (Fig. 3.1). In the early thirteenth century, the presbytery was remodeled and extended, perhaps inspired by changes at nearby Fountains. The new flat-ended, three-story, seven-bay aisled space had pointed clerestory windows, double pointed arch openings in the gallery, a pointed arcade, and pointed quadripartite stone groin vaulting – an important innovation over the earlier sexpartite vaulting. Later, flying buttresses add support.[4]

Among buildings essential to monastic life is the refectory. Built at the end of the twelfth century, the second refectory at Rievaulx not only shows innovations in accommodating a growing community of monks, but also it demonstrates the transition to Gothic (Fig. 3.2). It sits in the center of the range facing the side of the abbey church.

Rounded Romanesque arches on the lower part of the cloister façade support two rows of triple tall pointed, or lancet-shaped, windows. Whereas the lower rounded windows are even in height, the pointed upper row has a taller center window. The size alone of the refectory is impressive: 38 ft (11.5 m) wide, 50 ft (15.2 m) high and over 50 ft (15.2 m) long. A timber ceiling once spanned the space without intervening support. Since the sloping site required terracing, the refectory has a cellar on the lower level. Other Cistercian abbeys will build upon the innovations at Rievaulx.

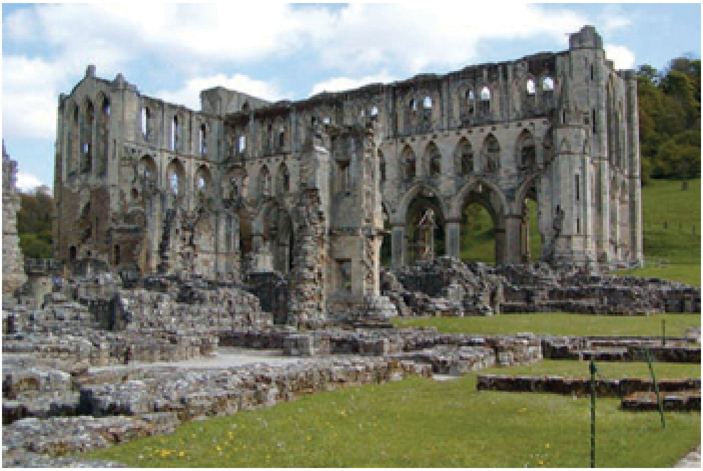


Fig. 3.1 Rievaulx Abbey Church, Helmsley, North Yorkshire, exterior of the south side of the abbey church, including transepts, added 1147–1167 during abbacy of Ælred. Photograph: author

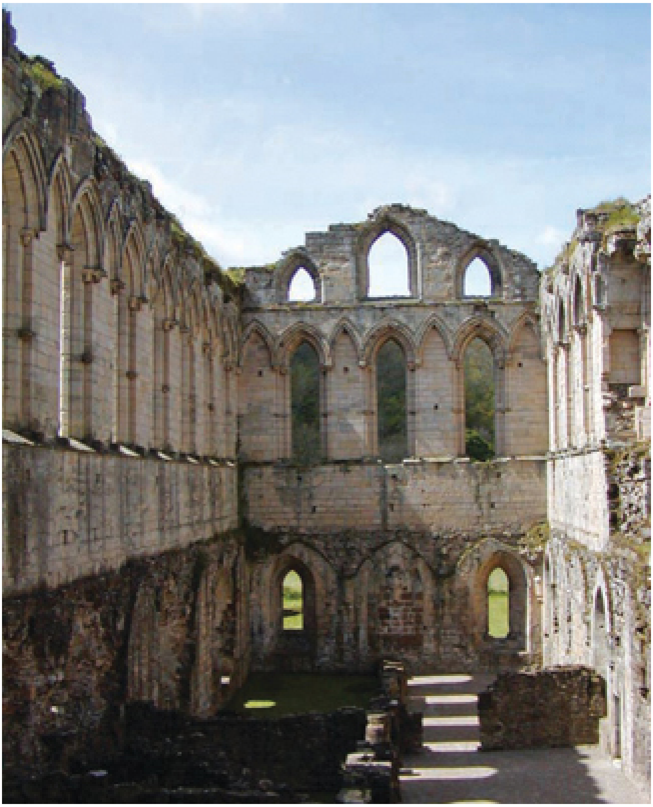


Fig. 3.2 Rievaulx Abbey, Helmsley, North Yorkshire, Refectory (second on the site), late twelfth century. Photograph: author

Fountains Abbey and further Cistercian developments

As with Rievaulx, Fountains Abbey began the 1130s on a large but difficult tract of land. The River Skell, which bisects the land, led the monks to develop inventive ways to accommodate the buildings. These monks, too, begin with a timber structure. By *c.* 1136, a small stone church was built on the same site, known in part through an early thirteenth-century description by a monk named Serlo. Geoffroi d'Ainai from Clairvaux may have designed the plan. Fountains II, the present church, emerged from two building campaigns. The first, begun after 1146 and completed by 1170, produced a five-bay, aisleless nave and a larger, slightly stepped east end that consisted of a transept with three east-facing chapels in each arm and a presbytery (extended in the thirteenth century). Halfway through the construction of the transepts, the builders enlarged the plan. They added six bays to the western nave, making a total of 11 bays, and added aisles to the nave, which shifted the cloister to the south. Heavy columns support a relatively high nave arcade, a vaulted side aisle, a smaller gallery, and a clerestory (Fig. 3.3). The crossing piers were reinforced to support a low tower. The roof was of wood; later the church was vaulted in stone. The new presbytery, begun *c*. 1205 and finished *c*. 1240, has overt Gothic elements, including taller lancet-shaped windows, a more open clerestory, and Gothic surface decoration. These Gothic innovations quickly spread to nearby monasteries. In 1152, monks from Fountains Abbey founded Kirkstall Abbey in West Yorkshire. At Kirkstall, pointed arches in the chancel and the nave aisles conjoin the ribbed vaulting characteristic of the Romanesque in England. Although not yet developed into a significant structural innovation, it indicates forward thinking.

Nearby Roche Abbey (1160–1170) has the first instance of a Gothic nave elevation. Although the walls remain heavy, the use of clustered piers (piers faced with clusters of engaged columns), pointed arches, and rib vaults throughout created a greater sense of space, height, and light. Roche has a proportionately higher pointed nave arcade. On each pier, a single shaft, called a respond, extends from the floor to the springing of each arch of the rib vaulting. These respond shafts stress the verticality of the building. Clerestory windows, one per bay, have simple round-heads and lack the Norman passage and oversailing. Instead of the usual deep, dark gallery, double pointed arches with no passageway extend across each bay. While they add interest to the wall, they may also serve a structural purpose. In the absence of oversailing in the clerestory, these arches may have been designed to serve as relieving (or discharging) arches, which help support the weight of the building. Unlike contemporary architecture at Canterbury, Roche has no exterior salient buttresses; instead, the walls are thicker. Typical of the Cistercians, glass was clear, a more expensive option, but one that supports Bernard’s emphasis on light and simplicity.

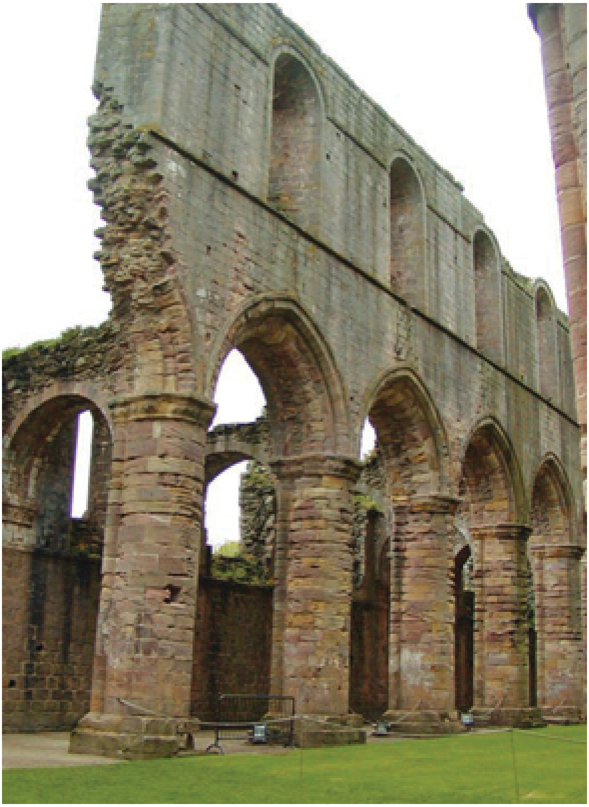


Fig. 3.3 Fountains Abbey Church, Ripon, North Yorkshire, interior view to west with side aisle, 1150–1170. Photograph: author

Interestingly, the earliest appearances of the Gothic style in the north develop first in conventual buildings, such as chapter houses and guest quarters, before they emerge in the abbey churches, which tend to remain more conservative. Following a fire in 1147, Early Gothic elements that make the space larger and the mass lighter materialize in buildings at Fountains Abbey, probably inspired by French architecture from around Laon. Two buildings in particular exemplify clearer expressions of the more progressive and complex elements of early Gothic architecture, including groin vaulting and pointed windows. As with the second refectory at Rievaulx, the refectory at Fountains, part of Abbot Robert of Pipewell's (1170–1180) building program, stands perpendicular to the cloister facing the church and extends southwards. It lacks a cellar, however, because of its proximity to the River Skell – in fact, it stands on stone foundations that form arches over the stream. Interior walls would have been limewashed with mock lines traced in to imitate masonry construction, with dining tables encircling three walls on a raised dais, or platform. Measuring 109 ft long by 46.6 ft wide (33.2 × 14.2 m), Fountains had the widest refectory known. Since the width prohibited a single gabled roof, it had an arcade of four columns down the center to support the parallel ribbed groin vaults of ceiling and a double gabled roof. Embedded responds in the remaining interior walls of the refectory run from the springing of the vaults to the floor.

The lay brothers' dormitory in the West Range, an impressive two-bay, vaulted stone structure that also arches the Skell, represents a similar solution, but on a lower and narrower scale (Fig. 3.4). It was begun in the 1160s by Abbot Richard (III) of Clairvaux, and completed by his successor, Robert of Pipewell (abbot 1170–1190), who supervised a large building campaign at the abbey. There, a row of slender columns down the center supports the two parallel rows of pointed ribbed groin vaults.[5] In addition, the grounds of Fountains Abbey retain a two-bay stone bridge with pointed arches, a watermill, and a granary that also attest to Cistercian ingenuity, industriousness, and self-sufficiency, the only such surviving twelfth-century Cistercian facilities in Britain and among the few surviving in Europe.

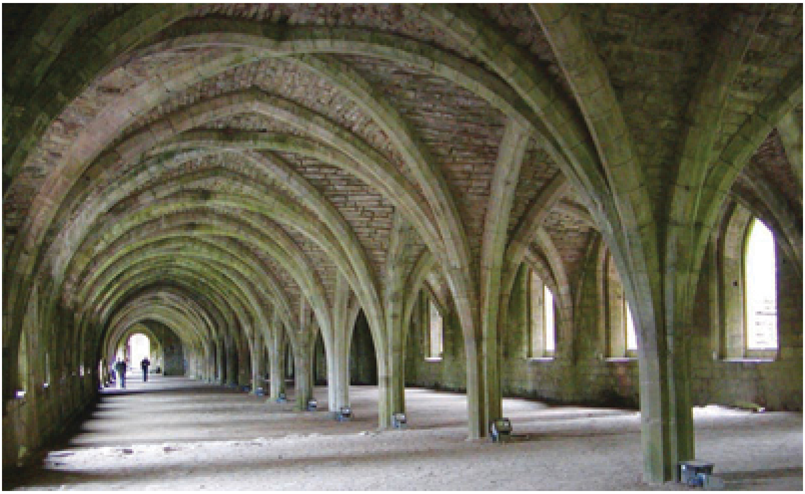


Fig. 3.4 Fountains Abbey, Ripon, North Yorkshire, Lay Brothers' Dormitory, first floor of the western range and extending over the River Skell, 1160–1190. Photograph: author

Ripon Minster

Ripon Minster in North Yorkshire, which dates to *c.* 1175, was built upon Cistercian innovations. It may be the first Gothic church in the north of England. Following the Norman Conquest, the small monastic church that Wilfrid had founded at Ripon was converted to a minster church of canons (or secular clergy). A century later, Roger of Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop of York (served 1154–1181), began rebuilding the church, dedicated to St Peter and St Wilfrid. The new style at

Ripon differs radically from that of the elaborate Norman Romanesque choir and crypt Roger had completed five years earlier at York. Although later remodeled, Ripon retains thick walls and relies on oversailing in the clerestory for support, but the heaviness of the Romanesque disappears. The transition from late Romanesque to Early Gothic occurs first in the transepts, especially in the north one, as well as in the three westernmost bays on the north side of the choir, and the westernmost bay of the south side of the nave.

The three-story elevation of the north transept rests on an arcade of pointed arches that frames the roundheaded windows behind. Asymmetrical compound piers support the arches; indeed, the diversity of design in piers distinguishes English Gothic architecture. Shafts of clustered columns extend upwards from the piers, through the triforium (a windowless, or blind, gallery with a triple arched openings), and clerestory, to springing of the vaults in the choir. In the transepts, shafts also extend to the truss supports of the gabled ceiling. In the north transept, each bay of the triforium has lancet arches set into a larger arch. The clerestory has single wide rounded windows flanked by small columns. The oversail passage runs unobtrusively behind the column clusters. Stringcourses and prominent capitals accentuate the horizontal division of the stories, while the rhythm of the pierced wall openings brings harmony and unity. On the exterior, salient buttresses separate the round-headed windows on the lower and clerestory levels, while a narrow half-gable roof covers the triforium passage.

Although in the fifteenth century the nave is widened, Roger's gabled Early Gothic façade remains (Fig. 3.5). The design of the austere yet handsome façade plays upon the rhythm of the dark windows and doors against the light walls. Above the triple doorway stand two rows of five plain lancet windows. As in the contemporary façade of the refectory at Rievaulx Abbey, the lower row is of even height, but the upper row is graduated, or echelon-shaped. An additional row of three small echelon-shaped windows fills the gable. The flanking twin towers (that originally supported wood and leaden spires) are pierced on the three upper levels by slightly echelon-shaped decorative works. In the center of each is a recessed lancet window or louver, which complements the windows on the façade between. Stringcourses both clearly delineate each of the four divisions and unite the façade with the towers. As with the interior, the total effect of unity, balance, fine proportion, and visual lightness carries through.

Ripon also shares a stylistic kinship and counterpoint with

Canterbury, whose new choir, the first Gothic structure in the south, was begun in the same year. In each, the Gothic style manifests less in the structural engineering than in the decorative elements, such as shafts with a vertical emphasis (as opposed to Romanesque patterns), organic foliate capitals (as opposed to the block-like Romanesque ones), and the ribbed articulation of the vaults. The church at Ripon exemplifies the most classical and restrained version of the Early Gothic style and Canterbury, as will be discussed, the most sumptuous. In its earliest stages in England, the visual perception of the Gothic style as fundamentally decorative determines much about the course of the Gothic in England and helps to explain the divergence from the French structural ideal.

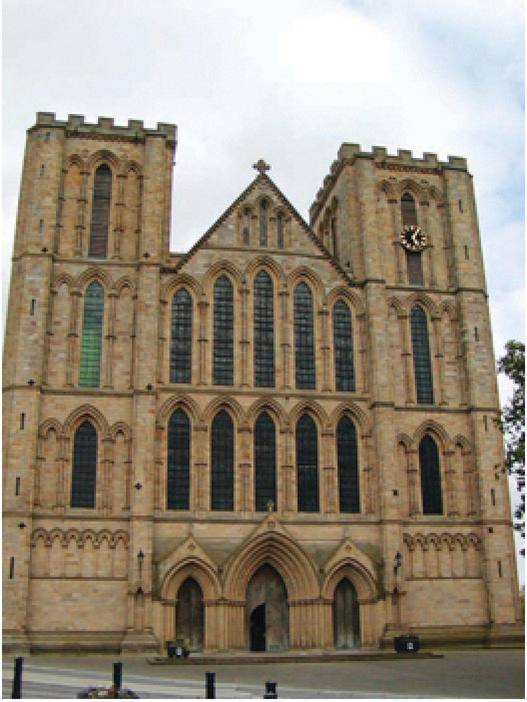


Fig. 3.5 Ripon Cathedral, North Yorkshire, west façade, c. *1160–1180. Photograph: author*

Early Gothic architecture in the south of England: the French connection

The pioneering, yet austere, Early Gothic buildings of the Cistercians in the north stood in sharp contrast to the opulent, French court-inspired Gothic style that entered southern England. In 1174, ecclesiastical authorities at Canterbury hired a French architect, William of Sens. Bold and innovative in his blending of French elements with indigenous ones while adding daring new ideas, William initiated a style at England's mother church that would reverberate throughout England and the continent. Artisans appear to have moved back and forth between Canterbury and northern France, acting as conduits for the exchange of ideas. Further innovations emerged at Wells, Lincoln, Ely, Salisbury, and in the London area at Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral.

Canterbury Cathedral

Whereas the Gothic style in the north took a slow, quiet, spiritual course, the Gothic entered the south dramatically and magnificently, as it rose full-blown like a phoenix from the ashes of political antagonism and conflagration. Scandalous history surrounds the architecture. In 1154, on the recommendation of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry II appointed his archdeacon, Thomas à Becket, as Chancellor of England. A bright, Paris-educated clerk of merchant class origins who had risen through the ranks at Canterbury, Thomas proved to be a talented diplomat and trusted advisor. The king even placed his heir in Thomas's household to receive his education. In 1161, Archbishop of Canterbury Theobald died. Knowing of conflicts between Theobald and Henry's predecessor, Stephen, and in the face of rising European conflict between church and state, Henry pressed Thomas, in spite of his chancellor's protests, to assume leadership of the church as well. Within the year, Thomas resigned as chancellor and gave a single-minded, pious focus to his ecclesiastical duties. Hostility mounted between the two equally resolute men, each seeking to control the church, its lands, its wealth, and its jurisdiction. Finally, the frustrated king erupted in an angry outburst, which Edward Grim, a contemporary biographer, recorded as "What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and brought up in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born cleric?"[6] Interpreting the king's rage as a command (or perhaps an excuse), four loyal knights, armed with swords, entered Canterbury Cathedral on 29 December 1170 and murdered the archbishop. The assassination of a high-ranking churchman, compounded with the implication of a king, sent shockwaves throughout the Christian world. Pilgrims flocked to Canterbury to venerate the martyred Becket. In February 1173, Thomas was canonized, accomplishing in death what he could never have achieved in life. The canonization, initiated by King Philip Augustus of France, along with public outcry, probably prompted Henry to visit Canterbury to perform public penance at Becket's tomb on 12 July 1174.

Two months after Henry's visit, a disastrous fire destroyed much of Canterbury Cathedral east of the crossing tower, including Prior Conrad's "Glorious Choir" and Trinity Chapel at the tip of the apse. Now church officials not only faced how to reckon with a shrine, but also whether to renovate the old building, which the monks wanted to preserve. Several factors contributed to the decision to salvage the charred remains rather than raze them. To renovate would honor the venerable Saxon practice of preserving the historic heart of a church; it also would pay tribute to the noble reputation of their Glorious Choir. In the end, practicality reigned: to restore would lessen construction time, costs, and allow function to resume sooner. In the meantime, the monks moved Becket's body to the large chapel in the center of the Romanesque crypt.

The eyewitness account, *Tractatus de combustion*, written after 1188 by Gervase of Canterbury, a sacrist and a monastic chronicler, recounts some of the progress as well as elements of the building process at Canterbury. The idea of a chronicle expands upon the English tradition Bede established to record current events. Nowhere else in medieval history does such a first-hand building report exist. Gervase notes the appearance of the older building and gives a detailed account of much of the rebuilding. He confirms that in the year following the fire, cathedral authorities brought builder William of Sens to Canterbury in a deliberate effort to imitate the French achievements at the royal Abbey of Saint-Denis and Sens. Writing in Roman rhetorical form, Gervase subtly cites ancient authors, such as Vitruvius and Virgil. He also invokes important architectural monuments, such as the French royal abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris, that held symbolic value for the resting place of the English martyr saint – all evidence of what must have been a collaborative planning for a new and innovative building.[7] In addition, he records virtues he recognizes in the new style, such as stability, monumentality, taller and more slender proportions, and rich color. Modern scholars often dismiss Gervase, since his memoir post-dates the fire by fourteen years or more and Gervase may have had the ulterior motive of raising funds to remodel, as he assures the reader that saints' shrines miraculously survived the fire. Yet his details of current events, the evolution of the building, and his expression of contemporary taste offer valuable insight to posterity.

Churchmen at Canterbury knew the architectural innovations in France firsthand. In 1144, Archbishop Theobald had witnessed the consecration of the first Gothic choir at Saint-Denis. Becket, his successor Stephen Langton (1207–1228), and others at Canterbury had studied at the University of Paris while the city's new cathedral of Notre Dame was underway. The choice of a French master builder indicates a desire for up-to-date construction; it also suggests the competitive spirit that invites innovation. Construction at Canterbury commenced quickly, thanks to proceeds from the already lucrative pilgrim trade.

Even though officials at Canterbury sought the French style, William did not come directly from Sens nor did he have a free rein. The aforementioned remaining outer walls of the Norman choir, which had escaped damage from the falling beams of the ceiling, and the extension beyond added in 1126, including the eastern transepts, side chapels, and the crypt, would compromise any plan. As William began his work, his knowledge of architectural developments in Cambrai, Laon, Paris, Reims, and other locations in northern France helped him develop a plan that would both harmonize the old and new and look up to date. For the eastward extension for the choir, he planned a multi-sided chevet (an apse with an encircling ambulatory, or aisle, with chapels opening onto the outer side), incorporating the existing pair of Norman chapels, and adding additional chapels, culminating in a new Trinity Chapel at the east-most tip; this plan would change. Gervase stated that William instructed the masons to use chisels rather than axes to cut the stone and that he gave detailed supervision to the artisans, even after he was bedridden. The workforce included Frenchmen, perhaps even whole workshops of French artisans, evident in the forms used in the capitals and in the stained glass.

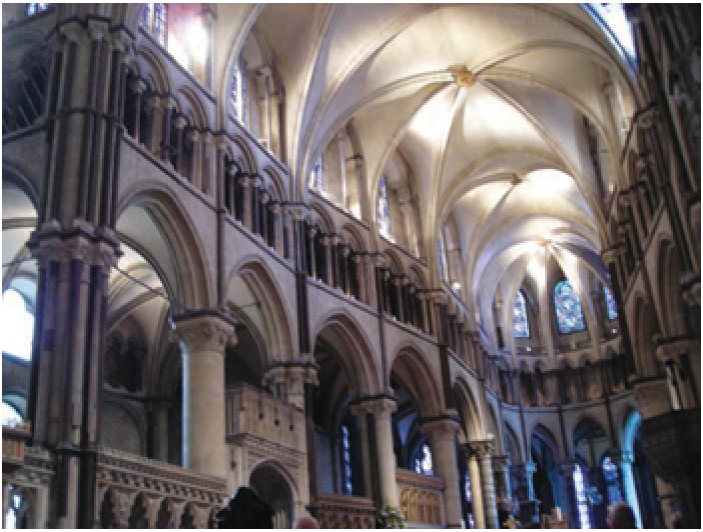


Fig. 3.6 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, choir, view to east with Trinity Chapel, 1175–1184.

Photograph: author

After assessing the damage and deliberating with the monks, William removed the damaged piers from the main arcade of Prior Conrad's choir. The burned out choir had a wooden ceiling; this one was to have stone vaults, so he added support in the old crypt. In order to make a statement in the new Gothic style, which would require a much taller arcade, William needed to heighten the old walls, yet assure adequate support for the walls and vaults. William's solution was clever and unique: he added a little vaulted lower clerestory with small trefoil-topped windows just under the springing of the aisle vaults below the new gallery (Fig. 3.6). The oversailing in this space thrust the weight to the exterior of the building; the windows provided additional light.

Gervase specifically assigns the five piers on each side of the presbytery to William of Sens. Unlike the more common four-part elevation typically used in Norman Romanesque churches and in Paris, Sens and Canterbury exhibit the more progressive three-part elevation. The lancet windows of the clerestory, slightly taller than the pointed openings of the unlit gallery, stand behind the barrel vaulted oversail passage. The pointed arches of the choir arcade, which rest on alternating round and octagonal columns with foliate capitals, stand nearly half the height of the wall, half again higher than a typical Norman arcade. The first four bays of the gallery have double arches, subdivided into pairs and supported by shafts of contrasting dark Purbeck (a limestone from the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset that when polished, resembles marble). The easternmost bay has double arches that are not subdivided. As at Sens and Paris, alternating clusters of narrow shafts rise from the column capitals in the nave arcade to the springing of the vaults. Unlike the French examples, which value verticality and uniformity over surface decoration, Canterbury's dark Purbeck shafts contrast with the lighter French stone, imported from Caen, of the walls. The capitals supporting the springing of the arches of the vaults line up with the capitals in the gallery, giving a strong smooth horizontal line, which contrasts with the French emphasis on verticality.

Between 1175 and 1176, quadripartite vaulting went up over the square bays of the aisles, the vaulting form that probably supported Conrad's previous side aisles. When he vaulted larger bays of the choir the following year, William of Sens considered the greater lateral thrust and chose sexpartite vaulting for the two easternmost bays. No predecessors for sexpartite vaulting existed in England; William instead replicated forms he knew at Saint-Étienne at Caen, Saint-

Étienne at Sens, and Nôtre Dame at Paris. The westernmost bay, a single narrow rectangle with no pair, presented a challenge. William, daring and bold, built upon innovations begun at Saint-Denis and solved the dilemma with quadripartite vaulting. For added support, he used Norman style oversailing inside the clerestory, which the French had abandoned; outside he put salient buttresses, which project out from the wall more than earlier salient buttressing systems. Although at Durham Cathedral, rudimentary buttressing was hidden in the galleries, and at Saint-Denis, salient buttresses outside rose to the top of the gallery level, buttresses at Canterbury reach to the springing of the nave vaults – the highest and most substantial exposed buttresses to date. These solid buttresses may lack the open arches of later flying buttresses, but otherwise they perform a remarkably similar function – to permit larger windows at the highest level and to relieve some of the load of the building. The earliest systematic use of flying buttresses at Chartres was still two decades away. Thus, even by French standards of the 1180s, Canterbury was remarkably progressive for the tall proportions of the elevation, the height of the nave, innovations in the vaulting, and the extent to which the buttressing, albeit salient, relieved the brunt of support from the walls. It is reasonable to speculate that the innovations at Canterbury made by William and his corps of French artisans may have inspired French builders at Chartres to go the next step. Other similarities with Chartres appear in stained glass, adding credence to cross-influence and Canterbury's leading role.

In September 1178, with much of the presbytery finished, the pioneering architect, while working high on the scaffold over the crossing in the east transept, fell. William survived, but with permanent injuries that ultimately sent him home to France, where he died two years later. Gervase records that William continued to supervise operations from his bed, using an industrious monk as a go-between; Gervase may have been that intermediary. By spring of 1179, his successor, William the Englishman, assumed responsibility. In the same year, a new mason and a new prior arrived. By the close of the year, the north and south walls of Trinity Chapel reached the height of the windowsills.

The new staff apparently rethought the functional needs of England's mother cathedral and now primary pilgrimage site. The new plan called for lengthening the eastern end beyond the choir and raising it to form a retro-chapel (or a chapel behind the altar). With the foundation dug, William the Englishman began in the easternmost end of the crypt by building a new, well-lit chapel with pointed Gothic windows and ribbed groin-vaults to hold Becket's shrine. A series of massive, fused-together column-pairs in creamy Caen stone, arranged in a horseshoe configuration, formed an ambulatory around the space to give pilgrims convenient access while also supporting the retro-chapel above. In the center, two slender Purbeck columns marked the head and foot of the place where the martyr's tomb once rested.

Directly above, Trinity Chapel, finished in 1220, fills the horseshoe-shaped arch inside the ambulatory and replaces the burned out Trinity Chapel that had stood at the easternmost end of Anselm's Norman apse. As one ascends the sixteen steps that lead up from the presbytery and mark the beginning of the ambulatory around Trinity Chapel, the alterations to the first plan become apparent. The bases of first two stone piers that rise along the inner sides of the staircases (the fourth and fifth column pairs east of the crossing) are buried beneath the steps and turn inward on an angle, as originally they were intended to form the curve of a shorter ambulatory. About half way up the staircase, a small door leads into a gallery, or watching chamber, that overlooks the shrine in the crypt chapel and from which the monks could observe the pilgrims – like a modern day surveillance camera. Many pilgrimage sites, including Durham and St Albans, have such medieval watching chambers to control traffic and guard against theft and vandalism.

In 1220, following Abbot Suger's example at Saint-Denis, St Thomas à Becket's relics and tomb were translated from the crypt chapel to the new Trinity Chapel for better display and convenient access. The martyr's new tomb, supervised by Elias of Dereham, stood upon a base of polished pink marble at the eastern end of Trinity Chapel.[8] Today a single burning candle marks the site of the shrine, which the king's henchmen destroyed during the Dissolution. At the top of the stairs, west of the shrine, stands the thirteenth-century marble archbishop's throne, or *cathedra*, which had stood in the earlier Trinity Chapel.

Many aspects of the architecture of Trinity Chapel evoke several important ancient churches in Rome. Some of the architectural features also appear in the illustration of St Luke in the Gospel Book of St Augustine of Canterbury. Unlike the French, Early Christian and Byzantine builders had used colored stone for columns and pavement. Accordingly, the eight slender column pairs of polished Purbeck marble in Trinity Chapel contrast with the massive white Caen stone piers in the choir. The arches, vaults, clerestory, gallery, and stringcourses of the arcade in Trinity Chapel line up with those of the choir, unifying supports of diverse heights and materials. The original inlaid mosaic pavement surrounding the shrine consisted of elaborate geometric patterns of multi-colored stone with small, regularly cut stones surrounding larger roundels and quatrefoils of various varieties of marble and purple porphyry. Developed in the ninth century in Byzantium and called *Opus Alexandrinum*, such mosaic pavement appeared first in Italy in the 1070s at Monte Cassino. Subsequently it appeared in Rome, where it was called Cosmati work, after the city's leading pavement artisans. For churchmen who traveled between Canterbury and Rome, Canterbury's richly colored columns and pavement would evoke mosaic work at some of Rome's venerable basilicas, including S. Prassede (*c.* 780), S. Maria in Aracoeli (1190), S. Clemente (*c.* 1200), and probably Old St Peter's. Moreover, looking westward from the easternmost point of the ambulatory through Trinity Chapel, the curve of the paired, polished marble columns suggests Early Christian centrally-planned mausolea, such as S. Costanza in Rome (*c.* 355). The aisles and clerestory of Trinity Chapel shimmered with brilliant stained glass, possibly made by Frenchmen of imported glass, and traces of paint indicate that rich decoration embellished the walls. The whole effect must have been dazzling and otherworldly, worthy of comparisons to St John's visions of Heavenly Jerusalem described in the Book of Revelation.

Directly behind Trinity Chapel in the east-most chapel, stands the almost completely round, three-storied, domed Corona Chapel that opens onto the ambulatory (Fig. 3.7). This chapel also evokes the form of ancient mausolea, such as that of Diocletian at Split, Croatia (*c.* 305) or the later one of Charlemagne at Aachen Germany (consecrated 805), as the circle and the octagon both symbolized eternal life. Hence, in addition to the obvious French idioms at Canterbury, more discreet, classically inspired ones may apply as well. Gervase would have us think so.

The Corona Chapel was so named because it housed the reliquary with the corona (skull) of the martyred archbishop. The chapel is 27 ft (8.2 m) in diameter with a three-part elevation and is crowned by an eight-sided dome-like vault. Purbeck shafts rise from the floor to the springing of the arch. The shafts, carved with intermittent rings to resemble stacked columns, flank rounded arches with a dogtooth pattern, recalling Norman decorative elements. Above the arcade and its row of windows is a blind gallery passage with double round-headed arches. The five easternmost sections have windows in the clerestory and the lower level. The pilgrimage route for the Cult of St Thomas à Becket begins, as it did in 1220, in the northeast transept where St Thomas was murdered, continues through the north ambulatory past the choir, up two worn staircases to Trinity Chapel, and then culminates in the Corona Chapel.

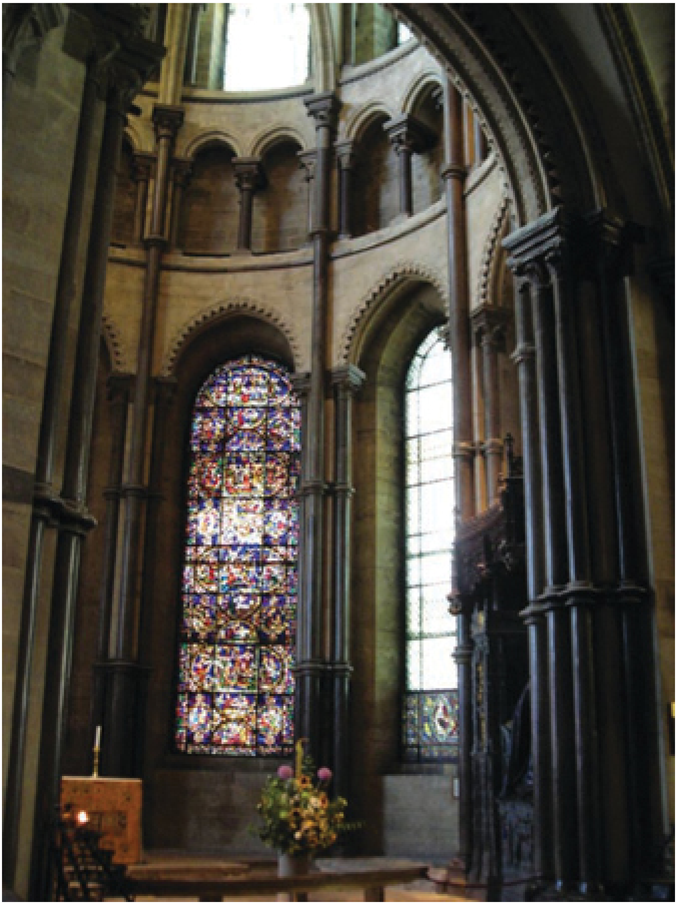


Fig. 3.7 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Corona Chapel, east end, 1170s–1184. Photograph: author

By 1200, before achievements at Chartres, Reims, or Amiens, the dazzling and daring Gothic additions at Canterbury were beyond anything ever seen in England – or in France. Basing his ideas on the Early Gothic style of his home cathedral in Sens and the new cathedral in Paris, William made a bold, new, but not entirely French, statement. The blend of French and Anglo-Norman elements creates a tension and typifies the English ambivalence toward the French Gothic style. The English admired the grace, delicacy, height, and light in the French buildings, yet held fast to several distinctly English features that began with Saxon and Norman architecture carried over into the Gothic. Typical English features include the recessed Anglo-Norman clerestory windows and passage, hidden behind the ribs of the vault, as opposed to flush clerestory windows of the French manner already in use at Sens and Paris. The articulation of the setback surfaces reflects the English fashion, as do the stringcourses that divide the stories horizontally. Surface decoration and dramatic interplay of light and dark overtake any emphasis on verticality, which the French emphasized. The play of light and dark, created by light and shadow, stained glass, and the contrasting colors of stone, creates an ever-changing atmosphere of strong contrasts.

English features at Canterbury include prominent horizontal stringcourses, foliated capitals of the choir, increased articulation of the ribs and other edges, and thick wall construction. Whereas the sexpartite vaulting may reflect French models, the articulation of the roof bosses, which secure the joinings of the ribs, is a purely English feature. During construction, while the wooden centering is still in place, the boss, which can weigh a ton or more, is lowered into position. Its angled ends lock into the adjoining ribs to hold them in place. The English love of surface decoration appears in the use of colored shafting throughout Canterbury Cathedral. Previously used only at the relatively insignificant church at Iffley (near Oxford), Purbeck shafts immediately appeared at other English churches and cathedrals. How the English elements crept into the work of a French supervisor is impossible to reconstruct. Could it have resulted from collaboration with Englishmen, as Gervase implies, or did William independently observe and embrace the distinctive English elements? Regardless of the conduit, these features appear from the beginning and continue to characterize English architecture.

These English variations on the French style, combined with Roman references, confirm the English genius for innovation and for synthesis. Canterbury, as England’s mother church, set the course of the Gothic style in southern England and from there it spread to meet its northern counterpart. Successors to the Canterbury style appear, among other places, at Chichester Cathedral, where a fire in 1187 caused the remodeling of the nave and choir and the addition of Purbeck shafts. Similarly, between 1189 and 1204, Bishop Godfrey De Lucy added a retrochoir, or a space behind the choir, to the east end of Winchester Cathedral to accommodate pilgrims to St Swithun. The architecture includes ribbed groin vaulting and stacked shafts, like those at Canterbury. Other more complete manifestations occur at Wells, Lincoln, Ely, and Salisbury.

Wells Cathedral

While rebuilding at Glastonbury Abbey in the Romanesque style was underway, at nearby Wells, Bishop Reginald de Bohun (1174–1191) boldly embraced the Gothic. The Cathedral Church of St Andrew, the first English cathedral to be built from the beginning with Gothic pointed arches, shafted columns, and ribbed vaulting, gives an early example of the influence of Canterbury on architecture in the southwest of England. Since construction happened over a relatively short period (*c.* 1175–1210), the building is more homogeneous than most English cathedrals. As is customary, construction began in the east end. The horseshoe-shaped chevet (*c.* 1175–1184) conforms to the French tradition, with ambulatory and radiating chapels encircling the choir. Construction of transepts and a crossing with a tower followed (1184–1205). Jocelin of Wells (d. 1242), canon and later Bishop of Wells and Bath, began the eastern nave (1205–1210); the western nave was finished later, around 1240 (Fig. 3.8). Continuing the French model in the style of Chartres (even before the French-influenced Southwark Cathedral was built), quadripartite vaulting was used over rectangular bays in the nave and the ribs cross in the French manner, without bosses. The ten-bay nave extends 161 ft (49 m) from the crossing to the doorway, and is 38 ft (11.6 m) wide; the aisles bring the width to 82 ft (25 m), about half of the width of the façade beyond.

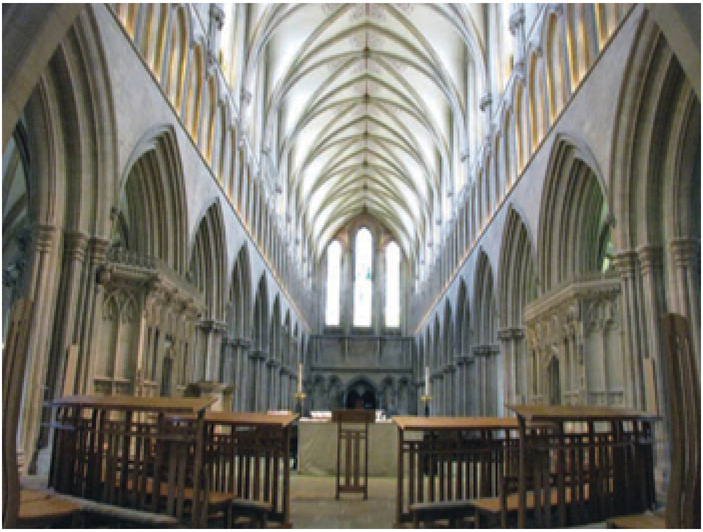


Fig. 3.8 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, interior nave to west, 1175–1210. Photograph: author

In spite of French elements at Wells, the cathedral is unmistakably English in its construction, horizontality, surface pattern, and sculptural subjects. The thick-wall construction with discreet oversailing and clerestory passage and tower at the crossing stand in contrast to the height, thinner walls, and flying buttressing that characterize the French. The oversail and passage remain in the clerestory, although without columns flanking the recessed windows, which opens the space. The responds in the nave, although not in contrasting Purbeck, extend only from the clerestory down to the top of the gallery arches, which reduces the vertical emphasis. The elimination of the columns supporting the respond shafts increases the number of arches in the gallery from two to three; it also increases the horizontal emphasis. Arches hidden in the gallery below help to carry the load of the building to salient buttresses on the exterior, which project less than those at Canterbury. The heavily carved foliate designs of the nave capitals, along with the articulation of the arches, reflect the English penchant for surface design. On capitals in the transepts, figures of peasants performing daily tasks peer down from the capitals, reflecting the English preferences for earthy, even humorous, subjects, reminiscent of contemporary manuscript illuminations. Especially charming in the south transept are a man with a toothache who opens his mouth to point to the offending molar in his left jaw and a peasant with a pained expression who (presumably) extracts a splinter from the sole of his foot.

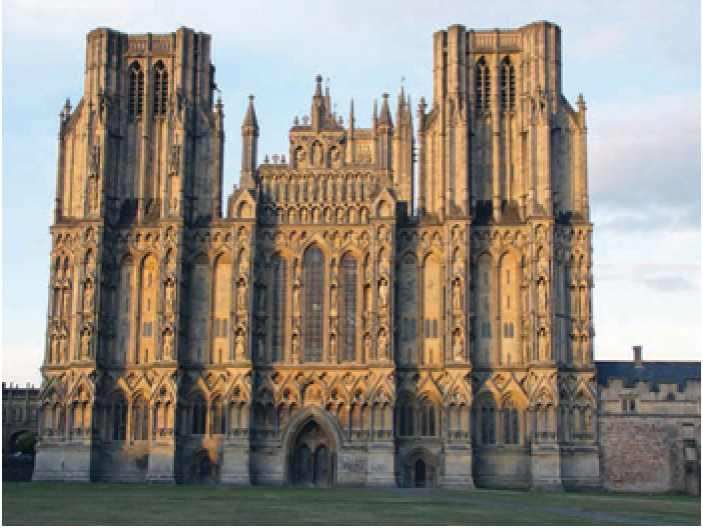


Fig. 3.9 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, west façade, 1204–1210. Photograph: author

The west façade of Wells is also unmistakably English, with a wide and low figural screen, 100 ft high and 150 ft wide (30.4 × 35.7 m). The arrangement of horizontal registers of canopied niches, which other English builders will copy, gives a wonderful play of light and shadow and the illusion of surface decoration and resembles more closely the churches in Anjou and Aquitaine than the concentration of sculpture around the portals, as in the Île de France.

Uncharacteristic of the English, however, is the profusion of sculpture, England's largest extant medieval display of saints (Fig. 3.9). Almost 300 figures, most of which are over life-size, remain of the original 500. A recent cleaning (1974–1986) exposed hints of the original paint scheme. The statues, originally painted in brilliant colors with gold leaf highlights, stood against a background of dark red, much like figures in contemporary manuscript illuminations. Restoration also revealed a forgotten function: singing galleries were hidden within the heavy walls, indicating that the west façade served as a theatrical setting for the church liturgy, especially the great processions.

Lincoln Cathedral: Bishop Hugh's Choir

At Lincoln Cathedral in east central England, Bishop Hugh of Avalon (1186–1200), a French Carthusian monk who was later canonized, initiated structural innovations that not only reflect the Anglo-French blend at Canterbury, but also represent some of the most unusual and brilliant innovations in contemporary English Gothic architecture. New ideas at Lincoln for surface decoration, the construction of stained glass windows, vaulting in both stone and wood, and chapter house design would change the course of English Gothic architecture. In 1192, Bishop Hugh hired builder Geoffroy de Noyers to rebuild the Norman choir, which had suffered extensive damage in an earthquake of 1185. Between 1192 and 1210, rebuilding took place. The new eastern transepts had apsidal chapels along the eastern side. St Hugh's Choir followed; four of the original bays remain (Fig. 3.10). This choir ended in multi-sided chevet, perhaps inspired by the Corona Chapel at Canterbury, but Lincoln's chevet, with the two oblique chapels larger than the frontal chapel, was less uniform, and purposely so. Geoffroy may have trained with the architects at Canterbury, but he did have a talent for eccentric geometric aesthetics, which Bishop Hugh evidently appreciated.

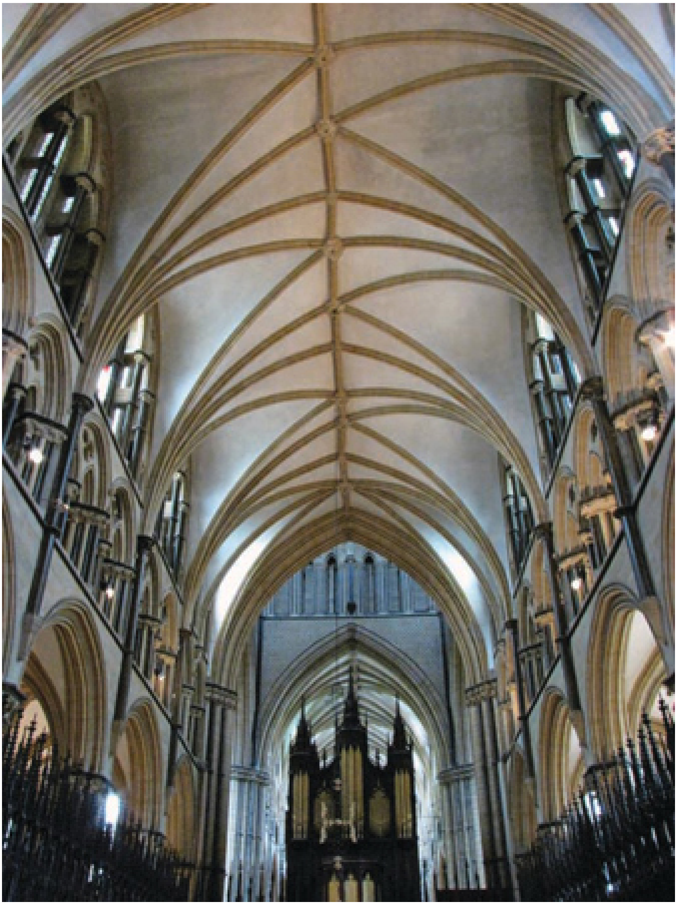


Fig. 3.10 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, St Hugh's Choir, view to the east, 1192–1210. Photograph: author

The distinctively English Gothic three-story elevation in St Hugh's Choir is the most conventional element. The Anglo-Norman use of thick walls with oversailing a clerestory passage remains, although builders at Lincoln took full advantage of pointed arches, flying buttresses, and ribbed vaulting to increase the size of the windows and roof spans. As at Canterbury, surface decoration appears both in texture, with decorative elements and edges delicately articulated, and in the use of dark Purbeck marble for color. The arcade consists of pointed arches supported by column clusters with Purbeck capitals. A strong horizontal stringcourse above these arches delineates the base of the gallery, which contains double arches with column clusters, each of which, in turn, encloses a smaller pair of arches. The Purbeck colonnettes in the gallery alternate with white limestone foliage.

The most distinctive innovation in Bishop Hugh's building campaign happens in the vaulting. He begins in the eastern transepts with pure sexpartite vaulting, similar to the system at Canterbury, but with bosses at the center. In the choir, however, a variation occurs that has enormous consequences. First, a ridge rib, or lierne, runs along the center of the vault like a spine, which will become a hallmark of English Gothic architecture. Although this device first occurs in Anjou, it is unheard of in the Île de France. Stranger and more innovative yet are the absences of central keystones and transverse arches; instead, each vault has two keystones at long and short intervals. Six tiercerons – secondary ribs – intersect the central ridge, again at long and short intervals. As the tiercerons curve toward down the capitals, they form a series of narrow diamond shapes in a pleasing asymmetrical pattern, nicknamed "crazy vaulting." A contemporary source, the *Metrical Life of St Hugh,* describes it more poetically, as "… a bird stretching out its broad wings to fly."[9] The innovative combination of tiercerons with supporting ribs for the sake of pattern inspires subsequent variations, some quite elaborate, which become a distinguishing feature of English Gothic architecture. Moreover, the variations in vaulting are for more than just visual effect: they also allow more light to enter the church.

The Romanesque interest in architectural surface pattern, such that of overlapping engaged arcades lining the Romanesque nave at Durham, transforms into a more three-dimensional, more elaborate Gothic expression at Lincoln. Along the lower walls of the transepts and the two choir aisles, a system of delicate, attenuated engaged trefoil arches supported by slightly taller Purbeck columns, with sculptural heads above, superimposed on pointed arcades gives the illusion of a passageway with a richer play of light and shadow. This double arcading (or syncopated arcading as it is sometimes called), executed after 1220, appears to have been part of the original design. It reflects the English love of texture, pattern, and surface decoration and recurs later in other buildings. Elaborate surface decoration, usually foliate or tooth patterns, also appears in the carving around the arched entrances into the aisles flanking the choir. Sculpted figures in niches and on brackets once lined the upper walls of the aisles in the choir. Individualized, imaginative sculpted heads mark the junctures of arch moldings of the arcades and serve as resting places for the responds.

Lincoln: renovations in the nave and choir

Following reconstruction in the east end of Lincoln Cathedral, building continued in the nave under Bishop Hugh de Wells (served 1209–1235) and his successor, Bishop Robert Grosseteste (served 1235–

1253), who was one of the intellectual giants of the Middle Ages. As at Canterbury, the nave elevation is purely Gothic, with the vaults resting on arcades of wide pointed arches outlined in dark Purbeck marble and supported by two-toned dark Purbeck shaft clusters against white limestone. The 74 ft (22.6 m) height of the nave rests on the nave arcade, which rises to about half of that, higher by a third than Norman arcades. Some of the cluster columns have midline rings in imitation of stacked columns, as at Canterbury. A double arched gallery and a clerestory similar to that in Hugh's choir rise above the arcade. Limestone responds extend from the springing of the vault to brackets above the capital clusters of the nave arcade, breaking the vertical thrust of the elevation.

The design for the nave, a variation of the vaulting in St Hugh's Choir, shows further innovation and imagination (Fig. 3.11). In each bay, six tiercerons, evenly spaced along the central rib, curve downward and join at the springing of the arch. Instead of creating asymmetrical diamond patterns, these tiercerons form a regular pattern that reappears in several churches, most notably in the choir at Ely. The bosses at Lincoln have mainly foliate designs. On the exterior, square salient buttresses on the lower walls rise to reach over the roof of the gallery to the springing of the arch inside to support the thrust of the vaults. Around 1237 (dates vary), soon after Bishop Grosseteste assumed his office, the crossing tower at Lincoln collapsed and destroyed part of St Hugh's choir. Rebuilding of both began immediately, in keeping with the previous designs.

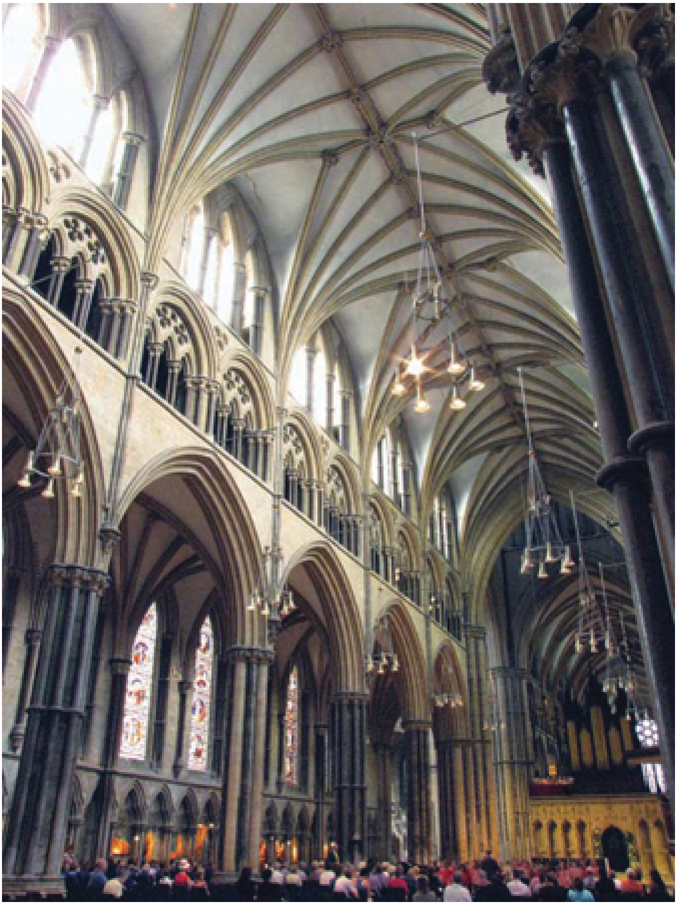


Fig. 3.11 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, nave, view to east, 1209–1253. Photograph: author

Lincoln Cathedral: innovation in the cloister

Because of the steep southerly drop of the high hill on which Lincoln Cathedral rests, with the bishop's palace below, the monks' cloister sits on the north side of the cathedral, accessible through the northeast transept of the cathedral. The construction of the cloister and chapter house (*c*. 1220–1250) overlaps with the rebuilding of the nave and the tower. The unpainted wood vaults of the cloister demonstrate the English ingenuity with timber construction (Fig. 3.12). As with the sexpartite stone vaults in the interior of the cathedral, a central rib runs down the center of the groin vaults with carved bosses at the crossings. A boss may join as few as three ribs or as many as twelve. Although some Norman churches have bosses, as do some French Gothic churches, their ornament usually consists of foliate designs. Intricately sculpted bosses, especially the amusing ones, appear to be peculiarly English.[10] At Lincoln, they achieve a new level of inventiveness. No over-riding theme determines the choices; instead, some of the bosses depict religious subjects, such as a Virgin and Child or angels. Some bosses depict whimsical subjects, such as a rabbit or a lion's head, or a slice of daily life, such as a man with a toothache. Others reveal a dry sense of humor, and an earthiness – even a bawdiness, but of a humorous rather than a vulgar nature. In one boss, two animals touch tongues; in others, men stick out their tongues and even bare their bottoms. Such humorous features, seen before in Anglo-Saxon art especially, continue to permeate English architectural sculpture and manuscripts, both secular and religious.

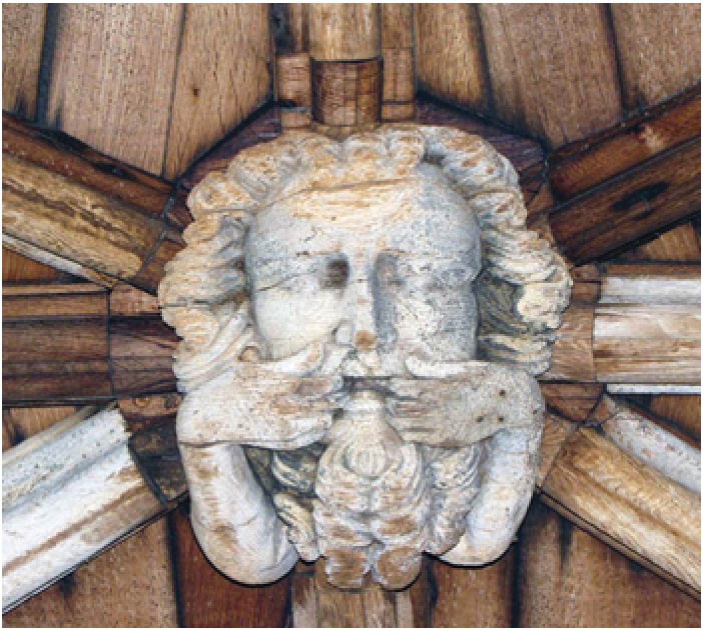


Fig. 3.12 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, cloister, roof boss showing a man sticking out his tongue, wood relief carving, 1220–1250. Photograph: author

Lincoln Cathedral: innovations in chapter house design

The chapter house at Lincoln stands in the traditional place in the center of the east side of the cloister, which, because of the drop on the south side of the hilltop, is on the north side of the cathedral (Figs 3.13 and 3.14). Unlike churches or support facilities for a monastery, such as refectories, shapes of chapter houses are less restricted, a freedom that leads to interesting solutions. Norman chapter houses are usually rectangular, such as the two-bay structure at Bristol; a few have rounded east ends, as at Rievaulx. In 1140, builders of the red sandstone chapter house at Worcester Cathedral, introduce remarkable engineering feats with far-reaching influence, the polygonal shape – ten sides with salient buttresses, which gives the interior a rounded appearance (Figs 3.15 and 3.16). A single plain stone column in the center is the sole visible internal support; from here, ten ribs reach toward the walls – but hidden supports exist above. The space is 59 ft (18 m) in diameter, with each bay 17 ft (5.1 m) wide. The innovative design suits the monastic government: since all monks or canons participate equally in making decisions, a polygonal chapter house, which has no obvious head place, emphasizes the democratic process.

The chapter house at Lincoln, which measures 63 ft (19.2 m) in diameter and 19 ft (5.8m) for each of the ten bays, develops from innovations at Worcester. Again, the vaulted ceiling is of wood, with a sturdy central limestone column as the only visible support. Slender Purbeck engaged columns reach to the springing of the arch. The ribs fanning from the central column form a pattern that resembles a ten-petal passionflower and makes the interior decidedly polygonal. Hidden above the ceiling, a vertical wooden beam continues to the pitch of the roof supporting a thicket of wooden beams like the spokes of an umbrella. Walkways for maintenance crisscross the beams. Using an engineering system based on triangles, the beams join at the outer edge and transfer the weight to massive flying buttresses at the exterior corners, which not only support the ceiling and conical leaden roof, but also allow for large windows. This innovative structure, practical, beautiful, and acoustically superb, sets the prototype for subsequent English chapter houses, although the shape changes to an octagon.

Salisbury Cathedral

The cathedral at Salisbury in the south of England, like Wells in the west, was built from scratch during a comparatively short period with a remarkably consistent style (Figs 3.17 and 3.18). Except for the spire and the chapter house, Salisbury largely conforms to the original plan. Therefore, scholars generally consider Salisbury to exemplify the purest, most cohesive Early Gothic form in England. The first building campaign begins in 1220, when Bishop Richard Poore (d. 1237) and the chapter of monks at Old Sarum receive permission from Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton and Pope Honorius III to move the Cathedral of the Virgin Mary from Old Sarum to a field of some 260 acres (105 ha) called St Mary’s Mead at New Sarum, or Salisbury. The main portion of the cathedral was complete by the consecration on 29 September 1258. The second construction period at Salisbury extends from *c.* 1266–1310 and encompasses the bell tower (no longer extant), the cloister, and the chapter house.

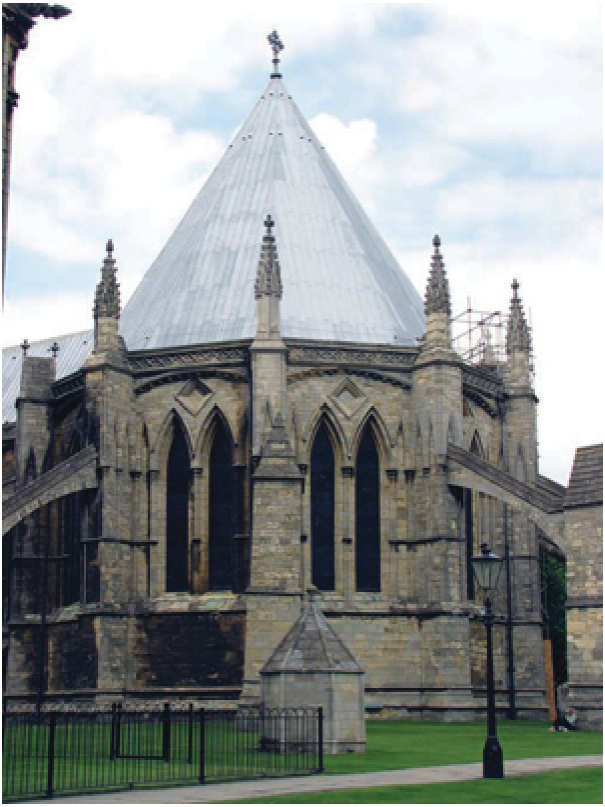


Fig. 3.13 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, Chapter House, exterior, 1220–1250. Photograph: author

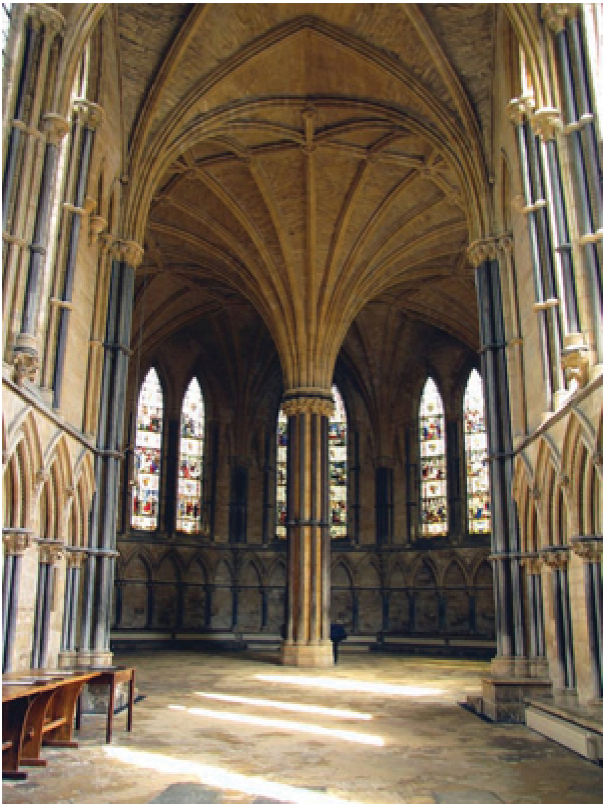


Fig. 3.14 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, Chapter House, interior, 1220–1250. Photograph: author

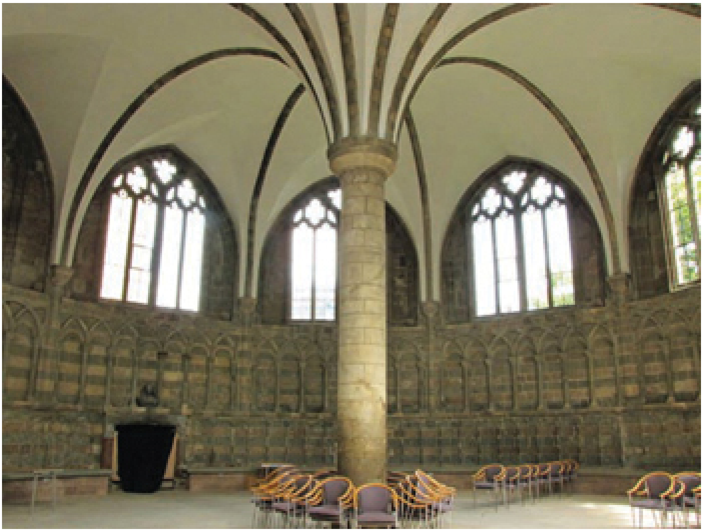


Fig. 3.15 Worcester Cathedral, Worcestershire, Chapter House, interior, 1140 ff. Photograph: author

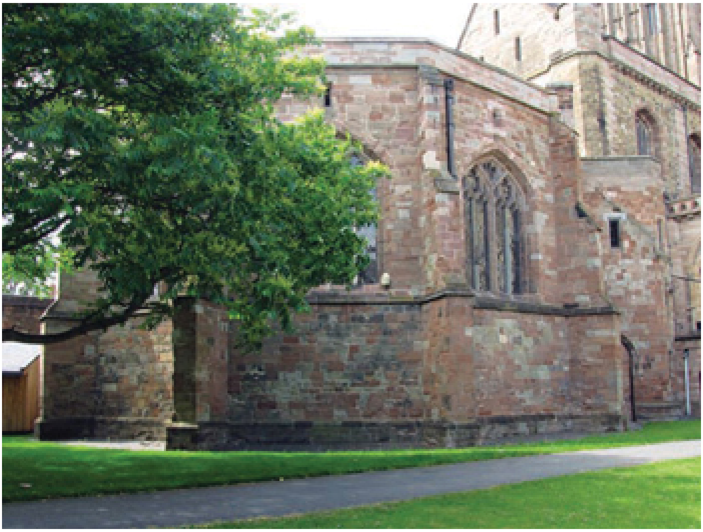


Fig. 3.16 Worcester Cathedral, Worcestershire, Chapter House, exterior, 1140 ff. Photograph: author

Construction began in the east end, the usual practice. Elias of Dereham, who had recently designed the shrine of St Thomas à Becket at Canterbury and for which he garnered praise from Matthew Paris for his skills as a designer, appears to have served as the designer and chief builder. Master Nicholas of Ely served as the first master mason.[11] These remarkable builders incorporated inconspicuous but enormously effective feats of engineering that will influence later structures, including the support for the elevated crossing tower at Wells.

The plan resembles Durham and Lincoln – sometimes called the "Cross of Lorraine" plan – with a flat eastern end that reflects the Cistercian architecture and double transepts, with the western transept longer and wider than the eastern one. Three bays separate the two transepts. Each transept is two bays wide, with chapels lining the east side. The retrochoir extends two bays deep across the width of the east end. Two narrower bays that project eastward beyond the retrochoir and the center portion of the last bay of the retrochoir form Holy Trinity Chapel. The chapel has vaults of equal height, as in a hall church (more common in Germany). The portion east of the crossing, including the glazing of windows, the choir stalls, and the lead roofing, appears to have been finished by 1246, when Bishop Robert de Bingham, Poore's successor, and Elias of Dereham died. The new bishop, William de Eboraco (York), chaplain to King Henry III, continued construction uninterrupted.

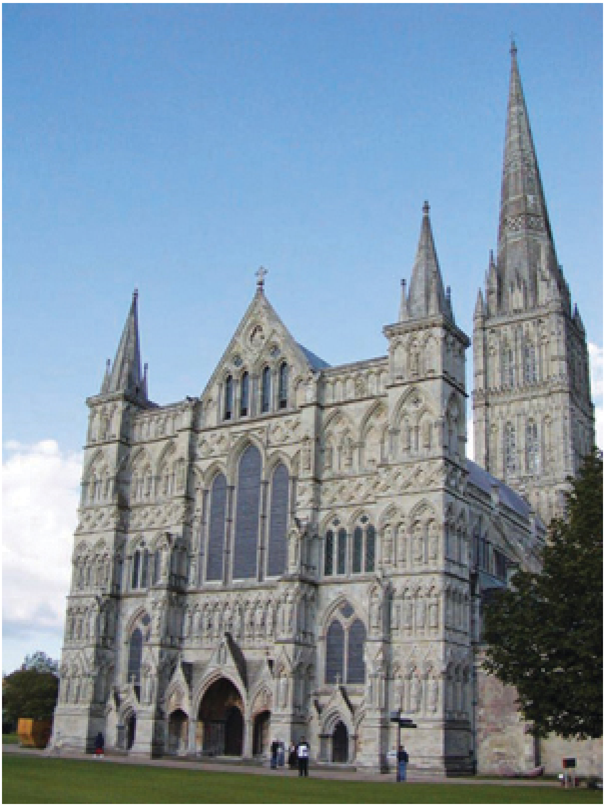


Fig. 3.17 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire, northwest exterior, 1220–1258. Photograph: author

The three-story elevation throughout rests on an arcade with column clusters of Purbeck marble that reach about half the height of the nave, which makes the space seem especially open. The oversailing of the clerestory, slightly taller than the gallery, echoes English predecessors at Canterbury, Lincoln, and Ely, as do horizontal stringcourses and surface decoration created by the play of light and dark Purbeck column clusters against pale limestone. Faint painted designs remain from what once adorned the vaults. A change in masonry in the ten-bay nave shows a variant of the French *pilier cantonné* (compound pier), with slender colonettes attached to a large central core for support for arcade above. This support for the arcade was devised at Chartres. It was first used in England at Westminster Abbey, which was currently under construction. The appearance at Salisbury shows the designer's knowledge of the latest French design and the king's works. The quadripartite ribbed vaulting throughout the cathedral and the absence of bosses also recall contemporary High Gothic cathedrals in France, such Chartres (1194–*c*.1225) or Amiens (1220–1270), known for its soaring height. The slender flying buttresses, more modest than contemporary French examples, are among the first in an English building. They lend extra support for the vaults and the tower as well as allow for larger windows.

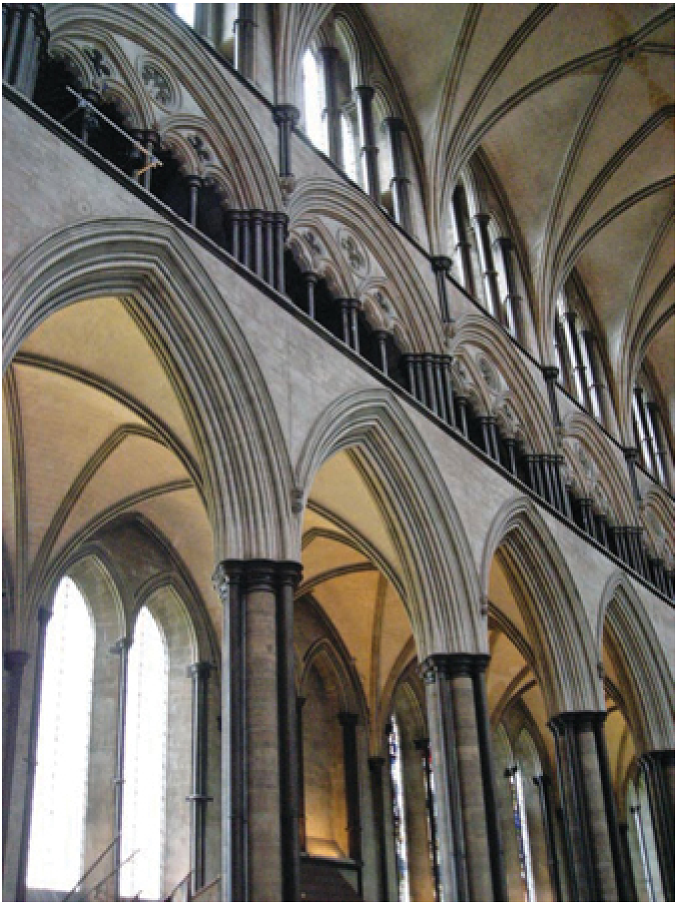


Fig. 3.18 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire, nave to west, 1220–1258. Photograph: author

The west front of Salisbury Cathedral is a multi-storied decorative screen with the gable of the nave slightly visible above. Octagonal helmets crown the slightly projecting low west towers. Each of the five levels of the screen has a variation on the blind arcade design. Overall, narrower and more vertical than the façades of Ely, Lincoln, or Wells, the later extension of Salisbury's tower spire provides a much needed vertical focus that breaks the horizontal screen, giving the complex a pleasing balance. Salisbury, like Wells, retains much of its sculpture. Not only do individual figures of saints stand in arched niches, reflecting French influence, but also the portals are surmounted by images of the Virgin and Child, echoing the dedication of the cathedral to the Virgin Mary. The Virgin holding the Christ

Child stands atop the central gable above the triple opening of the deep porch. Below, the Annunciate Angel on the left and the Virgin on the right fill the tympana of the two side arches. Peculiar grotesque heads leer from the points where the arches join, some with their tongues out, some with contorted faces, and others with animals biting their cheeks. The tympanum over the recessed center doorway holds the seated Virgin and Child in a triple arched canopy with two angels with censers flanking her.

In spite of French influence, Salisbury, like Canterbury, exhibits an overwhelmingly English design in its plan, its modest height, its clear horizontal emphasis, the absence of full-length responds, and the echelon-shaped triple windows. A comparison of dimensions shows the difference between English and French aesthetics. Whereas the naves and transepts at Salisbury and Amiens are of similar length, the height of nave at Salisbury reaches 85 ft (25.5 m) – rather standard for English cathedrals – whereas Amiens soars to 138.7 ft (42.3 m).[12] The façade, in spite of the sculpture, is English in its lack of tall front towers and its horizontal emphasis. Inside and out, the Cathedral of Salisbury represents the perfection of the Early English style; the cloister and chapter house, however, are another matter. Although an entry portal and part of the north cloister were built in the 1240s, the remaining wings were delayed, perhaps due to financial constraints. The style by then had shifted to the new Decorated Gothic aesthetic.

North meets south: York Minster Cathedral

At York Minster, the austere tradition of the Cistercians meets the French-influenced style of the south. The influence of Lincoln and Canterbury resonates especially strongly in the impressive double-aisled south transept (Figs 3.19 and 3.20), which was built between 1220 and 1250 under the supervision of Bishop Walter de Gray (d. 1255). With a span of 46 ft (14 m), wider than the great western transept at Lincoln, the builders meant to enhance the prestige of the church and the shrine of St William. Builders used painted wooden vaults to resolve the challenge of covering the wide span and to allow the ornate rose window (originally called a Marigold Window) at the top of the south end, flanked by two small lancets, to shed full light on the interior. Throughout, the ribs have a diamond pattern with the joining covered by richly painted bosses, an English specialty. The three-story elevation has a high arcade, pairs of double lancet openings in each bay of the triforium, or blind gallery, and a clerestory passage supported by column clusters. Surface articulation on the arches includes concentric rolls and outer rope-like carving.

Column clusters and capitals include Purbeck marble, which increases the contrast of light and dark.

The greatest embellishment appears on the south façade, the earliest remaining part of the present building. Begun in 1220, the stonework of the rose window in the high gable was completed in 1240. With a tier of long lancet windows below the rose, two pairs of smaller lancets flanking the central portal, and heavy articulation in the stonework, the façade combines Cistercian simplicity, English love of surface decoration, and French-inspired verticality. Moreover, like the rich north transept façade at Westminster Abbey, a contemporary construction project, this elaborate façade faces the town and gives a magnificent presence to the entire building, especially at a time when the Norman naves and west façades of each must have seemed terribly old fashioned. Each also provides a great processional space by opening directly onto an important street. The unembellished north transept at York, begun *c.* 1240, is attributed to de Gray's sub-dean and eventual treasurer, John. In the place of a doorway, a large window of multiple lancets fills the wall. The austerity remains closer to the Cistercian style and calls to mind the west windows at Ripon. Throughout England, whether closer to the embellished French court style or Cistercian austerity, Gothic architecture in England retains its own flavor. Defining features include love of color and surface pattern, horizontal emphasis, articulation of the ribs, figurative and narrative polychrome bosses, thick wall construction using the Norman oversail passage, and facility with timber construction.

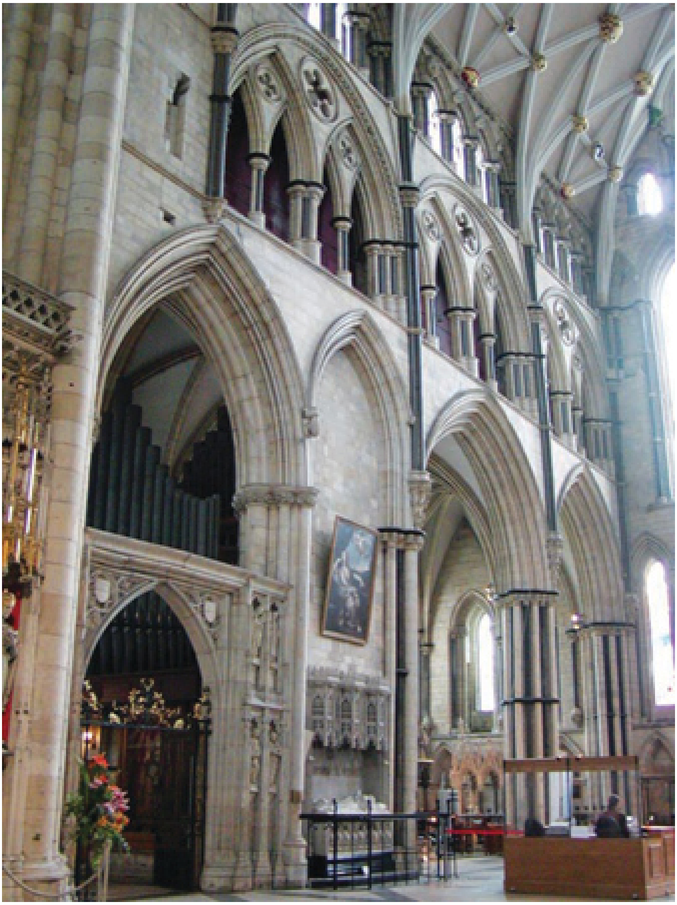


Fig. 3.19 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkshire, interior of south transept, 1220–1250. Photograph: author

Stained glass windows

The earliest known reference to the use of stained glass for windows in England dates from 675 AD when Benedict Biscop imported artisans from France to glaze the windows of the Church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth. The oldest surviving stained glass windows in England are at Canterbury and date to the late twelfth century. More than any other art form of the Gothic age, stained glass reflects the contemporary theology that equates God with light and that inspires, at least in part, the Gothic movement. Abbot Suger of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, near Paris, first articulated this theory, based on the writings of Dionysius the Aeropogite. This idea, like the new architecture he introduced, quickly spread abroad. Moreover, with the simultaneous burgeoning of the Cult of the Virgin, the idea that light penetrated glass but left it intact also came to symbolize the Virgin birth. As Gothic engineering gradually allowed larger openings in the walls of churches, stained glass windows provided dazzling transparent mosaics of light and color that, along with flickering candlelight, transformed the church interiors into ethereal splendor. In addition to their metaphysical and inspirational qualities of the windows, the narrative and meditative designs of the windows presented teachings of the church to a largely illiterate audience.

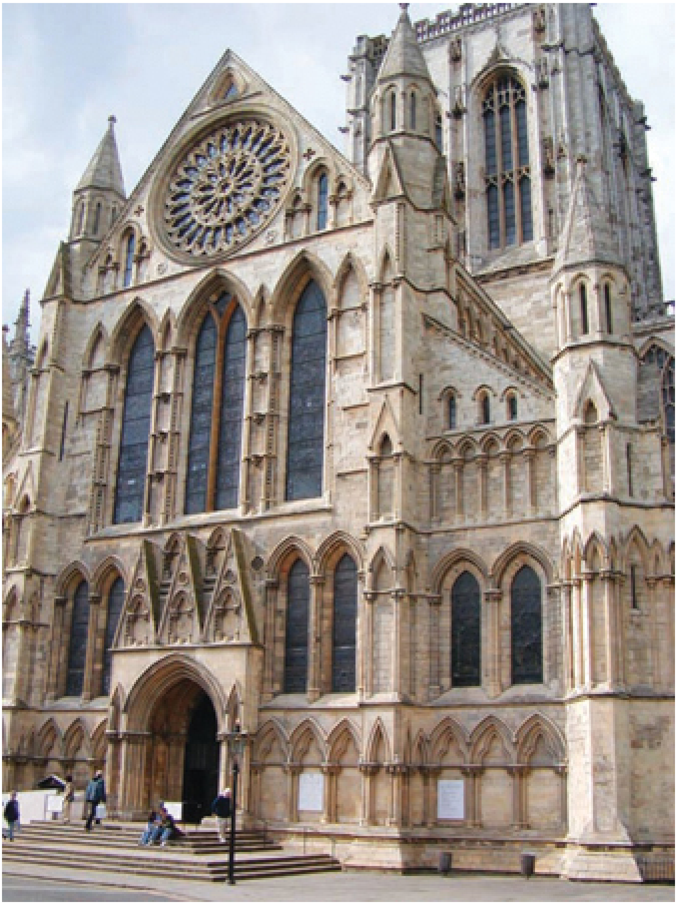


Fig. 3.20 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkshire, exterior of south transept, 1220–1250. Photograph: author

Although the windows reflect the linear style and rich palette of contemporary manuscript illuminations and murals, they borrow their technique from metalwork. As with setting enamel and jewels, grooved strips, or cames, hold the pieces of glass together. The metal, which for windows was lead, also serves as outlines for the design.[13] The irregularly shaped individual pieces of glass provide broad areas of color. At Canterbury, brilliant red and deep cerulean blue predominate, complemented by yellow, green, purple, and white.

Details of faces, drapery, and hands and patterns are painted on the glass and then low-fired in a kiln to fuse the paint to the glass. Sections of glass held together with lead cames are then fit into larger frames of iron. The earliest windows consist of single figures; others contain multiple narrative scenes. As in pantomime, the lively figures in varied poses convey silent stories. The finest surviving windows from this period in England adorn Canterbury, Lincoln, and York Minster Cathedrals.

Stained glass in Canterbury Cathedral

Canterbury Cathedral glistens with over 13,000 square feet of glass (1200 m^2) covering three levels in the choir and eastern transepts and two levels in Trinity Chapel behind the choir and in the Corona Chapel. Groups of windows that were installed during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries include a Last Judgment, a dozen windows giving biblical history, and eight windows giving the story of Becket's martyrdom and miracles. The oldest of these windows, which originally consisted of 86 panels, featured life-size figures of the Ancestors of Christ, stacked two high in each pane, encircling the clerestory of the choir and transepts – some 60 ft (18.3 m) above the floor. Most of these panels date between 1178 and 1180. Now, a total 43 panels survive. Nine ancestor windows remain in the clerestory, which suggest the appearance of the original program. A dozen panels were relocated to the lower part of the west window and 22 to the lowest register of the southwest transept window. In 2009, conservators removed unstable windows in the southwest transept for repair.

The Ancestors of Christ windows at Canterbury appear to have been the longest series of Christ's ancestors in any medium. The length of the program was achieved by conflating the 41 names listed in Matthew 1: 1–17 and the 77 in Luke 3: 23–38 (Fig. 3.21). The logic and unity of program, along with some of the design and detail work, indicate the possibility of a master iconographic plan that directed several glazing campaigns. Internal evidence, including consistent methods of construction in the window armatures, indicates that over an extended period time, a single atelier made the windows, although several distinct styles appear in the designs of the windows. Master artisans trained apprentices on the job at Canterbury who, in turn, took over as artisans for the later windows.

Although Gervase enthusiastically wrote about the architecture and sculpture of the new building, he gives the stained glass windows little notice. Recent research indicates that some windows may even date to just before the fire of 1174, which would make these the oldest painted stained glass in England. In the 1770s, William Gostling, a canon at Canterbury, wrote *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury with Many Observations Not to be found in Any Description Hitherto Published*, which gives scholars the most thorough remaining account of the windows before many of the ancestor panels were relocated later in the eighteenth century.[14]

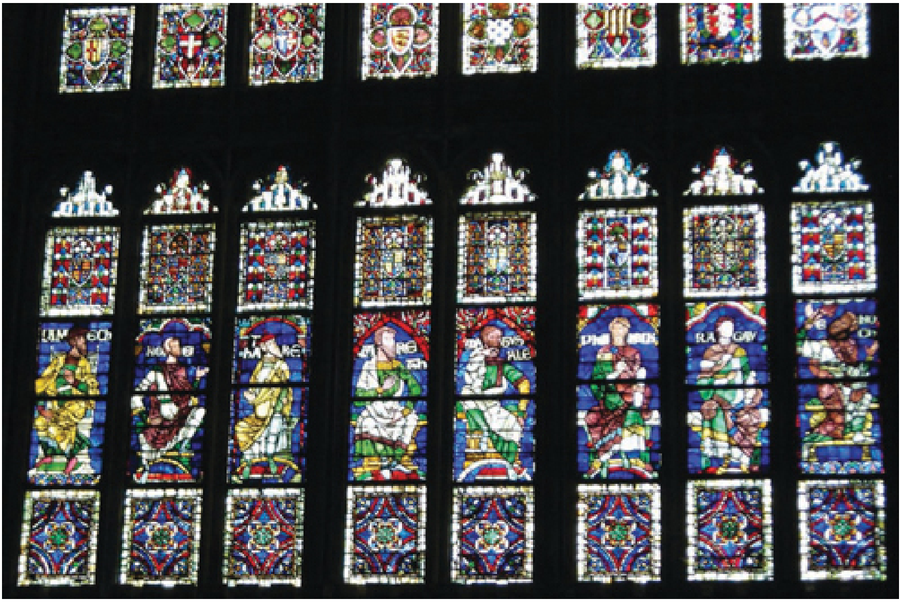


Fig. 3.21 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Ancestors of Christ (Old Testament figures), stained glass window, relocated from clerestory to southwest transept, c. *1170–1200. Photograph: author*

The chronologically-arranged Ancestors of Christ began on the northwest side of the choir with Adam, continued through the north transept, the eastern the choir, south transept, and southwest side of choir, and ended with Joseph and the Virgin Mary. At cardinal points, symbolic windows interrupted the chronology of the ancestors. Round windows of Moses and Synagoga and Christ and Ecclesia (the Church) are thought to have stood over the north and south transept doors, respectively. The Last Judgment window, now at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, fits the program and the iron armatures for the east window of the clerestory in the Trinity Chapel. It once stood above the Redemption Window, which showed Christ ascending to heaven. The style, however, resembles that of a slightly later master, called the Jesse Master, which indicates the involvement of several masters over a decade or so.

The program as a whole called attention to Christ's ancestors as witnesses to the Second Coming and the Old Order and Old Testament law as the foundation of the New Order based on the grace given by Christ. It also gave the history of the fallen nature of humankind through the original sin of Adam and salvation through Jesus the Redeemer.[15] Moreover, the ancestors cast light upon the tomb of Thomas à Becket, which perhaps transmitted a second more subtle and seditious reminder of a ruling line of greater longevity and spiritual veracity than that of the English royalty, who had provoked the death of the martyr.

The designs for the windows, unsurprisingly, resemble illuminations in contemporary manuscripts, notably the St Alban's Psalter (Dombibliotek, Hildesheim, HS St God. I) by the Alexis Master, which was produced at St Albans, the Eadwine Psalter, which was produced at Canterbury, and murals at Canterbury, including those in St Gabriel's Chapel in the crypt and the remaining scene of St Paul and the Viper in St Anselm Chapel (originally dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul), which adjoins the ambulatory in the choir. Like them, the style of glass painting and the poses of the ancestors bridge the transition between the late Romanesque and Early Gothic styles. The figures appear large in the picture space. The designs depend on heavy outlines, broad, unshaded planes of color, and strong gestures and expressions – characteristics more readily associated with the late Romanesque style than the Gothic. Each nearly life-size, full-figure ancestor is flanked by the block letters of his name in white glass. The placement of light-colored figures against dark blue accentuates the strong lines and broad planes of color against uniformly deep ultramarine blue backgrounds visually unites the program and facilitates readability from below. Most figures are seated, surrounded by an architectural canopy and foliate borders of vines and flowers or stylized acanthus leaves, usually in clusters of three or four. Such foliate patterns show the survival of classical motifs, cleverly reworked according to the demands of the new medium. Sixteen of the windows retain this border, at least in part. Several repeat border designs in the St Albans Psalter. On the east side of the southeast transept, the stacked windows of Neri and Rhesa, with the border encircling the entire composition, show the original configuration. The program appears remarkably unified, despite having been installed in several glazing campaigns by multiple artisans.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, four windows in the Trinity Chapel of David, Nathan, Roboam, and Abia may be reused from an earlier program of the ancestors of Christ in St Anselm's building. They appear to have stood in the temporary wooden wall that separated the

Norman nave from the choir while it was under construction and then been moved to the clerestory.[16] Recalling the respect the monks held for the remains of Anslem's building, evident in architectural remains, it stands to reason that they would have salvaged windows as well.

The oldest set of windows from the post-1174 fire era centers on a similar stylistic group attributed to an artist called the "Methuselah Master", so-named after the imposing figure of Methuselah (Fig. 3.21). This sophisticated artist, a talented colorist, created brilliant effects within a limited glass palette. In addition, his combination of linear and painterly sensibilities and his decorative details are exquisitely refined and remarkably naturalistic. Poses vary and figures turn in space. Some figures, such as the thoughtful Methuselah, meditate, while others read from scrolls. Some look up; others gesture with their hands. The oldest of these panels is thought to be that of Adam. This window is unmatched in early European glass painting for the monumental size and the fine handling of the semi-nude figure. Adam, clad only in an animal skin, vigorously presses his foot on a spade as he tills the earth. A tree fills the space to his left. The labor represents the consequence of original sin; the skin of the dead animal around his waist denotes the consequences of mortality that sin would convey to humankind. Some figures, such as Jared, appear regal and immaculately groomed while Lamech, the father of Noah, twists in his seat, which makes his robe disheveled, accentuating his shameful character as one of the wicked generation that caused The Flood. Moreover, the pose and heavily outlined style of Lamech resembles the seated figure of the scribe Eadwine in the Eadwine Psalter of *c.* 1176, which was produced at Canterbury (Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms.R.17.1, fol. 283v, discussed in Chapter 2). Similarities in style indicate that the master knew stained glass, mural, and manuscript illumination practices not only at Canterbury, but also at Westminster, St Albans, Winchester, and possibly France.[17]

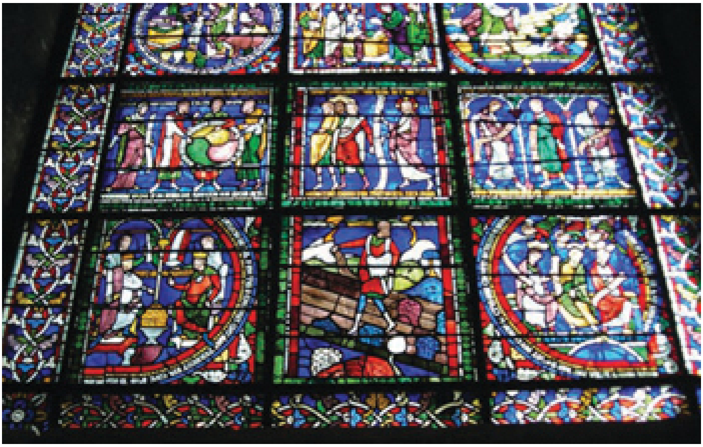


Fig. 3.22 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, north aisle of Trinity Chapel, stained glass, typological window 2, New Testament scenes, 1180–1200. Photograph: author

As an architectural innovation, the windows at Canterbury lead the way. The artisans who made the windows at Canterbury– and the hands of several masters can be discerned – seem to have worked also in France, or at least French artisans knew the work at Canterbury. For example, the size and style of the Old Testament clerestory windows in the apse at Chartres Cathedral (1194–*c.* 1225) installed after the fire of 1194, resemble windows at Canterbury, including the figures of Aaron, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. However, the more refined and restrained French figures contrast with the vigorous and rugged characters at Canterbury. In addition, the unusually wide palette of colors at Canterbury, which ranges from pale green, violet, slate blue, white, and pink to emerald green, yellow, cobalt, and clear red, contrasts with the more somber reliance on deep blue and deep, clear red at Chartres. The ambitious, encyclopedic, and coherent program of early glass at Canterbury probably formed the largest and most systematic program of its day.

The Methuselah Master also appears to have participated in a second group of windows, the theological, or typological series, in the north aisle, as the style recalls that of the ancestors of Christ. As with the ancestors, rich cobalt blue fills the background and small pieces of red, green, white, and yellow form the figures and borders. The earliest one of these windows dates to 1178–1180; others date to *c.* 1195–1207. The size, iconography, and locations of the theological windows demand highly experimental and individual compositions. Rather than consisting of rectangular panels in the fashion of the ancestor windows, these are arranged in grids with rounded tops with square compositions flaked by rounded, wedge-shaped frames. Below, center compositions alternate vertically between square and circular compositions flanked by panels of the opposing shape, giving a grid of alternating patterns. The armatures also alternate: some scenes fit into square grids; other armatures have circular panels.

In addition to the innovative armatures, the compositional content is different. Instead of large, single figures, these scenes, which stand in the lower walls just above eye level, form narratives with complex compositions, subdued palette, and smaller figures. The arrangement reflects the Early Christian practice of typology, which also appeared at Old St Peter's Basilica in Rome; that is, according to a well-known system of parallel relationships in which scenes of prophecy, or similar events from either the Old Testament or the early life of Christ prefigure a New Testament story of fulfillment. Originally, this program at Canterbury contained the longest typological program on record, with a dozen windows. Unfortunately, some of the windows have been damaged and then partially reconfigured, which destroyed the typological correspondences. Now parts of the theological windows remain in upper panels, with scenes from other windows filling the lower portions. These windows also resemble contemporary narrative windows at Chartres and other French cathedrals. In fact, they may well represent a link between Sens and post-fire (1194) Chartres.[18] Different, however, is that English narrative windows usually read from the top down, whereas French narratives go from the bottom up.

The second theological window consists of a grid with seven rows of three scenes in each row and contains panels that originally formed the second and sixth theological windows (Fig. 3:22). The top four registers show four scenes of the Magi, the first Gentiles to see and accept Christ.[19] One unusual aspect of the program is the inclusion of the parables of Christ, with the parable of the Sower in the bottom center. The master of this panel, who represents a distinctive style of a second post-fire period at Canterbury, is responsible for nine compositions in the sixth typological window in the north aisle. His oeuvre also includes the St Stephen Disputing with the Jews, *c.* 1180, now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, which was once in the St Stephen Chapel. As with the contemporary manuscript illuminations and murals, the figures show vigorous movements and often overlap. The palette contains more red than that of the Methuselah Master but much of the Methuselah Master's brilliant yellow.[20]

Eight windows illustrating the life and miracles of Thomas à Becket, which probably date to *c.* 1195–1207, appear in the easternmost ambulatory near the Corona Chapel. The palette resembles that of the typological windows but with more red. Some of these windows, in fact, have red backgrounds, perhaps to emphasize his martyrdom. Some windows of these windows have a curly vine pattern in light blue applied as an overlay to the darker blue background. These windows particularly promote the miraculous power of the saint to heal the sick and the healing powers of water at Canterbury. They also emphasize the necessity of the pilgrimage to his tomb and they encourage thank offering and gifts. The windows are set at eye level with images sufficiently large for pilgrims to see and relate to their own experience. Other contemporary windows include the Redemption Window and the Tree of Jesse in the Corona Chapel, which reads French-style from bottom to top and bears a striking resemblance to the Jesse Window at Chartres. The scriptural source for this recurring theme derives largely from Isaiah 11: 1–5, the prophecy of Christ's Davidic lineage, which states: "There shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots," and from Matthew 1: 1–17, both of which recount the genealogy of Christ.

Stained glass windows at Lincoln Cathedral

Innovative achievements at Lincoln carry over into stained glass. One lost window in the west façade and two surviving round windows in the west transept, called the Dean's Eye and the Bishop's Eye because of their ceremonial use, bridge the transition between the uses of heavy stone plate tracery and delicate bar tracery. Around 1250, Bishop Grosseteste added a deep, Galilee Porch the south end of the great transept in order to facilitate the ceremonial processions of the bishop from his palace on the south; the earlier porch on the north served the dean and his chapter. These windows also demonstrate another new and unusual feature: the early use of wheel or rose windows in England, where round windows rarely appear. Finally, the iconography of the windows conforms to a medieval canon in which the dark north represents gloom and the sunny south, light.

Because of later devastation at Lincoln, the armature of the windows gives the main surviving evidence of inventiveness. Plate tracery uses wide stone mullions to separate the glazed areas. The stone patterns dominate the window. Moreover, plate tracery not only limits the overall amount of light admitted to the interior, but also limits the complexity of patterns. Bar tracery, on the other hand, uses slender, curved stone mullions fitted together with mortar and metal pins to hold the glass panes in place. Bar tracery both increases the interior light and gives delicate web-like patterns. Glass rather than stone dominates.

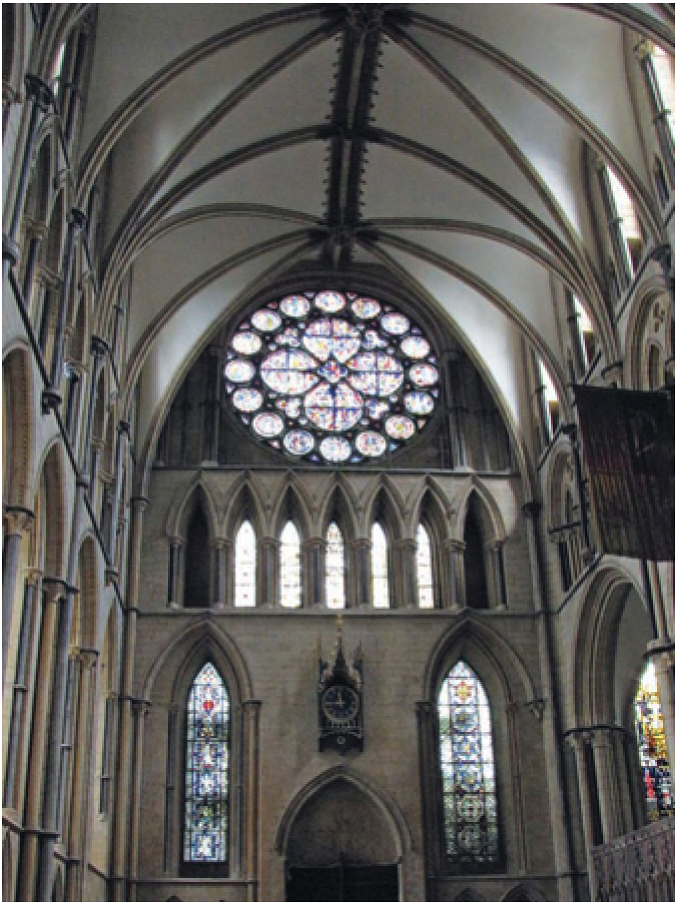


Fig. 3.23 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, northwest transept, Dean's Eye Window, c. *1220. Photograph: author*

The "Dean's Eye" window at the north end of the west transept, installed *c.* 1220, uses plate tracery (Fig. 3.23). The principal theme is the Last Judgment in two concentric circles. The inner portion of the window has four roundels in a petal-like arrangement with a quatrefoil petal pattern in the center. Here, the Blessed in Heaven gather around Christ in Majesty in the center. The topmost outer roundel shows Christ as Judge. Sixteen additional roundels depict angels, bishops, kings and biblical characters. The panes incorporate scenes associated with death and resurrection, such as the funeral of St Hugh and the death of the Virgin, along with Adam tilling the earth and Eve spinning. Below, set behind a narrow clerestory-like passage, are seven pointed arches behind which are five lancet windows.

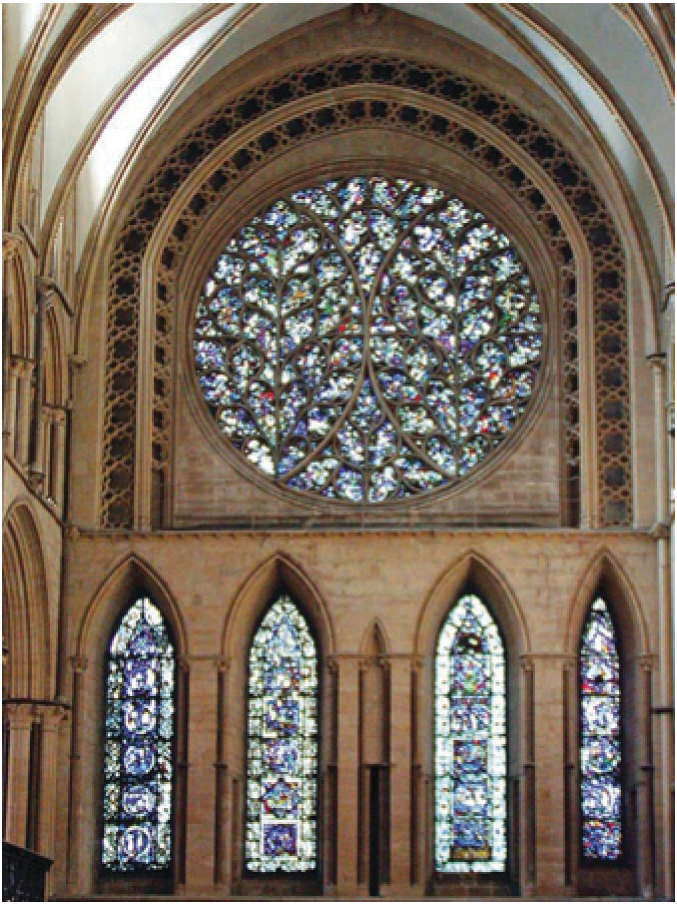


Fig. 3.24 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, southwest transept, stained glass, Bishop's Eye Window, 1330. Photograph: author

The change from plate tracery to bar tracery is discernible in two windows at Lincoln. The lost west façade window of 1220–1230 not only represents one of the earliest examples of bar tracery in England, but one of the earliest in Europe. Although the window was later replaced, the original jambs and moldings remain. Reims Cathedral, often credited as the site of this innovation in bar tracery, was under construction at the same time. Once again, builders and artisans at Lincoln are on the cutting edge.

Although a century later than the lost west window, the "Bishop's Eye" window in south end of the west transept, rebuilt *c*. 1330 in the slightly later Decorated Gothic style, shows the use of bar tracery (Fig. 3.24). The narrower stone tracery and greater use of iron facilitate the curved lines of the delicate interlaced and branching lines and two barely discernable touching half circles. The original glass and iconographic program are lost; in 1788, a collection of fragments of medieval stained glass was inserted. Below are two pairs of lancets, again with a passage. The far right lancet is narrower than the other three.

Stained glass windows at York Minster

York Minster retains about 50 panes of twelfth-century glass, reset by later builders. Some of these panes are in the south transept; most appear in the clerestory of the fourteenth-century nave, where they have been since at least 1690. The style resembles windows at the Abbey of Saint-Denis and Chartres Cathedral in France and Monte Cassino in Italy. Some scholars believe the windows at Saint-Denis and those at York Minster originated from the same workshop, indicating that the glassmakers traveled. The technique, using smaller shards of glass, is slightly more intricate than the windows at Canterbury. The colors also are muted with less of the strong clear red. The windows depict scenes from the life and Passion of Christ, Daniel in the Lion's Den, and the lives of several saints.[21]

In addition, the twelfth-century windows at York include grisaille glass panels, with monochrome painted designs applied with silver stain or vitreous paint. The designs include various foliate and geometric patterns, including interlocking circles, diamonds, and basketweave designs. St Bernard, who disapproved of lavish decoration, did approve of grisaille glass, which admits more light, for Cistercian churches. The patterns at York also resemble those found at several contemporary French Cistercian churches and later in the chapter house at Salisbury. These panes give a glimpse into the appearance of the windows in the sublimely austere, but now largely ruined, Cistercian abbeys of Yorkshire, including Rievaulx and Fountains.

The Five Sisters Window of *c.* 1240 (Fig. 3.25), the five tall lancets of which fill the wall of the north transept, represents the finest assemblage of grisaille glass in Europe. The five lower lancets are of equal height and width, measuring an impressive 53 ft by 5 ft (16.3 × 1.6 m). In the gable above are five small echelon lancets. The windows also represent another example of bar tracery, with more iron than stone supporting the windowpanes. Although the windows consist primarily of white glass, a less expensive and more available material than imported colored glass, this particular use of white glass could hardly have been for economy. The extensive and exquisite painted panes, with delicate, black lines in sinuous foliage motifs set into intricate geometric patterns and enhanced by borders and highlights of colored glass, would have required skilled labor, which comes at considerable cost. More likely, greater light influenced the design decision. The effect of the design is both austere and understatedly elegant. Thus in England, although less twelfth-and early thirteenth-century glass survives than in France, stained glass formed an equally important part of church decoration. English glassmakers both traded techniques and ideas with the French and made innovations, such as the grisaille glass, that the French did not widely adopt.

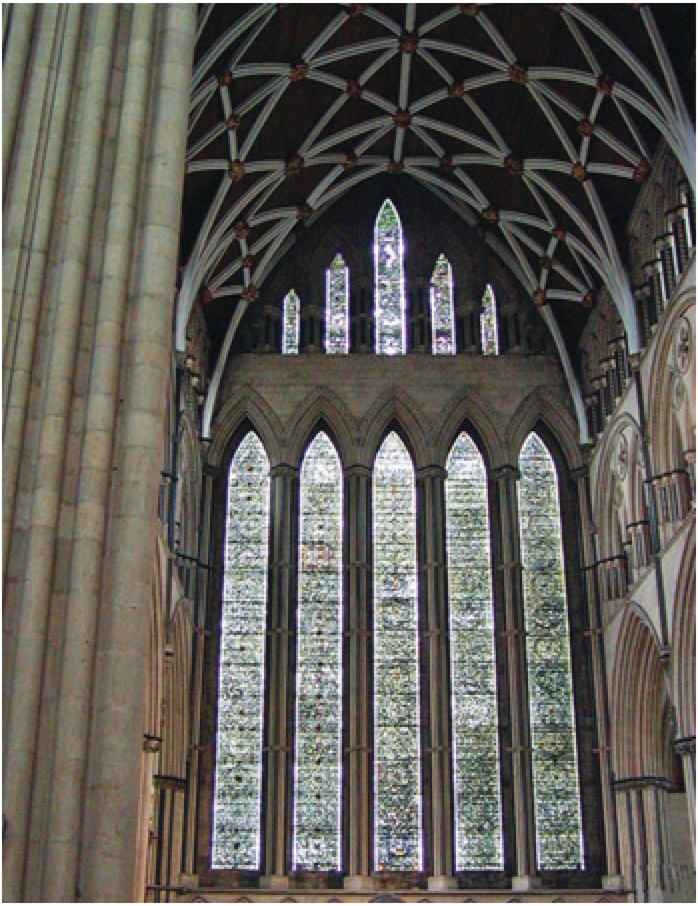


Fig. 3.25 York Minster Cathedral, York, North Yorkshire, north transept, Five Sisters Window, grisaille glass, 1240. Photograph: author

The ecclesiastical patronage of Henry III and French influence

Early in his reign, Henry III witnessed a prodigious burst of splendid royal and ecclesiastical construction in France under the patronage of Louis IX (r. 1226–1270), his major European rival and the pious husband of his wife's sister. In the thirteenth century, Paris was the leading city in Europe for culture, university education, and government. The French monarchy also superseded the Holy Roman Emperor, the pope, and the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople in power. Competition with France, along with his fascination with his saintly Saxon predecessor Edward the Confessor, fueled Henry's ambitions, especially at Westminster Abbey. Later in life, Henry also attempted, less successfully, to emulate the piety of Louis, who later was canonized.

Royal building projects that Henry observed when he visited the French court in 1242 and 1243 inspired him not only to emulate but also to attempt to outdo the French. The stylistic differences he witnessed included larger windows, which nearly filled the wall space between the vaults. Henry especially admired the work of the builder-architects Jehan de Chelles and Pierre de Montreuil, who were leading forces in the development of the ornate late Gothic style in France. In 1231, Montreuil began a new nave at the French royal abbey and mausoleum of Saint-Denis. Louis IX sponsored Montreuil at the Cathedral of Paris, including chapels and new transept arms with huge rose windows (1230–1260). The delicate stone tracery in the windows became even lighter, resembling lace and inspiring the name for the style: "Rayonnant." Montreuil's crowning glory was the Sainte-Chapelle (1238–1245), the royal chapel and reliquary for the Crown of Thorns that adjoins the royal palace on the Isle de la Cité. With its profusion of long lancet windows, the interior is a virtual cage of light. Reims, the magnificent, newly rebuilt coronation place for French kings, was dedicated in 1241. Some of the French ideas resurface in Henry's patronage of ecclesiastical architecture, including Temple Church and Westminster Abbey.

Temple Church, London

One of the first of Henry III's ecclesiastical projects was to build a new choir at Temple Church in London. The king admired the Knights Templar and wished for their church to serve as his burial place. Temple Church (*c.* 1160 ff), like the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge (*c.* 1125; Figs 2.13 and 2.14), is one of five remaining examples of round churches in England. The round shape reflects the holiest site in the crusaders' world: the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Crusader Knights' devotion to that city.

Although the outside is pure Romanesque, the interior of Temple Church shows the transition from late Romanesque to a delicate Early Gothic (Fig. 3.26). The architecture reflects both Cistercian pointed arches of the north and the French-inspired, Early Gothic construction at Canterbury Cathedral. A decorative arcade in white stone relief flanks the distinctly Norman interior doorway and encircles the outer wall. The arches, though Romanesque in the dogtooth carved design, bear a touch of Gothic in their slightly pointed form, reminiscent of Durham.

As the builders moved inward and upward, the style becomes more decidedly Gothic. The sexpartite (or six-part) dome is vaulted in natural colored wood with darker ribs and a central boss. The dome is supported by a pointed arcade with pointed groin vaulting in the circular ambulatory. A cluster of four Purbeck columns forms each of the six slender columns of the arcade. The dark Purbeck stone, which presents a striking contrast with the light walls, is the first in London, although the use at Canterbury precedes them by a decade. A round band encircles each column about half way up, as at Canterbury, which gives the appearance of stacked columns. Slender Purbeck responds extend from each column to the springing of the arch of the dome. Although the shallow blind gallery is continuous, the openings align with each arch below. Engaged Purbeck columns support overlapping rounded arches. The point at which the arches intersect forms a pointed arch between each pair of columns. This overlapping pattern recalls similar decorative effects at Durham and Lincoln. Six small clerestory windows stand above the gallery. The forms throughout create an interesting rhythm as well as a play of dark and light.

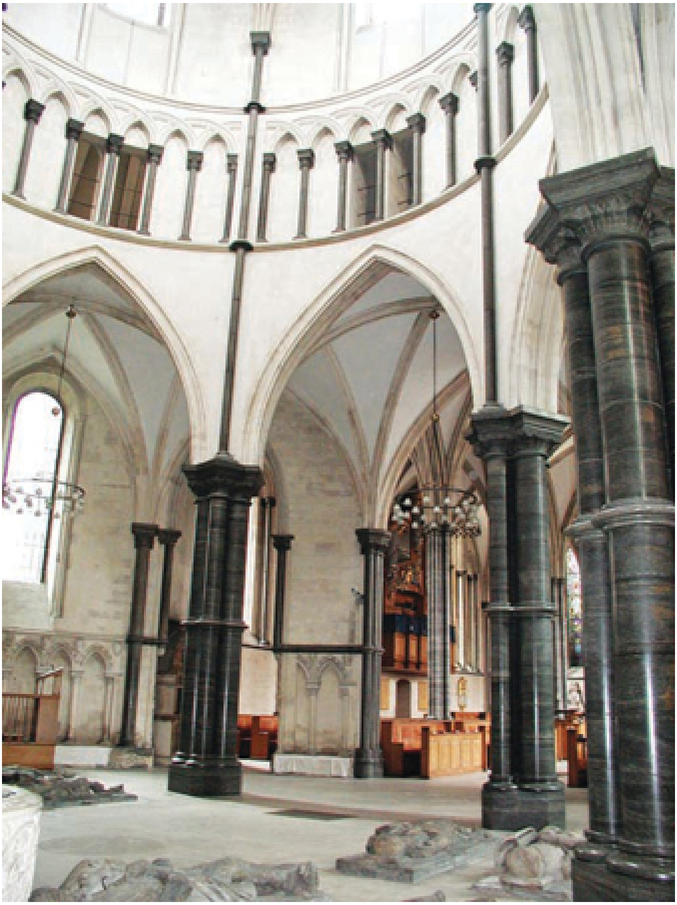


Fig. 3.26 Temple Church, London, interior of the round church, 1160–1186. Photograph: author

Temple Church served also as a mausoleum for the order. Nine life-size, three-dimensional stone effigies of knights, dating from the late twelfth to the thirteenth century, rest on the floor of the rotunda. They wear chain mail armor and clutch swords. Some lie completely flat. One has crossed legs. Others appear caught in movement, as if writhing from battle-inflicted, mortal wounds. The naturalism of these figures is closer to the early Gothic than the Romanesque. Graves also lie outside, but these do not contain effigy figures. Henry III's desire to be buried among the knights, therefore, was in keeping with an already existing tradition.

In order to accommodate a royal tomb, Henry III demolished the small Romanesque choir and added a large rectangular chancel, which he consecrated on Ascension Day 1240. Considering the difference in shape and time of construction, the two structures blend remarkably well. The exterior continues the austerity of the round nave, but with larger pointed windows. The building materials remain uniform, as does the dentil work that continues across the upper portion. Heavy salient buttresses divide the five bays of the length and the four bays of the east end.

Henry's chancel was constructed in the manner of a Gothic hall church; that is, all aisles reached the same height: just over 36 ft (11 m). Although somewhat unusual for England, the form is remarkably compatible with the Early Gothic elements of the rounded nave. The slender columns are of Purbeck marble, as are the delicate ribs of the quadripartite vaults. Each bay has three echelon windows with Purbeck window frames.[22] In spite of the king's fascination with France, the use of colored stone and the interest in surface decoration, even though restrained, points to English sources.

Westminster Abbey: a turning point in English architecture

The devotion – perhaps the obsession – that Henry III developed between 1220 and 1230 for Edward the Confessor put into motion one of the most ambitious ecclesiastical building programs of the Middle Ages in England: the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey. This project was among the few to develop from pure ambition rather from devastation by fire or natural disaster. After visiting France, Edward the Confessor's Norman church must have seemed outdated to the English king. Fueled by his infatuation with things French, especially buildings in the ornate French Court Style associated with the monarch, Henry made plans to update, ennoble, and promote Westminster Abbey as the English national church. In the end, Westminster would mark the turning point between the Early Gothic style and the more attenuated Decorated style. It also would demonstrate a more thorough internalization of French-inspired engineering innovations and aesthetics in vaulting, buttressing, and window treatment. The architecture of the royal abbey would be nearly as far reaching in its influence as Canterbury, with which Henry III surely was in competition.

Initially, the veneration of the sainted Saxon king was limited to the Benedictine monks at Westminster. English royalty paid little attention to the cult until Henry III developed his intense devotion to his ancestor, a phenomenon that Matthew Paris records. However, Westminster Abbey had gained higher status in 1161, when Pope Alexander III elevated the last Anglo-Saxon king to sainthood. Two years later, on 13 October 1163, Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas à Becket, in the presence of King Henry II, conducted the ceremony during which Edward the Confessor's body was translated to a new shrine in the abbey.

Henry surely realized the multifaceted political ramifications of promoting the cult of a royal saint. At home, veneration of Edward had the potential to dilute the cult of Thomas à Becket, murdered by Henry II's knights and recently (1220) re-enshrined in the splendid Gothic extension of Canterbury Cathedral. Abroad, it gave Henry III an unequalled position of eminence among fellow royalty, for his was the only royal house in Western Europe to claim a direct ancestor who was a saint. Furthermore, in 1240, Louis IX acquired relics of the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns from the Latin Emperor Baldwin to adorn his new Ste Chapelle. Henry was not to be outdone by his French in-laws. In 1247, he acquired a relic of Christ's Holy Blood. As Louis had done, Henry personally received the relic and, with great ceremony, translated it into the abbey. Later, Henry would also promote another pious Anglo-Saxon ancestor, Queen Margaret of Scotland (*c.* 1045–1092), a cousin to Edward the Confessor, who was canonized in 1250.[23]

Henry's first endeavor at Westminster began on a controlled scale. He added a new Lady Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin and used for liturgies that honored her. On 16 May 1220, just two weeks after he had attended the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stones of Salisbury Cathedral, the 13-year-old king laid the cornerstone of a Lady Chapel at the Abbey. As with many Lady Chapel designs, this oblong structure joined the church at the easternmost tip of the ambulatory. It stood three steps above the level of the abbey church, extended six bays in length, and was about half as wide as present Lady Chapel, begun by Henry VII in the late 1490s. The apse was five-sided with an altar and retable set slightly forward. It probably resembled the Lady Chapel at St George's, Windsor, which survives with its thirteenth-century vestibule.[24]

The initial construction at Westminster whetted Henry's appetite for more. In 1241, he charted a course that would transform the entire abbey. He sent his architect and master mason, Henry de Reyns (d. 1253), who had served him at the Tower of London, to France to study architecture. Upon his return in December 1243, the king gave Master Henry the gown of Master of the King's Masons and permission to proceed at Westminster.[25] In so doing, Henry established permanent offices for chief artisans at court, raising their status higher and making their position more stable than artisans in most of contemporary Europe. Although the king's son and grandson did not appoint masters, subsequent successors would continue the tradition.

Although Master Henry is recorded as an active mason for only about ten years, his seminal architectural achievements introduced England to the High and Late Gothic developments in France, continuing what builders at Canterbury had begun. At Westminster, Master Henry emulated parts of the French buildings that the king admired and that he had studied. He rebuilt the east end, the north transept, the crypt, the main body of the chapter house, and the cloister, all of which appear to have been finished by 1249. In typical English fashion, he created a remarkable synthesis between new French ideas and English proclivities. At the same time, he accommodated site-specific functions of Westminster Abbey.

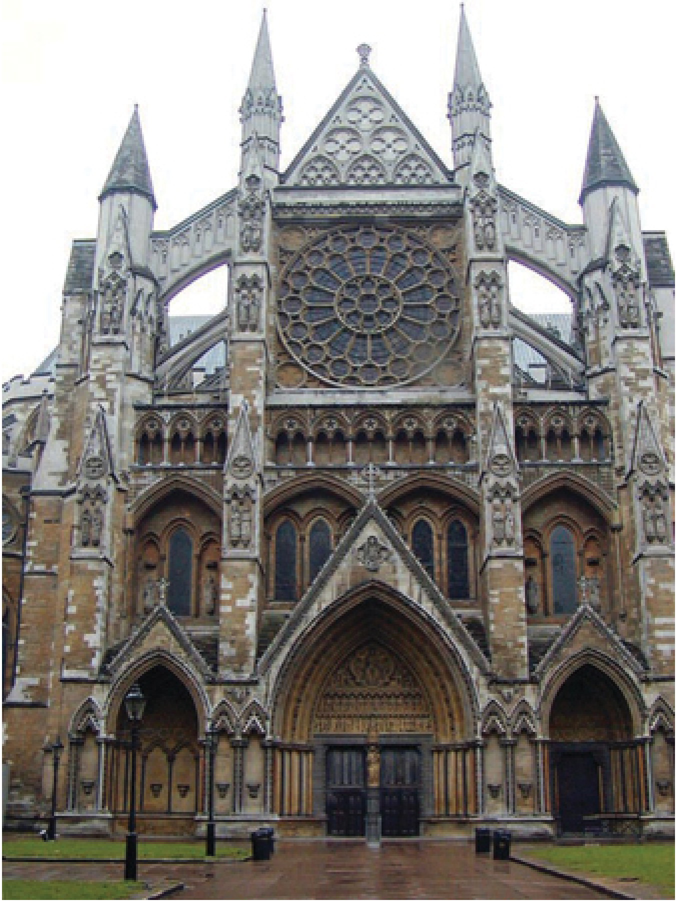


Fig. 3.27 Westminster Abbey, London, north transept façade, 1240. Photograph: author

According to Matthew Paris, who made the first record of construction, Master Henry began 6 July 1245 with the demolition of east end, adding in its place a multi-sided chevet with five radiating chapels, four of which remain. While a flat east end was more common among contemporary English churches, Master Henry's French-inspired chevet at Westminster was among the few in England since Canterbury. The builders next transformed the north transept, which faced the city, into an important façade that could serve as a ceremonial entrance from Westminster Palace (Fig. 3.27). The aforementioned north transept façade at York Minster, finished in 1240, served a similar purpose. Henry of Reyns would have seen this structure in 1245, during his visit to York to advise military engineers on the defenses of York Castle. The north façade at Westminster has a deep triple opening and carved tympana over the doorways, as opposed to York's single portal. It also resembles the west façade of Reims, which the architect and king had also visited. Reference to such important buildings would surely have been in their minds.

Although Westminster is his crowning achievement, Master Henry also probably worked at Windsor Castle in 1243. His variety of achievements initiated advanced engineering and the flowering of the Decorated Gothic style in England. From these beginnings, over the next 24 years, an English Court School developed that employed the best artisans from all over England. Under the auspices of Master Henry's successors at Westminster, Master John of Gloucester (d. 1260) and Master Robert of Beverley (d. 1285), the architecture of the abbey church evolved in a more ornate, yet distinctively English direction.[26] Another two centuries and more would pass, however, before the entire abbey was transformed.

Westminster Abbey: the chapter house

The octagonal chapter house and crypt below, built between 1246 and 1255, stand in the traditional place on the eastern side of the cloister. Echoing the innovations at the chapter house at Lincoln, which was concurrently under construction, at Westminster the shape changed from ten-sided to eight, after which most chapter houses, including Salisbury, Wells, and York, adopted the octagonal form (Figs 3.28 and 3.29). Again, the visible interior support is a single central column. A maze of wooden beams above the vaults, based on a system of triangles, carries the weight outside to five slender, wide-arced exterior buttresses; the porch, which opens into the cloister, supports the remaining weight. Under the tutelage of Master Henry, the chapter house at Westminster exploits the delicacy of the French Court Style even more than that at Lincoln, and marks the transition to the Decorated Gothic Style. Characteristics of the change include an increasingly austere exterior that contrasts with the delicate tracery in the large windows. Although wide lancet windows are typically

English in shape, the larger size, combined with the delicate upper tracery, transforms the interior into expanses of colored light, probably inspired by the royal Ste Chapelle in Paris, which Master Henry would have seen. The lower walls contain murals, including a Last Judgment, most of which is a now destroyed or damaged. Master William of Westminster, Henry III's favorite painter, made the glazed floor tiles. The success of this chapter house assured the transmission of the form.

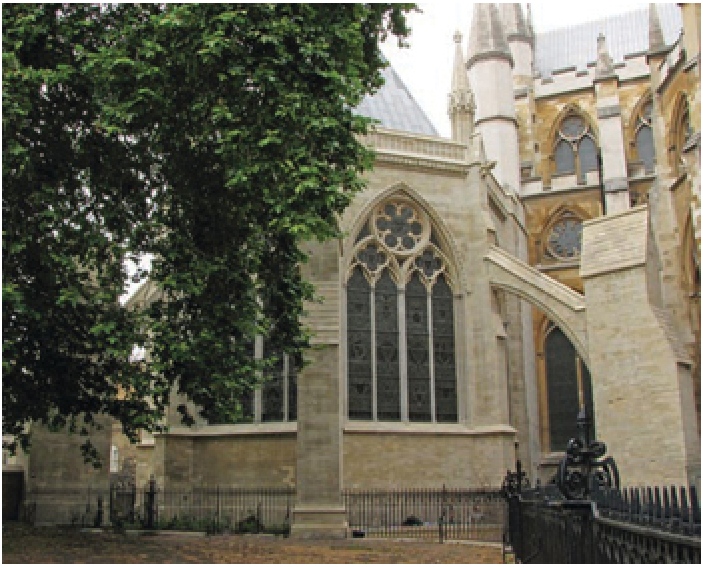


Fig. 3.28 Westminster Abbey, London, Chapter House, exterior, 1246–1256. Photograph: author

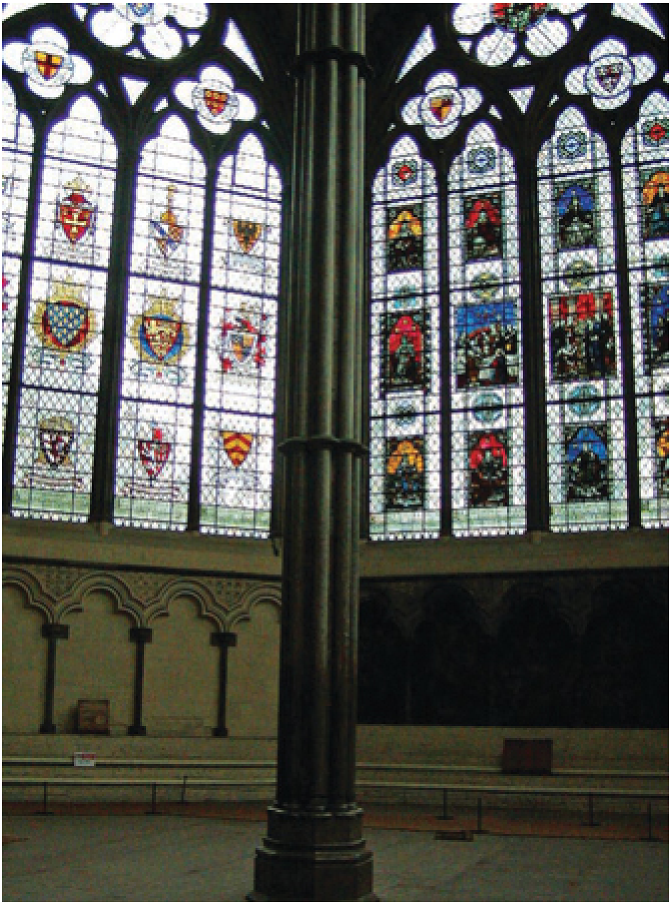


Fig. 3.29 Westminster Abbey, London, Chapter House, interior, 1246–1256. Photograph: author

Westminster Abbey: the shrine of Edward the Confessor

Located behind the high altar at Westminster Abbey, the site of the shrine corresponds to that of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury (Fig. 3.30). Under the auspices of Abbot Ware, Peter Odoricus the Roman (Pietro di Oderisio) and Italian artisans designed the tomb, with serpentine columns and tiny mosaics, and the Roman-style Cosmati pavement, or *opus sectile*, surrounding the shrine and in front of the high altar, which is dated 1268. The Italian materials, considered exotic in England, recall the rich pavement in the shrine at Canterbury and contemporary pavements in Rome. However, the complex design and fine artisanship on this grand scale exceeds anything else in England. Moreover, until the early fourteenth century, when Pope Clement V moved the papacy to Avignon (1309–1378), papal coronations at St Peter's Basilica took place on a porphyry roundel set into the Cosmati pavement opposite the Altar of the Holy Sacrament. These symbolic references were not lost on the king. Scholars suggest that in addition to serving as a carpet for royal and religious ceremonies, the design at Westminster may also present Ptolemy's view of the world.[27] On 13 October 1269, Edward's body was again translated, this time to a tomb decorated with mosaics, jewels, and statuary. Today, all that remains are the base of that shrine and the badly worn floor.

Westminster Abbey: redefined purpose and the Gothic nave

The desire to elevate the importance of the abbey church fueled further renovations, fired at least in part by Henry's decision in 1246 to change his burial site from Temple Church to Westminster Abbey, near his saintly ancestor. The resident monks at Westminster were circumspect about Henry's pious ambitions, worrying that the renovations were not only superfluous and risky, but also that the king would begin renovations that, in the end, would be left unfinished, unfunded, and up to the monks to complete. Some of their fears were justified.

It appears that initially Henry's vision did not include establishing Westminster as a royal pantheon for his progeny.[28] Westminster already had tombs in the twelfth century, but these effigy slabs honored churchmen, not royalty. Meanwhile, tombs of English royals were not consolidated in one place. William the Conqueror was buried at Saint-Étienne in Caen; the Angevins rested their bones at Fontevrault Abbey, both in France. Henry's father, King John, lay at Worcester Abbey in England and, of course, Winchester had served as the royal seat and burial place for the late Saxon kings. The French, on the other hand, had a separate church for each type of royal ceremony – coronation, capital city showplace, royal chapel and reliquary, and royal burial, with a shrine for the royal saint. Henry, in his later years, seems to have envisioned Westminster as the primary seat not only of the cult of the royal saint, but as the place for royal worship and ceremonies, including marriages, coronations, and funerals.

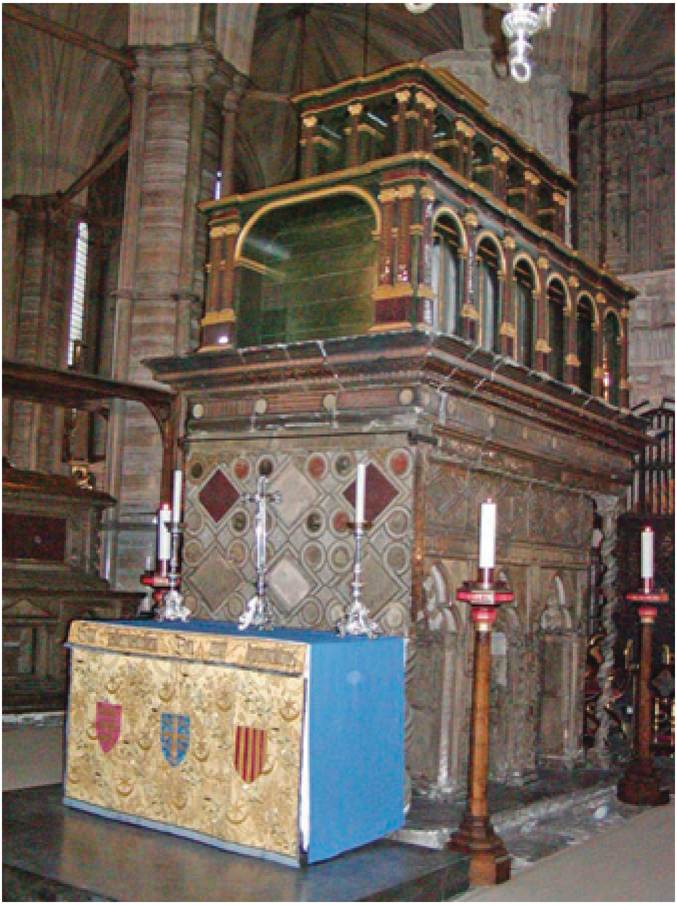


Fig. 3.30 Westminster Abbey, London, shrine of St Edward the Confessor, 1268. Photograph: author

After the shrine was completed in 1269, construction moved to the nave, proceeding slowly from east to west. The Norman nave remained attached until Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton (abbot 1362–1386) resumed construction. The new nave reflects the French penchant for sharply pointed vaults and high, narrow proportions, closely following both Reims and Amiens, with naves of 125 ft (38 m) and 139 ft (42.3 m) respectively. Westminster, which reaches 103 ft (31 m), has the highest vaults of any English church. The 74 ft (22.5 m) height of the vaults at Lincoln more closely exemplifies the English model. The flying buttresses that support the thin walls at Westminster, the first fully developed ones in England, echo contemporary practices in France (Fig. 3.31).

The elevation at Westminster Abbey remains tripartite, but with window treatment that is new to England. The usual English clerestory passage and recessed windows behind open stonework disappears in favor of a French flat, compound lancet window comprised of a pair of smaller lancets and topped with an ornate rosette. The gallery contains windows, as at Amiens, but unlike its lancet clusters, Westminster features a rosette set within a rounded triangle, mirroring the top portion of the clerestory windows. The design of the windows over the transept doors – narrow lancets surmounted with a large, ornate rose – derives from the south transept window by Pierre de Montreuil at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris and from the Ste Chapelle, Paris. The vaulting in the transepts, the central bays of the choir, and the side aisles of nave of the 1260s exhibits a curious combination of French quadripartite vaults, such as that at Reims, with the English longitudinal rib and central bosses. In the nave proper, the builder, Robert of Beverley, adapted new type of English vaulting as seen at Lincoln: tiercerons converging on a continuous rib.

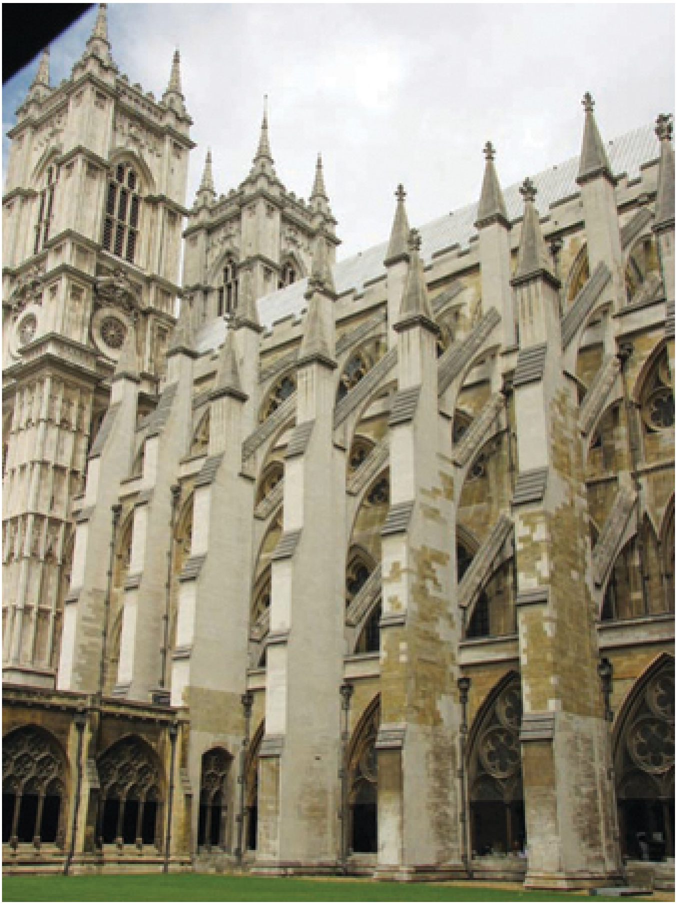


Fig. 3.31 Westminster Abbey, London, nave buttresses, southwest exterior, c. *1270–1386. Photograph: author*

Although the eastern portion of Westminster is far more akin to the French style than anything before in England, including Canterbury, distinctively English touches distinguish the building from its French models. English features include surface decoration, such as the diaper pattern designs that lend texture to the walls of the transepts and first bays of the nave at the gallery levels. The arches of the arcade and gallery, as well as the ribs of the vault, have heavily carved articulation, with dark Purbeck contrasting with light limestone on the piers, the arches, the central columns and capitals in the gallery, and the responds. Such use of surface articulation and color contrast would never appear outside of England. By Henry's death in 1272, five bays of the nave were complete, except that the westernmost bay lacked the clerestory and vault. His heir, Edward I, who had watched renovations at Westminster drain his father's treasury, did not heed his father's wishes to continue his project. Thus, the western Norman façade remained attached to the considerably higher Gothic building in the east for just over a hundred years.

Royal castles and fortifications

In addition to churches, Henry III also embarked upon royal domestic building projects, many of which were defensive. Under his patronage, the buildings became more imposing and more defensible. The royal family began to live separately from the rest of the household. He focused particular attention on Windsor Castle, Winchester Castle, and the Tower of London.

Windsor Castle

The most important royal fortification was Windsor Castle, built by William the Conqueror on a high, strategic site overlooking the Thames, the last defense southwest of London. The oldest surviving parts of Windsor date to the reign of Henry II (1154–1189) who, around 1170, rebuilt the basic curtain wall in stone, some of which survives altered (Fig. 3.32). He also replaced the wooden keep with a stone one, called the great "Round Tower," although the shape, determined by the site, is actually elliptical. Originally, this tower stood lower than it does today, for in the 1830s, under the direction of George IV, James Wyatville heightened it, adding the crenellated cap above the buttress level. Henry II also built two sets of living quarters. He added state apartments and a great hall for entertaining guests in the Lower Ward. For the royal family, he renovated the private apartments added by Henry I in the Upper Ward and extended them to form a quadrangle.

Henry III, like his father John, had struggled with his barons and wrestled with bouts of civil rebellion. He repaired the consequential damages made at Windsor in his father's reign and strengthened the defenses there. He built the western curtain wall with three formidable, evenly spaced, half-round towers. The Curfew Tower (later heightened) on the eastern corner, constructed in 1227, was followed by the Garter Tower is in the center and the Salisbury Tower on the western corner. Built of local chalk with some of the earliest original masonry in the castle, the Curfew Tower has dungeons inside that were formerly part of the prison. The remnants of the "Sally Port" (one of three at Windsor), a secret passage and portal for the occupants in a time of siege, remain visible. In the 1220s, Henry III also rebuilt royal quarters in the Lower Ward, and added a chapel. He remodeled the Upper Ward to serve his family exclusively, thereby giving them greater privacy.

In 1240, Henry III extended his building projects at Windsor to include a Chapel Royal dedicated to St Edward the Confessor, which was in use by 1249. The chapel had a timber vault with external measurements of approximately 80 ft long, 36 ft wide and 60 ft high (24.4 × 11 × 18.1 m). Situated on the site of the nineteenth-century Albert Chapel, just east of the present St George's Chapel, subsequent rebuilding under Edward IV, Henry VII, and Queen Victoria obliterated almost all of it. The main surviving part is the Galilee, or narthex, which today is sandwiched between St George's Chapel and the Albert Chapel. Distinctive in style, the Galilee consists of three pointed vaults supported by Purbeck columns. The middle arch has its original iron doors, signed by an artisan named Gislebertus. A similarly embellished arcade remains on the south side of the Dean's Cloister. Also remaining is a fragment of a baptismal font, used for many of Henry III's children and descendants.[29]

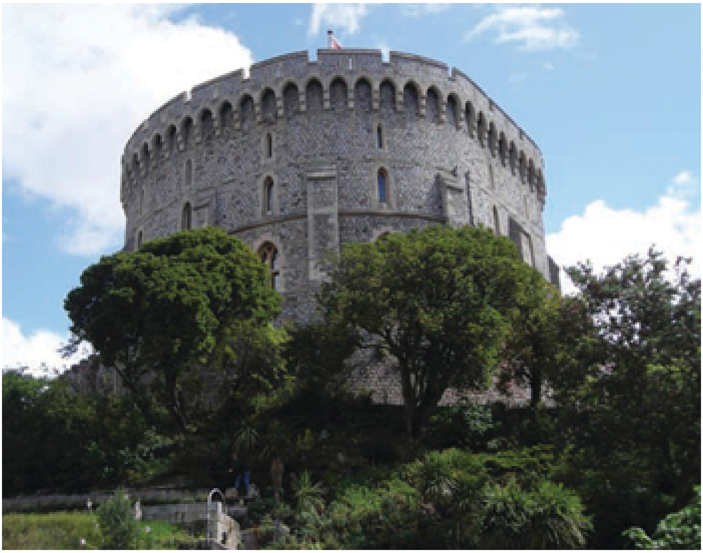


Fig. 3.32 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, Round Tower, c. *1170. Photograph: author*

Winchester Castle

Among Henry III's first domestic projects is the old Norman hall at Winchester Castle (1222–1235), which honors his birthplace (1207). The hall is the only part of the thirteenth-century castle to stand above ground today (Figs 3.33 and 3.34). It reflects the king's taste for lighter, more sophisticated buildings and exhibits all the finest details and materials available to Early English Gothic builders. The exterior is built of native knapped flint, which exposes the shiny dark interior surface, with white stone dressings. Double doors on the short side gave entry. The windows originally contained lancets with a round window above, the remnants of which are embedded in later exterior stonework.

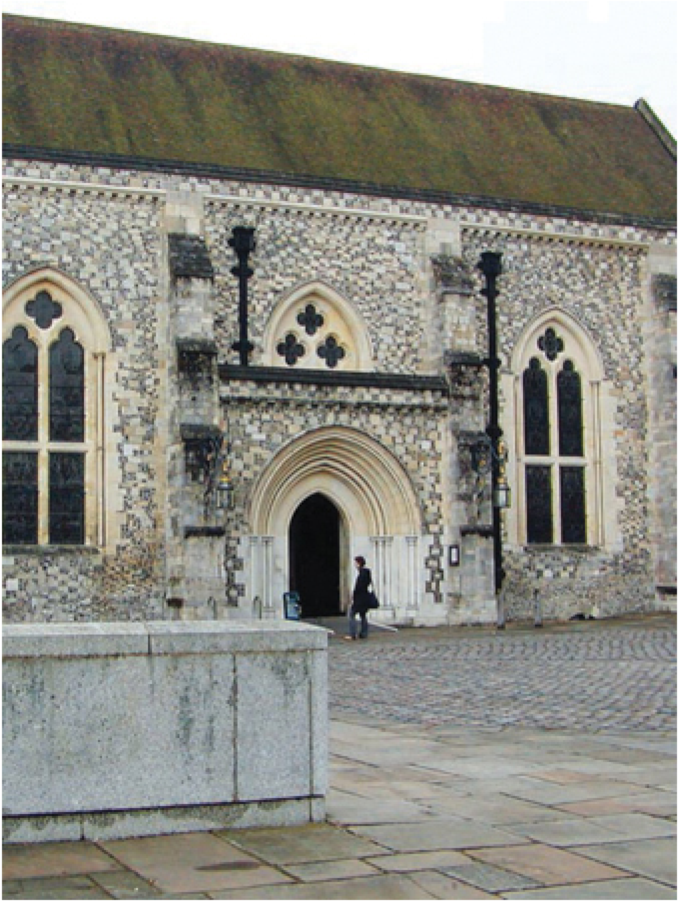


Fig. 3.33 Winchester Castle, Hampshire, exterior of the Great Hall, 1222–1236. Photograph: author

Inside, the hall measures 111.3 ft long (33.5 m). The height and width are equal: 55.9 ft (16.8 m). The plasterwork and decoration of the entry wall stress the lightness and grace of the building as well as its royal association. Four tall, dark Purbeck columns support the five bay arcade. The final arches join the short walls. Instead of columns, large carved corbels, or brackets, portraying half-figures of both men and women in thirteenth-century costume support the capitals of these arches. The shiny surface of the piers makes make a pleasing contract with the rough texture of the flint walls. The light stone of the pointed arcade and the contrasting dark color of the Purbeck columns, with their column cluster design, resemble the details of the nave arcade at Salisbury Cathedral. The comparison is plausible: Elias of Dereham, who worked at Canterbury and Salisbury, appears also to have worked at Winchester. Above each pier and embedded in each end wall is a horizontal wooden tie beam with a supportive wooden arched brace below. Upright spindle-like struts join the beams and arches. A single post above the tie beam joins it to a collar beam above. Such wooden roof support evolved from earlier halls and barns and will be an important feature of English architecture in centuries to come.[30]

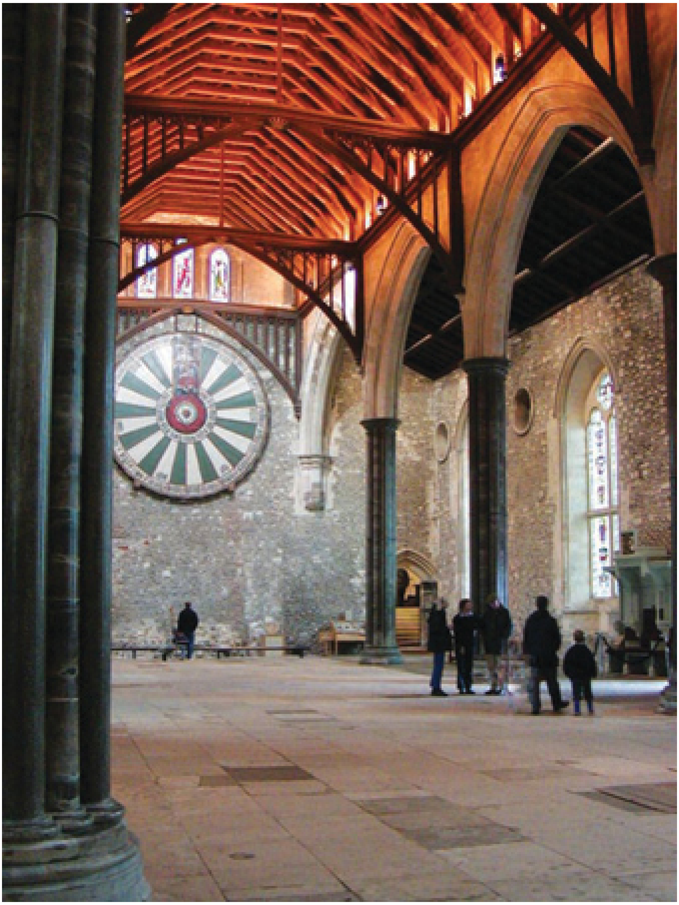


Fig. 3.34 Winchester Castle, Hampshire, interior of the Great Hall, 1222–1236. Photograph: author

Tower of London

In 1238, when Henry III moved into the Tower of London to protect himself against rebellious barons, he discovered weakness in the defenses, which he endeavored to resolve. This building program, which increased the size, defenses, and grandeur of the Tower, would transform subsequent English castle design. Henry began by adding to what his predecessors had done. During the reign of his uncle, Richard I (1189–1199), Lord Chancellor William Longchamp (also Bishop of Ely) had added fortifications and accommodations that doubled its size. He built the Bell Tower and wall along the southwest. The

Angevins also had built separate royal housing into an inner ward on the south side of the White Tower, much of which did not survive Henry III's grander renovations. Henry de Reyns served as Henry III's chief architect and master builder, along with John of Gloucester and Robert of Beverley, all of whom also worked at Westminster Abbey. Henry expanded the wall of the Tower complex northward to enlarge the west side of the bailey and incorporate the nearby church of St Peter ad Vincula. He increased defenses with an outer wall interspersed with towers, ten in all. The strongest towers stood at the corners: the Salt, the Martin, and the Devereux Towers joined the Bell Tower. Several of the towers were built with two in a D-shaped design with flanking square crenellated turrets. With the rounded side facing outward, the structures resemble an animal snout with two pointing ears flanking the head.

Next Henry III strengthened the south wall along the riverfront, which stretched eastward from the Bell Tower, and included the Lanthorn Tower and the rounded Wakefield Tower – the second largest tower in the complex. Built between 1238 and 1272, Wakefield Tower had two lower chambers for guardrooms, as it controlled the new more substantial main Watergate, now called the Bloody Tower. The upper part held the king's lodgings. Further east along the waterfront, the Wakefield Tower connected to additional royal living quarters and the Lanthorn Tower on the southeast, which may have held the queen's quarters. The greater size of the royal quarters and the separation from the White Tower shows a change in the social order. With greater royal privacy come a rarifiation and a greater mystery surrounding the private lives of the royal family – which increases with time and continues into the present day. These social and architectural changes in the English royal household concur with similar new developments in France; later, nobles and wealthy landholders will imitate the arrangement on a lesser scale.

Encircling the walls was a moat designed and flooded by the Flemish engineer John Le Fossur (the ditch-digger). Citizens of London who dared to swim there did so at the risk of death. Although some of Henry III's project survive, especially on the north and east, his grand gatehouse, which stood at the head of a fortified bridge and may have resembled the great gate at Tonbridge in Kent, does not survive.[31]

The Church of St Peter ad Vincula, or St Peter in Chains, stands in the northwest corner of the newly enlarged bailey yard near the site of the scaffold. Although the name would imply association with prisoners, and indeed many are buried there, it had been a parish church in the city of London before Henry III incorporated it to serve as a parish for those who lived within the Tower, as it still does. Rebuilt by Edward I, it burned in 1512, and was rebuilt again by Henry VIII. Only the crypt survives from the reign of Henry III.

Early Gothic architecture in London

London, the largest and most important city in medieval England, retains little of its medieval past, mainly due to the devastation of the Great Fire of 1666. Pre-fire bird's eye views of the city by Claes Jansz Visscher (*c.* 1616), Matthaus Merian (1638–1640), and Wenceslaus Hollar (*c.* 1640–1650) give an idea of the rich variety of Gothic buildings that once stood there. In particular, Hollar's *Long View of London* (1647) gives a broad panorama of the city and the south bank of the Thames. The most imposing structure is St Paul's Cathedral, situated in central London atop Ludgate Hill, victim of the fire. Many other lost Gothic church spires appear in the center and eastward to the Tower. Baynard's Castle, which also no longer survives, is on the shoreline to the west. London Bridge, rebuilt in the twelfth century, with later additions of shops and a church, occupies the center of the engraving.

St Paul's Cathedral

In 1220, the Cathedral of London and one of the England's oldest and grandest churches, St Paul's, fell under the spell of the French Gothic fashion prevalent in London. The Gothic rebuilding focused on the crossing and choir in the east end, which merged with the existing Norman architecture. By 1221, the cathedral boasted a 260 ft (79.3 m) tower topped by a spire 274 ft tall (83.5 m), making it nearly as high as the tower at Lincoln. By 1258, Gothic additions to the choir reached a length of 12 bays. Including the Norman nave, St Paul's stretched an unprecedented 596 ft (181.7 m). The length exceeded Winchester by over 60 ft (18.3 m) and Ely by 30 ft (9.1 m).

The great east window at St Paul's consisted of two squares divided by a stringcourse. The lower square held seven narrow, pointed lancets. A huge rose window filled the upper square, with a medallion in each corner. In addition to competing with nearby Westminster, the developments at St Paul's reflected the latest fashion of the French Court, especially the large rose window in the east end. Its seven lancets mirrored the lancets in the transepts at Westminster Abbey, but the rose above, with delicate curved tracery, resembled that in the south transept at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. The design of the rose appears on tiles, but the window has no successor in England.[32] St Paul's Cathedral was re-consecrated in 1300 and finished in 1314, more than 200 years after the Norman building was begun (1087). By then, St Paul's embodied the best and newest of the English Gothic style and was the country's most magnificent church and Europe's longest.

London Bridge

Gothic innovation in London carried over into engineering works, the most ambitious of which was London Bridge, the major route into London from the south. A wooden bridge had crossed the Thames at London near the present site of London Bridge, beginning with the Romans 1000 years earlier. Documents record a subsequent bridge around 1016, its destruction in 1136, replaced by another wooden structure. In the 1180s, chronicler William FitzStephen mentions that in the early 1170s, Peter de Colechurch, the bridgemaster and chaplain at St Mary Colechurch, proposed to replace the timber bridge with a stone one. Such a sturdy structure became necessary due to increased traffic. The increased fame of the cult of St Thomas à Becket and the associated pilgrimage, which began at London Bridge, brought more people to London. Between 1170 and his death in 1182, Peter supervised the building of a stone bridge beside the wooden one.

London Bridge, the first large arched stone bridge in England, was, along with the contemporary longer, narrower, and less stable Pont Saint-Bénezet at Avignon, France, the largest stone bridge in Europe since the Romans. With imposing fortress-like gates at either end, London Bridge stood more than 30 ft (9.1 m) above the low tide mark. The height was necessary because of the great tide differentials. The bridge extended 900 ft (*c*. 275 m) and was 20 ft wide (6.1 m). Twenty pointed Gothic arches gave it support. The boat-shaped island footings for each arch, called starlings, contained the ebb and flow of the tide and prevented washing. The turn of the tide caused a waterfall of about 5 ft (1.5 m). The falls, in turn, operated water wheels for grinding grain. A wooden drawbridge allowed ships to pass. It also helped in defense, as Londoners could raise it to prevent invaders from entering the city from the south. The houses, shops, and the small church dedicated to St Thomas à Becket (where Peter de Colechurch's body was laid to rest) that appear on the bridge in Hollar's engraving began to be built soon after it was finished in 1209. The 20 ft (6 m) wide roadway then shrank to 12 ft (3.7 m.). Although commercial construction on a bridge was not unusual in the Middle Ages, the only such bridge to survive is the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, Italy.

Passage over London Bridge required a toll, which funded upkeep.

Damage and repair were incessant. Unlike the Pont d'Avignon, however, London Bridge never collapsed. For example, in 1282, ice floes damaged five arches and the houses above. In 1269, Henry III diverted the tolls to his beautiful but spendthrift wife's treasury, which allegedly inspired the children's song and game: "London Bridge is falling down, my fair lady." In 1304, the gruesome practice of impaling the heads of traitors on the gates of London Bridge began. Until 1738, when Westminster Bridge was built, Peter de Colechurch's Gothic structure was the only bridge over the Thames at London. It continued to serve London until a new London Bridge slightly to the west opened in 1831. As the old bridge was razed, archaeologists discovered remains of embankments, pilings of oak and elmwood, and Roman coins, leftovers from the previous incarnations.

Timber frame construction

After about 1180, the English not only made remarkable advances in stone construction, but they also revived and improved construction in timber. Some of the most daring architectural feats in England, in fact, occur in timber construction. The Romans had used timber frame construction in England, but the more sophisticated methods faded from memory after their departure. In the late twelfth century, with the reintroduction of the saw, carpentry methods and tools improved. Usually oak, sometimes chestnut, was used for all supporting and bracing members of the skeletal frame. More sophisticated in its joinings than stave construction, timber frame depends upon the pegged, precisely sawn, tightly cut, lap, dovetail, and/or mortise-and-tenon joints.

Walls were framed with massive upright timbers, often split (hence the term "half-timber") and spaced at regular intervals along the foundation. Often they were reinforced with diagonal beams, which formed triangles. The joints were secured vertically and horizontally with wooden pegs. Unlike modern wood frame structures, where walls are attached to the outside and inside of the frame, most often builders filled the empty spaces between the studs with wattle and daub. Wattles, or flexible upright branches, woven with horizontal light reeds, formed a mesh. Builders mixed daub, made of clay, mud, or plaster blended with lime, then added straw, and spread this mixture over the wattle. To weatherproof this base, the exposed timbers were coated with tar to seal them. The wattle and daub parts were painted with a white or brownish clay-based paint, also a protective measure. This mixture, along with the dark timbers, gives the familiar name of "black and white." For important structures, builders might use wood timbers or stone for additional fill. In the fifteenth century, they begin to use brick. When compared to the tremendous labor needed to build a stone building, which would require the quarrying and transportation of heavy material and specialized labor skills, wattle and daub buildings were cheap, fast to construct, efficient, and extremely durable.

From the late twelfth century onward, English carpenters became especially inventive in using timber supports for roofs, surpassing most other Europeans in engineering, sophistication, and sheer beauty. Wood was readily available in the rich forests of England; often stone was more difficult to come by, not to mention more expensive. Timber frame support was versatile, albeit less fireproof, and had distinct advantages over stone. For example, the lighter weight of timber allowed buildings to be wider. Timber framing was especially important for domestic architecture.

Regardless of whether the building was a wooden barn, a wattle and daub cottage, or a great hall with walls of stone, the construction of the roof usually followed the same model: a center nave with two lower aisles under the slopes of the roof. Between the supporting members, aisles could be walled and partitioned into smaller rooms or stalls, in the case of barns. Although under the Normans stone had replaced wood as the building material of choice for royal and noble dwellings, castles, civic buildings, and ecclesiastical centers, many English cottages, farmhouses, barns, market halls, parish churches, and even manor houses continued to be built of wood. Even important buildings and churches often had timbers roofs rather than stone vaults.

The basic module of timber frame construction is the post and beam with a triangular truss, or perhaps a scissor joint, to support the roof. The module repeats at regular intervals along the rectangular wooden frame. A tie beam extends horizontally across the interior space from the point where the posts meet the rafters that support the roof. Brackets, posts, crucks (made from trees with a strong outgrowing branch, split in half), and/or arched braces (a pair of curved timbers, usually from a curved timber split in half) reinforce tie beams. King posts and collar purlins appear to have been introduced to English construction around the mid-thirteenth century, perhaps from northern France. A purlin, or a shorter horizontal beam, joins the rafter at a higher point. Sometimes a single vertical king (or crown) post braced by two or more angled supports connects the tie beam (or a truss) and purlin.

The basic mortise and tenon joining, which holds the upright beam into the horizontal beam, has two components: the mortise opening, cut into the horizontal beam, and the tenon, formed by cutting back the end of the beam on the sides with an adze. The tenon fits snugly into the mortise. The joint is then wedged or pegged to lock it in place. If a post joins a collar and a tie beam, it has tenons at each end to fit into mortises in the tie beam below and the collar above.

As wood construction methods became more sophisticated, the notched lap, secret lap, scarf, and splayed joints appeared, all secured with wooden pegs. The wide slope of the roof typically extends beyond the interior posts and beams and connects to the outer wall of the building, giving it lower side aisles or perpendicular alcoves (stalls for barns) inside.[33] No timber frame buildings survive intact from the late twelfth century, but parts remain.

Vernacular architecture in timber frame

The earliest surviving timber frame structures date to the middle of the thirteenth century and include buildings barns, halls and houses. Varied in function, the forms of these buildings share similarities in construction and engineering. Barn architecture, in fact, influences the form of hospitals and great halls. Examples of early timber construction, albeit altered, include two barns in Essex and Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury.

Barns in Essex

Both the Barley Barn (1205–1235) and the Wheat Barn (*c*. 1250), built by the Order of the Knights Templar at Cressing in Essex have characteristic deep pitched roofs that probably had a tile covering. In order to support the large and heavy roofs, builders experimented with sophisticated construction methods, with rafters, trusses, braces, and scissor-type joints above the horizontal beams that resist both compression and withdrawal. The Barley Barn, altered *c*. 1400 and again *c*. 1500, now measures 118.1 × 42.6 ft and is 37 ft high (36 × 13.6 × 11.3 m). The Wheat Barn is slightly larger and has more sophisticated construction methods. These include mortise-and-tenon joints and "secret" lap joints; that is, the joining members are cut back at the joining point, overlapped at right angles, and secured with a peg. Lap joints appear to be an exclusively English phenomenon. In addition, innovative wind-braces appear that exhibit a rudimentary ogee, or pointed arch, each side of which has a reversed S-curve near the apex.[34]

Canterbury: Eastbridge Hospital

By the mid-thirteenth century, timber frame construction had become more sophisticated, evident in several buildings in Canterbury. Carpenters learn to safely and securely roof large expanses of interior space, as is evident in three surviving king-strut roofs. A Guest Hall near the gate of St Augustine's Abbey and Table Hall, which adjoins the Infirmary in Christ Church Cathedral, both have dimensions of 49 × 28 ft (15 × 8.5 m). A smaller but more complex version of king post roof construction appears at Eastbridge Hospital. The walls are knapped flint. A four-bay, first floor chapel supports a central octagonal belfry tower (now partially destroyed). Similar king post construction appears (without a belfry) in the four-bay hall on the ground floor.[35]

Palaces and Great Halls

Halls were a predictable part of any great house, including those of English bishops, archbishops, and royalty. In the second half of the twelfth century, halls with aisles and clerestories developed, an advance over the Norman hall at Ockham, which has no clerestory. The first such hall was at Leicester Castle (*c.* 1150), which is greatly altered. A timber roof from possibly the fourteen century survives, perhaps the earliest such roof remaining in Europe. The best and the most important surviving Great Hall is the Bishop's Palace at Hereford. The king's hall at Westminster was also impressive for size and engineering, but little from the thirteenth century survives.

Hereford

The Great Hall at the Bishop's Palace at Hereford contains timbers felled *c.* 1179. Although in the eighteenth century the ceiling was lowered, a substantial portion of a hall that extended at least three bays remains. The hall measures 105 ft long (32 m), with a total internal width, including the aisles, of at least 55 ft (16.8 m). The original hall had a 24 ft (7.3 m) span in the center bays with a ceiling that reached nearly 50 ft (15.2 m) high. Alternating transverse arches, which extend across the roofline and intervene with roof trusses, add support. The arcades rest on exceptionally large timber posts that join into the arcades in an unusual manner: with mortises and tenons that are pegged through. Decorations include moldings and nail head ornament on the semicircular braces and scalloped designs on the capitals. The hall appears to have had a clerestory, which means that the center portion rose higher than the sides. Illustrations of halls in the Bayeux Tapestry and the Harley Psalter, copied *c.* 1000 at Canterbury from the Utrecht Psalter, give an idea of the original appearance of the hall at Hereford.[36]

Westminster Palace

Since Pre-Norman times, the primary royal residence in the London area was Westminster Palace, which also served as the administrative headquarters. It was aisled, resting on foundations laid out by William II. The remaining hall, although altered at the end of the fourteenth century, reflects these dimensions.[37] Later alterations and fire have obliterated much of the earlier palace complex, which probably had segregated living arrangements similar to those at the Tower. Even so, in the twelfth century, the palace of the English king had the largest great hall in Europe.

Manuscript illumination: 1154–1272

Although the Early Gothic style in England may be most recognized for its architectural and sculptural feats, interesting stylistic changes occur in manuscript illumination and mural painting that mirror developments in sculpture and stained glass decoration. As with architecture, the Early Gothic style in illumination and painting retains some of the late Romanesque qualities. The characteristic linearity continues, but the often intense pantomime typical of Romanesque figural works, with emphasis on gestures and dramatic narrative, gives way to calm, naturalism, and elegance.

Developments in France and the Low Countries set the pace for illumination in England. In addition to buying English books, English patrons acquired many works from continental artists; thus, books in the three areas share similar characteristics. The details of differentiation reveal that Flemish art has a heavier outline. French illustration and handwriting are more exact than in English works. Whereas Anglo-Saxon books had no gilded decoration and Romanesque ones had little, the continental practice of using ultramarine blue, silver, and gold gain popularity in England. The copper tone of the gold used in French books differs slightly from the purer metal in English books, perhaps due to the earlier English contact with the German Imperial Court. Generally, English manuscripts tended to have freer and more graceful handling than those from the continent. The large print and bold style of earlier years in England disappear in favor of the minute, perhaps in an economizing measure. However, detail in English decoration increases, often eclipsing the text. Historiated initials and elaborate border decorations, popular in England since Anglo-Saxon times, continue to be hallmarks of English illumination, as seen in the

Westminster Psalter. Portraits of authors also appear more often. While religious books continued to be written in Latin, secular books in French gain popularity. French continued to be the preferred language of the English court, but books in English were beginning to emerge.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the making of manuscripts surges in England, owing, at least in part, to the partial secularization of the industry. By 1200, book production moved out of the sole control of monasteries into the hands of commercial shops. University centers, such as Paris and Oxford especially attracted bookmakers. Producers of parchment, calligraphers, illuminators, and bookbinders tended to cluster in a particular area of the city, which, in Oxford, was Catte Street. Although most who contributed to the trade remain unknown, several extant illuminations bear the signature of “W. De Brailes” (possibly William De Brailes).

Predictably, the types of books produced broadened as well. The Westminster Psalter, Rutland Psalter, and York Psalter give a variety of rich illustration types, from initials to narrative. Illustrated Bibles, sermon books, and Biblical commentaries gained popularity. Apocalypse Bibles, such as the Morgan and Lambeth examples, illustrate the Book of Revelation, with Hellmouths and other imaginative illustrations of the end-time. The popularity of psalters inspired a new type of lay devotional book, the Book of Hours, such as the de Brailes Hours. These books, personalized for the patron in both illumination and the choice of texts, quickly dominated the secular market. They served as the basis for all devotionals and aided the readers in their quests to obtain salvation for themselves and their departed loved ones. These books appealed particularly to royalty and the members of the court, especially women, who assumed domestic responsibility for the spiritual life of the family. Society expected women to withstand temptation and to be more virtuous than men; books served as aids in maintaining virtue.

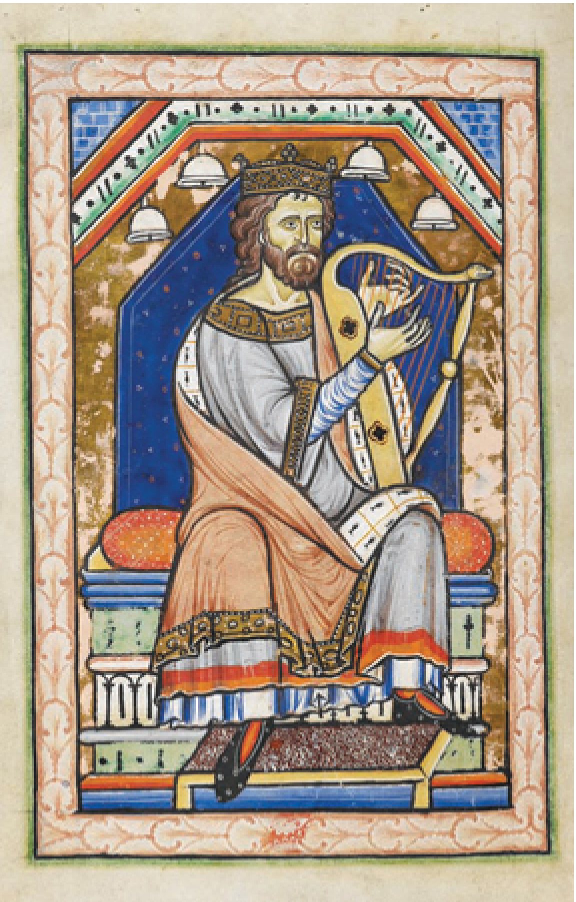
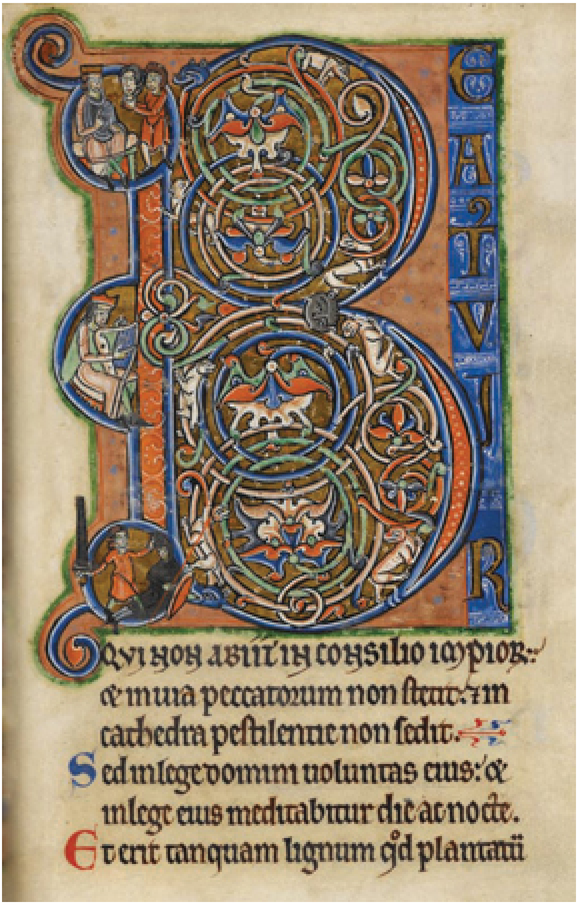


Fig. 3.35 David as a musician, Westminster Psalter, c. *1284, MS. Royal 2 A.xxii, f. 14v. British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board*

The organization of Books of Hours, like medieval life in general, reflected the liturgical year. Books opened with a calendar listing feasts and saints' days for each month. Daily entries gave scripture readings, hymns, prayers, and other meditations appropriate to seasons, months, days of the week, and eight hours of the day – hence the name. Due to the popularity of the Cult of the Virgin, offices of Virgin Mary might be included. Often the readings and the illustrations that accompanied them were typological paired, with one or two Old Testament events prefiguring a New Testament scene. The patron's budget determined the lavishness of the book. Secular and religious histories also appear. Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales) and Matthew Paris – two more names of note – initiated illustrated histories in England, complete with delicate marginal drawings. In addition, genealogical histories of kings instigated a tradition of illuminated genealogical manuscripts.[38] In short, book production of many kinds thrived in this period.



EATVS VIR

QVI NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIOR:
et in via peccatorum non stetit: et in
cathedra pestilentie non sedit.
Sed in lege domini voluntas eius: et
in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.
Et erit tanquam lignum q̄d plantatū

Fig. 3.36 Beatus initial B, Westminster Psalter, c. *1284 MS. Royal 2 A.xxii, f. 15r., British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board*

Westminster Psalter

Among the great early Gothic religious books in England is the Westminster Psalter, *c.* 1284, which originated at either St Albans or Winchester. The commission probably honored the engagement of Prince Alphonso, son of King Edward I, to Margaret, daughter of the Count of Holland. The marriage, however, never took place as Alphonso died in 1284. Later, *c.* 1316, Alphonso's sister commissioned more illustrations, easily distinguished by a more elegant style and richer materials, especially the use of gold. Although the book conforms to the liturgical requirements of Westminster Abbey, it originated at either St Albans or Winchester, perhaps made by a monk trained in London.

The book opens with a calendar, which, in typical medieval fashion, incorporates signs of the Zodiac in small roundels (ff. 4r–10v). Interestingly, here Scorpio appears as a dragon. The text contains exquisite historiated initials, marginal illustrations, and five full-page miniatures. Several scenes illustrate King David in his role as psalm writer. A full-page author portrait (f.14v) of King David as a Musician opens the text of the Latin psalter (Figs 3.35 and 3.36). David, dressed in royal attire, sits close to the picture plane on a cushioned throne and strums a harp. A six-sided cloth of honor in lapis blue with gold stars frames him. The remaining background shows worn gilding. Four bells hang from a squared arch above his head, framed by blue tiles in the two upper corners. The pattern of the rose-colored border features stylized leaves. David faces a full-page "Beatus" initial (f 15r), which includes three scenes from his life along the stem of the letter. At the bottom, David beheads Goliath; at the top, David brings the head to Saul; in the center, crowned as king, David again plays his harp. To depict the Hebrew king in a book commissioned for a royal patron for use at Westminster conforms to one of the functions of the abbey: the coronation place of the English kings.

De Brailes Hours

The earliest extant English Book of Hours made outside a monastery came from the shop of W. De Brailes and thus is called the De Brailes Hours (Figs 3.37 and 3.38). Made *c*. 1240 and signed by the artist with his self-portrait in a letter C (f.43r), this book has a distinctive style of illumination that also appears in other unsigned manuscripts. Although not the most sophisticated of all of the illuminators, De Brailes is important because he is the first to be identified by name and placed at Catte Street in Oxford between about 1230 and 1260.

The patron of this manuscript appears to have been a laywoman living in a convent in North Hinksey, near Oxford. Narrative illustrations range from historiated initials to marginal illustrations to full-page illustrations, usually divided into four parts by vegetal borders. The limited palette, much like contemporary French books, is largely red, blue, and white, with limited use of gold leaf in the backgrounds. The monumental figures, which fill each medallion, enact the story in animated, even poignant, pantomime. On the first folio (f.1r), the Initial "D" opens the Matins of the Virgin (Fig. 3.37). Four medallions sit atop the letter, encased within a linear colored border with anthropomorphic animals and creatures of fantasy. These scenes illustrate the betrayal and trials of Christ, but focus especially on the denials of Peter. The initial contains the Kiss of Judas; The Flagellation of Christ with Peter's first denial; the Mocking of Christ with the second denial; the Spitting at Christ and Peter's third denial. Outside the frame of the initial, as if to also convey the penitent saint's sense of separation, is the remorse of Peter.

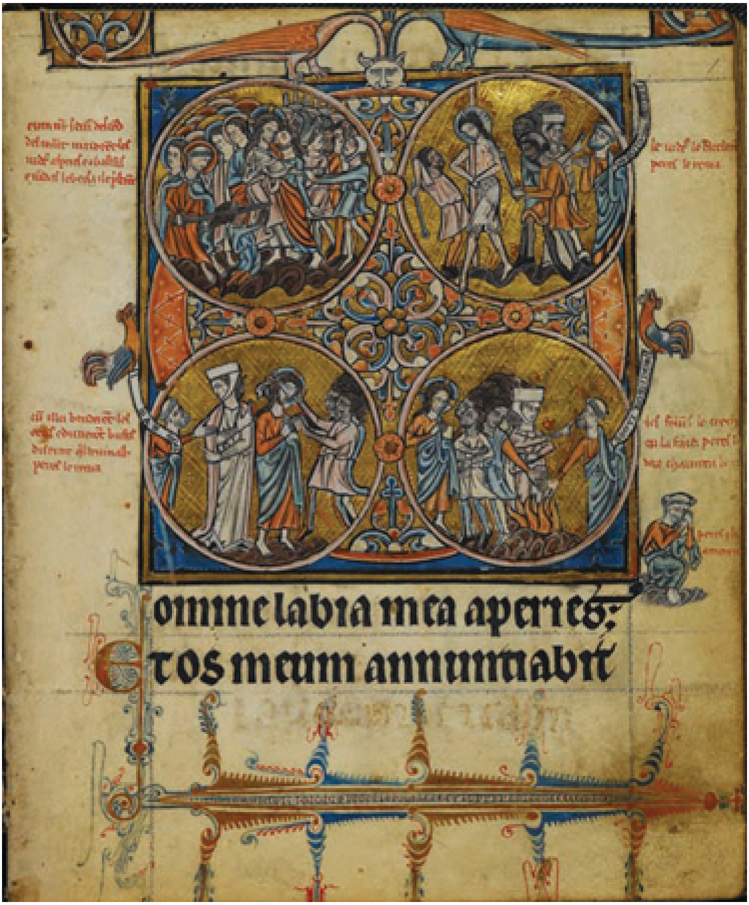

omine labia mea aperies:
Et os meum annuntiabit

Fig. 3.37 William de Brailes, Letter D with scenes from the Passion of Christ, de Brailes Hours, MS Add. MS 49999 f. 1r., British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board.

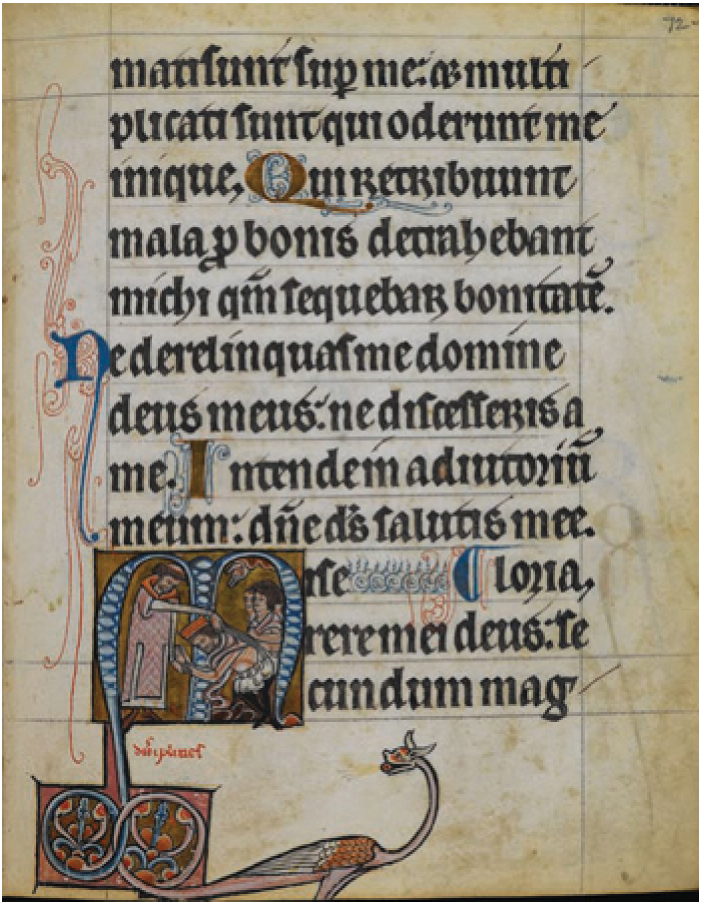


Fig. 3.38 William de Brailes, David being Birched by a Priest, de Brailes Hours, MS Add. MS 49999 f. 72., British Library, London. Photograph: © British Library Board

An especially ingenious illustration (f.72) cleverly uses a rounded letter M (Fig. 3.38). The penitent David in the right arch leans over, his hands tied around the center vertical "column" of the letter. Bystanders watch from behind as a tonsured priest in the left arch flagellates him. The outside arch of the letter curls downward to the bottom edge of the page into a horizontal double loop that, in turn, becomes the tail of a winged fire-breathing dragon. The De Brailes Hours verifies that although book production moved out of the strict control of monastic scriptoria into the public domain, the quality remained high.

Rutland Psalter

Rich borders and drolleries, which abound in Gothic architectural sculpture, develop first in English manuscripts. Beginning with humorous examples in the Rutland Psalter (*c.* 1260), they evolve into imaginative creatures and peasant caricatures, with a uniquely British droll, even bawdy, sense of humor. The Rutland Psalter may have originated in London. Like many psalters and Books of Hours, it probably belonged to a woman. Especially noteworthy in the Rutland Psalter are the amusing monsters, grotesques, and animals, as well as the vignettes of everyday life and mythology. More such border drolleries will follow, and the tradition will become exceedingly popular in England. Although some illustrations seem unrelated to the text, others of these seemingly lighthearted pictures are jests and puns, both visual and linguistic, as well as aids to memory for the reader.

Some of the illustrations have jeering overtones. For example, the margin of Psalm 44 has an odd male dwarf with bowed arms and legs. On closer look, with his dark beard, long-nose, and characteristic pointed orange hat, he may be giving a negative comment on the Jews. As with sculpture in the churches, bawdy humor emerges. One illustration shows a monkey riding an ostrich on the left (verso) page facing the posterior of a nude man on the recto (right). In another more lewd instance, the tail of the letter "p" of the Latin word conspectus, which translates "to see or visually penetrate," penetrates the backside of a prostrate fishmonger by aligning with an archer's arrow. The puns may also demonstrate important changes in manuscript production. Moving book production out of the exclusive control of the monasteries into secular production gave the illuminator more freedom.

Illustration topics extend beyond clever whimsies. The Rutland Psalter contains six large illustrations and nine historiated initials. In the miniature preceding Psalm 80, Jacob stands at the foot of a ladder with two angels above. Two lively grotesques stand in the margin. One seems to dance while the other, with a boar's head, devours a human. In another, two facing full-page illustrations show David and his Musicians. King David plays an organ, powered by a man treading the bellows, as another smaller figure plays the hurdy-gurdy. Such amusing contemporary genre details, which provide glimpses into life in medieval England, often appear alongside serious narrative imagery.

Lambeth Apocalypse

Apocalypse Bibles, most often associated with tenth– eleventh-century medieval Spain, gained popularity in mid-to late thirteenth-century England. Production appears to have originated at St Albans, but soon moved to London. The books usually contain the scriptural text from the Book of Revelation, a commentary for the clergy and the educated laity, and sequential illustrations of events from the text. Sometimes they also include narrative scenes depicting the life of the author, St John the Evangelist. The Lambeth Apocalypse, probably made in London, includes the text of the Book of Revelation along with excerpts from the ninth-century commentary of Berengaudus on the allegory in the biblical text. The illustrations indicate a female patron; the heraldry suggests Eleanor de Ferrers, Countess of Winchester, or her husband's daughter, Margaret de Quency. Although most of the illustrations are small, many images fill an entire page, surrounded by a narrow decorated border, which makes the illustrations seem more formal. Illustrations include a Hellmouth and scenes illustrating the text, but they also extend beyond apocalyptic scenes. Women, as moral teachers, needed penitent hearts and moral strength and were expected to imitate the virtues of the Virgin Mary. Such is the case with the monumental image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned (f.48r.), a formal composition colored with heavy washes. The owner of the manuscript, dressed as a widow, appears tiny in the lower right corner reading her devotions before the Virgin and Child. Related to the theme of judgment is penitence, a necessary step for admission to heaven. In a series of illustrations that emphasize penance, the patroness appears as Mary Magdalen, the paradigm penitent sinner, in the scene *Nolo me Tangere*, when Mary Magdalen meets the Resurrected Christ in the garden (f.49). Later she appears defending herself against the attacks of the devil (f.53 r).[39] Large figures enact the stories with pantomime-type gestures and expressions. Action often happens against a solid colored background, making the space shallow and the action more intense.

Giraldus Cambrensis

After 1200 in England, chroniclers make a grand comeback, continuing in the tradition of Bede. They establish an unbroken chain of insightful, thorough, and engaging English writers of history and current events. Giraldus Cambrensis wrote several chronicles ranging from bestiaries to histories. Perhaps his most well-known work is the *Topographica Hibernia*, or the *History and Topography of Ireland*. The manuscript in London is a mid-thirteenth-century copy of Giraldus's original work. Although long considered reliable, the book, dedicated to the king, is actually less of a history than an engaging, eclectic narrative. In 1184, Giraldus, who was the chaplain to King Henry II, escorted Prince John on a trip to Ireland. The author recounts their travels, his observations, the animals they encountered, and stories he heard, including *The Legend of The Wolf that Talked with the Priest of Ulster*. The illustrations are largely ink outline drawings and diagrams filled in with pale color washes of green, blue, and red. They appear in various formats throughout, often in sequential segments lining the bottom borders, sometimes with charming animals, some of which are anthropomorphic. One bizarre animal story shows a sailing boat on top of a large fish that could sleep only for short periods of time. Sailors would mistake his back for an island and land there; however, when they lit a fire, he woke and dove below the surface. The text shows the accident waiting to happen!

Matthew Paris

One of the most important and engaging of medieval chroniclers was Matthew Paris (*c.* 1200–1259), a Benedictine monk who lived at St Albans from 1217 until his death in 1259. Probably the most prolific chronicler since Bede, Matthew had a good understanding of contemporary events. He wrote in a lively manner, vividly describing and analyzing causes, effects, and meanings of happenings around him. His poetry, written in French and left unfinished, recounted the lives of St Thomas à Becket and St Alban. Although he rarely left the abbey, he did travel to Norway for the pope to settle an ecclesiastical dispute. He attended the wedding of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence at Westminster in 1226 and he witnessed the translation of the relics of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury in July 1250.

Matthew's books have large illustrations that often overshadow the text. His style of illustration is outline drawing in sepia tinted with color, mainly green, complemented by red and blue. The style, although similar to that of Geraldus Cambrensis, is livelier and sketchier, more akin to books produced in southern England before the Conquest. Matthew's *Historia Anglorum* (London, British Library, MS Royal 14 C. vii) includes an array of subjects. The book opens with a charming frontispiece illustrating the artist kneeling before the Madonna and Child (Fig. 3.39). Although no evidence documents that he had traveled there, he illustrates a map of the Holy Land (ff. 4v-5), perhaps in the same vein as the labyrinths inset in stone floors of cathedrals: a vicarious pilgrimage.

Matthew also chronicles King Henry III's trip to Brittany (f.116v), and includes bits of text in the author's own handwriting. He documents that Prince Gruffydd of Wales fell from the Tower of London and broke his neck (f.136), complete with marginal drawings. His *Chronica Major* (British Library Cotton MS Claudius D.vi, f.12v) depicts a sketch of the Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton crowning Henry III at Westminster Abbey and includes an early and surprisingly accurate map of England (f.12v.).

The painting and lettering style, combined with the subject, the sophistication, and other evidence, points to Matthew Paris as the unnamed author of the *Life of Edward the Confessor* (Cambridge Ee.3.59). This splendidly illustrated chronicle contains 37 folios with 64 pictures and is the only copy of an illustrated Anglo-Norman verse biography, written in England probably *c.* 1236–1249, and saved in this manuscript of a decade or two later. The style of illustration is sepia ink drawing colored with washes of blue, red, and green ink. The book, which opens with a dedication to Queen Eleanor of Provence, was written after her marriage to King Henry III in 1236, before their son Edward's birth in 1239, and certainly before the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, which commenced in 1245. The script and sketchy illustrations, filled with colored wash, bear similarity to manuscripts produced in London and Westminster. The chronicler's source was the Latin biography by Aelred of Rievaulx, written about the time of the king's canonization in 1161. The book recounts Edward the Confessor's boyhood exile, his benevolent reign, his miracles, and his acumen. The manuscript supports Henry III's veneration of Edward the Confessor and discusses his patronage of Westminster Abbey, his death, the downfall of his successor Harold, and the later opening of his tomb. Thus, the book is not only important artistically, but also as a document.

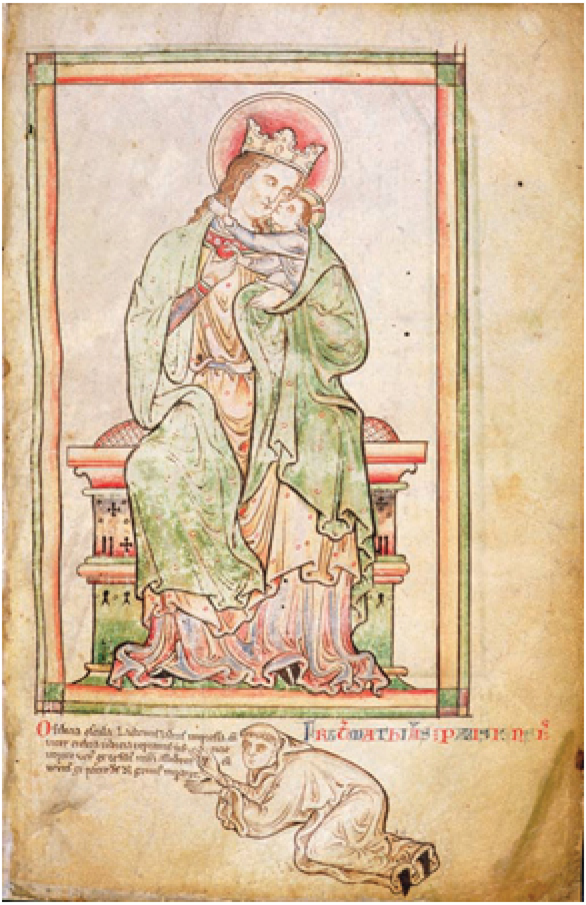


Fig. 3.39 Matthew Paris, Self-portrait of the Artist Kneeling before the Virgin and Child c. *1250, Historia Anglorum. Royal 14 C VII f. 6, British Library, London. Photograph: British Library/© Bridgeman Images*

Styles in manuscript illuminations reflect parallel developments in mural painting, stained glass, and sculpture, although many of these works are no longer extant. All, however, show a love of narrative and a facility with line, pattern, and color.

Early Gothic painting: murals and altarpieces

Murals are rare in England, rarer still in high-profile cathedrals that were more vulnerable to desecration during the Dissolution than parish churches. Moreover, because of the damp climate, English murals were rarely done in fresco, which requires painting with water-soluble pigments on damp plaster. Instead, they were done secco, or dry, on a plaster wall that had set and then been dampened. An outline would have been made in red pigment, then pigments mixed with limewater were applied to the dampened wall. Most highborn monks would have had none of the training required, and perhaps they would have considered such manual labor beneath their dignity. Lay artisans usually did mural painting, although an artist monk named Walter of Colchester did work at St Albans in the early thirteenth century. Murals fragments survive from this period at St Albans and at Westminster Abbey. In addition to murals, altarpieces once even more commonly adorned altars in English churches, but few survive. Miraculously, remnants of the Westminster Retable (or altarpiece), which probably stood on the high altar at Westminster Abbey, has recently been rediscovered and restored.

St Albans Abbey

St Albans Abbey (now cathedral) in Hertfordshire contains one of the most extensive series of wall murals to survive in any major church in England. The flat, plastered surfaces of the Norman piers were ideal for figurative murals. Six piers on the north side of the nave contain remnants of fifteen murals. The earliest murals date from 1195–1214. Later ones extend into the fourteenth century. During the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII (1530s ff.), the paintings were covered with whitewash. Rediscovered in 1847, they now are shadows of their former glory.

Rather than depict a narrative or a consistent program, the west-facing sides of the pillars would have formed backdrops for small altars. Thus, the five large, simple images of the Crucifixion, one on each Norman pier of the nave, fill a devotional function. Perhaps the crucifixes reflect the writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux, who advocated meditating upon a crucifix as if one had actually been present, in order to evoke the emotional experience of the event. Scenes from the life of the Virgin appear below, which echo the contemporary cult of the Virgin. Thus, these paintings express the two major doctrines of Christian theology: Incarnation and Redemption. Additional south facing paintings, which depicted large figures of saints, also suffered severe damage.

The earliest mural at St Albans is the crucifix on the westernmost Norman pier (*c.* 1195?), reputedly done by Walter of Colchester. It shows Christ crucified on a cross of rough-hewn tree trunks rather than of planed lumber (Fig. 3.40). For the cross, the artist used expensive malachite pigment, which gives a greenish color that also could symbolize the tree of life. The palette includes red ochre with touches of yellow ochre, black, and vermilion. The traditional mourners flank the cross: Mary to Jesus' right, and St John the Evangelist to his left. The body of Christ sags in resigned repose. Four nails secure his body to the cross: each hand and each foot, as is characteristic of contemporary Byzantine practices. The murals also resemble the linear style and same limited palette of the manuscript illuminations done at St Albans by Matthew Paris.

Moving eastward, the fifth crucifix, dated to *c*. 1275, is by far the most expressive (Fig. 3.41). The three figures of Mary, John, and Jesus are white silhouettes against a red background that has a small, widely scattered, dotted floral pattern. A green border with a leaf design runs across the top. Jesus, with his head bent downward, shoulders hunched over, torso retracted, and fingers tensely stretched, writhes in agony. One nail secures his feet, which overlap in a parallel fashion. As they witness Christ's suffering, Mary and John draw back and grimace in horror, as they partially cover their faces with their hands. The artist has used the outward curve of the pier, which projects the body of Christ forward and makes Mary and John seem further away, to increase the eloquence and pathos of the drama.

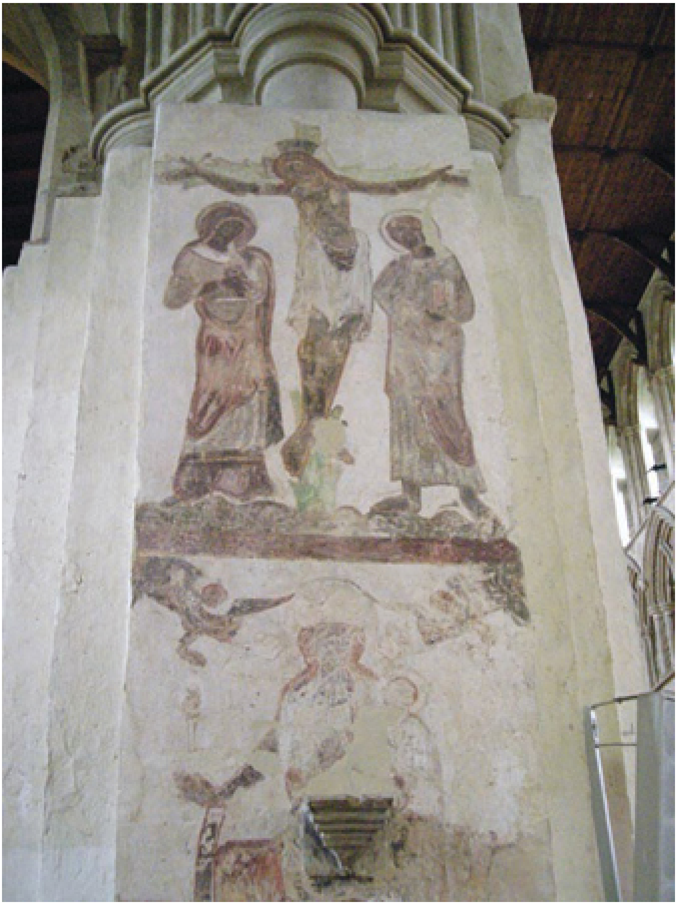


Fig. 3.40 St Albans Cathedral, Hertfordshire, crucifix, mural on westernmost nave pier II,

c. *1190–1214. Photograph: author*

The series of paintings of the Virgin and Child appear to be contemporary with the later thirteenth-century crucifixions. The two paintings of the seated Virgin and Child show the gentle, humanizing influence of St Francis's preaching, which, in turn, softened the style of painting in Rome and central Italy. The Annunciation, however, is eloquently linear and mannered, typical of art made for courtly circles in the late thirteenth century. A connection may exist between the paintings at St Albans from the mid- to late thirteenth century and the court artists of Henry III at Westminster, chiefly Master Walter of Durham and his son and assistant, Thomas of Westminster. Historically, strong ties existed between Westminster and St Albans. Perhaps these artists executed works at St Albans in the latter years of Henry III's reign or just after his death.[40] The costliness of the pigments and the high level of sophistication in the painting style and technique support this theory. The simplicity of style and direct emotion in these murals will give way to more complex compositions in centuries to come.

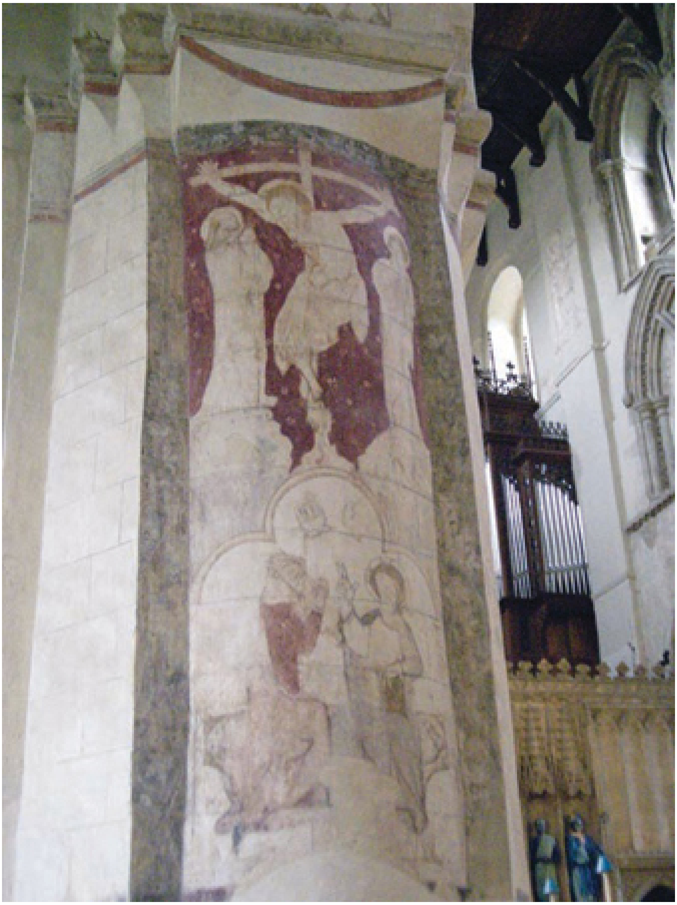


Fig. 3.41 St Albans Cathedral, Hertfordshire, fifth crucifix, mural on western nave pier V, c. *1275. Photograph: author*

Early Gothic decorative arts

Relics and artifacts associated with saints gained popularity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Relics – usually bone shards or scraps of clothing – gave a tangible connection to a holy figure. They usually were encased in reliquaries, or caskets, made of precious metals and richly decorated with Champlevé enamel and jewels. The recently martyred Thomas à Becket was especially widely venerated in England and France.

Becket caskets

Since his martyrdom was recent and his veneration immediate, many relics associated with Thomas à Becket were enshrined. Some 50 reliquaries produced in the renowned enamel workshops of Limoges in southwest France remain that depict scenes of St Thomas's assassination and burial. Typically, these Limoges reliquaries are rectangular boxes with a gabled lid made of enamelwork on copper. The larger ones are nailed to a wooden core. The earliest reliquaries appeared shortly after St Thomas's death and canonization; a second group probably was made in response to the exhumation and translation of the saint's body in 1220. The Victoria and Albert Museum casket may be the earliest (*c.* 1190) and most refined example to survive. On the front, three of the four assassin knights raise their swords at the archbishop, who stands before the altar in the presence of two monks, who are on the right. One surely is Prior Benedict, who was a witness to the murder. The lid, on the left, shows the monks placing Becket in his tomb. One holds a large candle; another swings a censer. To the right, two angels raise Becket's soul over a rainbow into heaven. The ridge of the lid has a raised gilded metal border inset with two clear stones that flank a central knob. The borders of the casket are richly decorated in a pattern of dark blue triangles outlined in light blue set against a gold background. The back of the casket depicts four figures along the outside border that perhaps are personifications of four virtues or saints. The space between the figures has a geometric pattern. One short end shows Christ in Majesty seated on a rainbow. The other end has an arched opening. As is typical, the palette is limited to gold, turquoise, two shades of blue, and a touch of green. The figures, all in gold, are incised with a fluid line and flattened against a blue enamel background. Each expresses deep emotion through facial expressions, posture, and gestures. The style of the work not only resembles the stylized, expressive style of manuscript illuminations, but also contemporary works in stained glass.

Summary of Early Gothic art in England

The Early Gothic style in architecture in England was a blending of the handsome but austere Cistercian style that came into the north with immigrant Burgundian monks and the more opulent style imported from French royal circles around Paris. Certain distinctively English characteristics of the Romanesque style continue with the Gothic style: the clear horizontal division of the interior elevation, clerestory passageways, a love of surface decoration, and an interest in emphasizing the edges. New with the early English Gothic is the use of dark, Purbeck marble and multi-colored stone to enhance interior detail and emphasize the horizontal division. Towers over the crossings, a hallmark of English architecture, continue, unlike in France, often with slender spires. On the façades, verticality gives way to a wide, low, screen, with a preference for decorative pattern over sculptural programs. The English idiosyncratic variations began to take on lives of their own, giving English buildings an energetic, fluid, refined appearance, distinct from the elegant, attenuated French style that had inspired it. In secular architecture, French developments, which often represented changes in the social order, carried over into English practices. In both countries, the royal family became increasingly centralized in and near the main economic center of their respective countries with progressively larger and more private royal living quarters and lavish ceremonial spaces.

English churches typically have less sculpture in the tympana over doorways and on the exterior than the French, but more ornate carvings elsewhere. Yet much is lost in England. The interiors often contain ornate decorative motifs, such as diaper patterns on walls or elaborate rib patterns in the vaults, as seen in Romanesque predecessors, such as Durham. English ribbed groin vaulting and the wooden and stone bosses that join them, with elaborate vegetal, animal, whimsical, or narrative carvings, show the English imagination at work. The English love of woodwork continues in the Gothic period in church furnishings, including richly carved doors, pulpits, choir stalls, and rood screens.

Painting followed sculpture in increased naturalism and elegance. In manuscript illumination, subjects moved from the almost exclusively religious to whimsical and scenes of everyday life, much like the bosses and woodcarvings. The more formal paintings, however, remain close to the Northern European painting that inspired them. Throughout the arts, the English adaptations become increasingly delicate, intricate, and independent, especially in architectural vaulting and window treatment. From these variations will develop the more distinctively English styles of the late thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries.

Notes

1 Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation,* 4th ed. (London, 1848), 45–55.

2 The spring blooming plant commonly known in English as broom is called *plante genêt* in French or *planta genista* in Latin. Count Geoffrey of Anjou (*c.* 1115–1151), husband of Empress Matilda and father of Henry II, allegedly wore a branch of flowering bright yellow broom in his cap, thus earning the nickname “Plantagenet.” Through his marriage to Matilda, he gave his name to the Plantagenet (or Angevin) line of English kings. The Plantagenet line began with Henry II in 1154 and extended until the death of Richard III in 1485.

3 Geoffrey F. Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nicholas Pevsner, *The Pelican History of Art* (Baltimore, MD, 1956), 82–3; M. F. Hearn,

"Ripon Minster: The Beginnings of the Gothic Style in Northern England". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* New Ser 73(6) (1983): 1–19; Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), *ad passim*, assigns the first Cistercian church in the Gothic style to Furness Abbey.

4 Peter Fergusson and Stuart Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory* (London, 1999), 151–72.

5 Jean Bony, "French Influences on the Origins of English Gothic Architecture". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949): 1–15; Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (New York, 2000), 189–91; Webb, *Architecture*, 43–6, 56–71; Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx*, 61, 69–81, 140–5; Fergusson, *Architecture,* 38–45, 54–5, 62–6.

6 Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: At the Edge of the World? 3000 BC–AD 1603* (London, 2002), 142.

7 Peter Draper, "William of Sens and the Original Design of the Choir Termination of Canterbury Cathedral 1175–1179". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42(3) (1983): 238–48; Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (London, 2006), 11–16, 29–32; Richard Gem, *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture* (London, 2004), vol. 2, 432; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (London, 2004), 3–7, 14, 18–27, 60–2; Bony, "French Influences on the Origins of English Gothic", 7–11.

8 Abbot Suger was the first to bring relics of saints up from the crypt to a more accessible location behind the altar. Roy Strong, *The Spirit of Britain: A Narrative History of the Arts* (New York, 2000), 63; Peter Draper, *Formation of English Gothic* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 17; "William of Sens and the Original Design of the Choir Termination of Canterbury Cathedral: 1175–1179". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42(3) (1983): 238–48; Bony, "French Influences on the Origins of English Gothic", 7–11; Jane Fawcett, *Historic Floors: Their History and Conservation* (Oxford, 2001), 14–16; Binski, *Becket*, 3–7, 14, 18–27, 60–2; Pamela Z. Blum, "The Sequence of the Building Campaigns at Salisbury". *Art Bulletin* 73(1) (1991), 6–38.

9 Robert Willis (1800–1875) a nineteenth-century English connoisseur of medieval architecture, coined the term "crazy vaults." Paul Frankl, "The 'Crazy Vaults' of Lincoln Cathedral". *Art Bulletin* 35(2) (1953): 97–101. The three vaults in the western part of the choir (nearer to the tower) were rebuilt after the tower fell in 1237 in the same style as the older ones. Paul Frankl, "Lincoln Cathedral". *Art Bulletin*, 44(1) (1962): 29–34.

10 John Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (New York, 1967), 41, discusses reasons for bosses; Derek Pearsall, *Gothic Europe: 1200–1440* (Harlow, 2001), 92; Frankl, "The 'Crazy Vaults' of Lincoln", 29–33; Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed, 1250–1350* (Ithaca, NY, 1979); Deborah Kahn, ed. *The Romanesque Frieze And Its Spectator: The Lincoln Symposium Papers* (New York, 1992), *ad passim.*

11 Binski, *Becket,* chap. 3 and 61, 65 and 73. The year 1220 also witnessed the translation of relics of Thomas à Becket, the canonization of Hugh of Lincoln, the beginning of Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, and the re-coronation of King Henry III. Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton also codified the Sarum liturgy and standardized its use, which was the most comprehensively influential liturgical and regulative statement of its type.

12 Blum, "The Sequence of the Building Campaigns", 14 and 20–22, n. 78. The

space behind the choir is often designated as a Lady Chapel; however, in the case of Salisbury, the whole cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin so this retro-chapel is dedicated to the Trinity. The widths of nave and aisles (excluding transepts) at about 78 ft (23.4 m) are roughly equal in each; in length, Salisbury at 449 ft (134.7 m) is 10 ft (3 m) longer.

13 In 1984, a fire damaged the glass and the wooden vaulted ceiling of the south aisle of York Minster. It has been copiously restored. John Harries and Carola Hicks, *Discovering Stained Glass*, 3rd ed. (Princes Risborough, 1996), 7–8.

14 Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1174–1220* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 100–18; Jeffrey Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows: Context, Program, Development," in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline H. Caviness eds (Los Angeles, CA, 2014), 11–47, especially 12, 17–18, and 39.

15 Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows", 26.

16 Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows", 18–19.

17 Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows", 19–39; Jeffrey Weaver, "Selected Individual Figures from the Ancestors of Christ Windows," in Weaver and Caviness, *The Ancestors of Christ Windows*, 48–67; Madeline H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain* II (London, 1981), 14–15.

18 Bernard Rackham, "The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral". *Burlington Magazine* (January 1928): 33–41, at 34; Clement Heaton, "The Origin of the Early Stained Glass in Canterbury Cathedral". *Burlington Magazine* (June 1907): 172–7.

19 Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows", 33.

20 Caviness, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 61–5.

21 Heaton, "The Origin of the Early Stained Glass", 174; Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass Windows at York Minster* (London, 1999), *ad passim*.

22 Subsequently (*c*. 1253), Henry altered his will to indicate Westminster Abbey as his burial place. In 1307, the pope abolished the Order of the Knights Templar. Edward II took control of the Temple and gave it to Order of St John, Knights Hospitaller, who had worked with the temple knights.

23 Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power: 1200–1400* (New Haven, CT, 1995), 1–9; Robert Branner, "Westminster Abbey and the French Court Style". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23(1) (1964): 15–16. In July 1189, Pope Clement III declared that St Margaret's Church in the City of Westminster, like nearby Westminster Abbey, was outside the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In 1222, the Abbey and its property were declared to not only be outside the diocese of London but also exempt from the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

24 The Lady Chapel measured 75 × 100 ft with an internal width of 28 ft (22.9 × 30.4 × 8.5 m). Lady Chapels at Westminster, Windsor, and Litchfield, appear to have been built *c*. 1220–1240 with similar dimensions. The form probably originated in France: Bayeux, Amiens Cathedrals and Ste Chapelle. Tim Tatton-Brown. "The Building History of the Lady Chapels", in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Tatton-Brown, Tim and Richard Mortimer eds (London, 2003), 188–204; plan in Tatton-Brown, 24, fig. 5; Binski, *Westminster*, 10–13 and fig. 9.

25 Scholars debate whether the architect was from Reynes in Sussex or Reims in France. Binski, *Westminster*, 13–21, 35–36.

26 Paul Binski, *Westminster, ad passim*; Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer, eds, *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements* (Aldershot, 2002), *ad passim*; R. Kent Lancaster,"Henry III Westminster Abbey, and the Court School of Illumination", in *Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays: Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove,* Richard H. Bowers ed. (Jackson, MS, 1983), 85–95; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (London, 1964); Tatton-Brown, "The Building History of the Lady Chapels", 189–204.

27 Dorothy Glass, "Papal Patronage in the Early Twelfth Century: Notes on the Iconography of Cosmatesque Pavements". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 386–90; Paul Binski, "The Cosmati at Westminster and the English Court Style". *Art Bulletin* 72(1) (1990): 6–34; Grant and Mortimer, *Westminster Abbey, ad passim.*

28 Binski, *Westminster*, 1–15, 91–2. Henry III instructed his son Edward to continue with Westminster in his will of 1253.

29 This Gislebertus, or Gilbert, is not the same sculptor who worked at Autun in Burgundy, who died *c*. 1135. Nigel Saul, ed. *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), 9; William Ormrod, "For Arthur and St George," in *St George's Chapel*, Nigel Saul ed., 9, 17, 21; Pamela Tudor-Craig, "The Fonts of St George's Chapel," in *St George's Chapel*, Nigel Saul ed.,160–3.

30 Originally, the roofline had dormer windows. At the end of the fourteenth century, following fire damage, the dormers were removed and the lower windows were altered. The dimensions are courtesy of the Hampshire County Council. J. T. Smith, "The Early Development of Timber Buildings: The Passing Brace and Reversed Assembly". *Archaeological Journal* 131 (1974): 238–63; "Medieval Aisled Halls and Their Derivatives". *Archaeological Journal* 112 (1955): 76–94; and "Medieval Roofs: A Classification". *Archaeological Journal* 115 (1958): 111–49.

31 The king's and queen's halls and the Great Hall no longer survive. The towers remain but underwent restoration in the nineteenth century. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 4ff and illustration 8, and John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1993), 63–4 and 85; John Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 190–3.

32 Schofield, *Building of London*, 65–7; Edward S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (Wakefield, 1974), 164.

33 John Walker, "Late Twelfth & Early Thirteenth-Century Aisled Buildings: A Comparison". *Vernacular Architecture* 30 (1999): 21–53; M. C. Wadhams and J. Symonds, "Cressing Temple: A Guide"; Cecil A. Hewett, "The Barns at Cressing Temple, Essex, and Their Significance in the History of English Carpentry", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26(1) (1967): 48–70.

34 Hewett, *ad passim.*

35 Julian Munby, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, "Crown-post and King-strut Roofs in South-East England". *Medieval Archaeology* 27 (1983): 123–35; Munby, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, "The 13th-Century Roof of The Chapel of The Hospital of St Thomas-Upon-the-Eastbridge Canterbury". *Medieval Archaeology* 29 (1985): 155–7.

36 S. R. Jones and J. T. Smith, "The Great Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford". *Medieval Archaeology* 4 (1960): 69–80; C. A. Ralegh Radford, E. M. Jope, and. J. W. Tonkin, "The Great Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford". *Medieval Archaeology* 17 (1973): 78–87, note especially 83; Walker, "Late Twelfth & Early Thirteenth-Century Aisled Buildings", 21–53; The roof form

with intervening transverse arches resembles that at the Church of S. Miniato al Monte in Florence, Italy, which was begun in 1013.

[37] For image, see Wenceslaus Hollar, *New Palace Yard with Westminster Hall*, Etching, 1607 (P. 040, Second; H.90), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[38] Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (Toronto, 1997), *ad passim*; M. P. Brown, 'Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration', in *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval English Manuscripts, English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700,* 10 (London, 2002), 34–59 at 36.

[39] Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Rochester, NY, 2002), 22, 45–8.

[40] Eileen Roberts, *The Wall Paintings of Saint Albans Abbey* (St Albans, 1993), 8–9, 13.

Chapter 4

DISTINCTIVELY AND DECIDEDLY ENGLISH: THE DECORATED GOTHIC STYLE UNDER THE PLANTAGENETS. EDWARD I AND EDWARD II, 1272–1327

The reigns of the first two Edwards mark the period during which the English nation, with its strong central government, began to stand out against its continental peers, for by the beginning of the fourteenth century, England was the most united and internally peaceful nation in Europe. Life on the continent was querulous. Paris, the largest city in Europe, was a center of university intellectual activity but English lordship over territories in France reduced the otherwise substantial power of the Valois dynasty, which, from 1296 until 1305, found itself in conflict with Pope Boniface VIII and many French bishops. Eventually the French monarchy gained influence over the papacy that Boniface's successor, Clement V, moved his court to Avignon, a Church possession in France, where it remained until 1377. This move left Rome a backwater. The Holy Roman Empire was a confederation of states, largely German, often at war with one another, and contesting, often violently, against papal influence in the numerous city-states of Italy. Flanders was dominated, now by Burgundy, now by France or the Empire. In southern Italy, Byzantine and Norman forces divided control of the once-independent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. England, by comparison, was strong and secure.

Late Plantagenets: the character of the monarchs

Nicknamed "Edward Longshanks" for his height of 6 ft 2 in (1.88 m), Edward I (reigned 1272–1307) was born in 1239 at Westminster and was the first king to be reared in England. By the time he became king in 1272 (while on crusade) and was crowned at Westminster in 1274, Edward was an experienced warrior at home and abroad. He especially applied his talents to military campaigns in Wales and Scotland.[1] Edward consciously bolstered English nationalism. He consolidated English territory, customs, law, language, government, and facilitated the assimilation of disparate groups of Normans and Anglo-Saxons into the English people. Edward was also a generous patron of art and architecture – so much, in fact, that he shaped major developments in the English Gothic style. Under Edward I and his

Spanish wife, Eleanor of Castile, English architects shed the confines of the French style promoted by his father, Henry III, and became more inventive and individual. Edward continued some of the building programs his father had begun, and initiated building campaigns of his own, including a string of castles along the Welsh border; in fact, he sponsored more building than any king had since William the Conqueror.

Edward II (r. 1307–1327), born in 1284 at Caernarfon during his father's Welsh campaign, was the first Prince of Wales. He completed the conquest of Scotland, but lacked his father's vision for England. His reign was troubled by bad harvests, social unrest, and war. His frivolous behavior, along with favors granted to Piers Gaveston, whom Edward made Earl of Cornwall and who may have been his lover, as later chroniclers claimed, led to civil strife. Gaveston was murdered in 1312. In January 1322, after more misgovernment, Edward was deposed. This unprecedented event fractured the sanctity of kingship in England and left an expectation that future monarchs be held accountable. The following September Edward was murdered in the tower at Berkeley Castle and buried in nearby Gloucester Cathedral.

Origins of the Decorated style in English Gothic architecture

In the final phase of construction in Henry III's Westminster Abbey, the Decorated Gothic style evolved out of the Early Gothic experiments with larger windows and increased surface decoration. Some of the art in England followed the proclivity of French and Burgundian courts for richer materials and more elegance in style, especially in painting and decorative arts. However, by the late thirteenth century, English architecture, especially that involving timber construction, began to move in a distinctively independent direction. The autonomy of the Gothic style in England led to more daring experimentation and more creative results than contemporary art on the continent. Perhaps because of the fascination with the possibilities of the style, the Gothic would persist longest in England.

The stylistic shift, with its lighter construction and greater surface decoration, is most apparent in the larger windows filled with curving tracery. Windows and the individual panes increase in size, due in part to daring engineering, the more extensive and increasingly sophisticated use of flying buttresses to support the walls, and improved ironworks to support the glass. Large windows especially appear in the end walls: west façade, east end, and transept fronts. The stone tracery holding glass panes becomes lighter and more flowing as heavier iron bars, which are less visible than stone, assume more of the support. The color palette broadens as glassmaking techniques improve, although much glass continues to be imported from Flanders and designed into windows in England. In addition, inventive systems of articulated rib vaulting continue to develop and distinguish English Gothic architecture from its continental counterparts. Galleries diminish in height, sometimes reduced to balustrades, or disappear entirely. The lacy effects of the windows and ribs inspire increased surface decoration of compound and complex moldings, foliate designs, and sculpture.

The first stage of the Decorated Gothic style is called "Geometric." Windows typically have vertical molded stone mullions, or tracery, that support larger iron frames, which, in turn, hold the lead-encased panes of glass. The tracery, vertical in the lower registers, curves at the top. Geometrical shapes – circles, trefoils, and quatrefoils – that develop into increasingly light and complex forms fill the spaces between. Such windows were already apparent in the later phases of Henry III's decoration at Westminster Abbey and its chapter house.

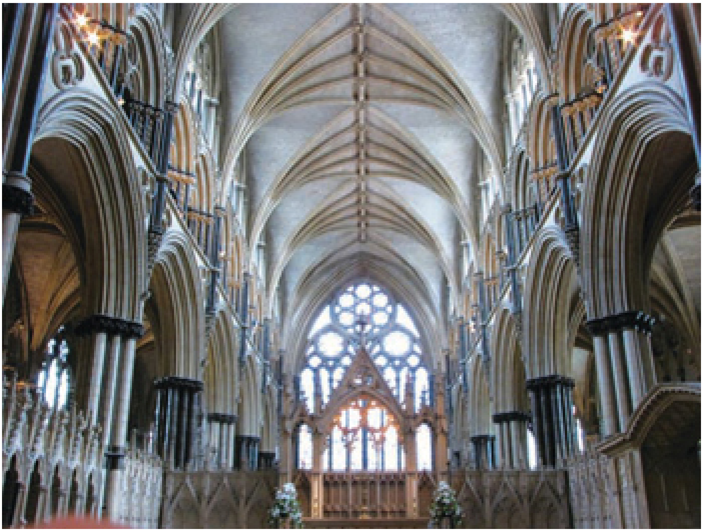


Fig. 4.1 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, Angel Choir, 1255–1280. Photograph: author

Around 1290, the ogee, or S-shaped, curve appears, softening the severe lines of the pointed arch. Geometric forms give way to intertwined patterns with floral motifs and intricate ogee arches, as well as lacy crockets (projecting leaf-like ornaments). At the same time, more elaborate patterns in the surface ornament and ribs in the groin vaults of ceilings develop. This phase of the Decorated Gothic style, called "Curvilinear," extends roughly from the decade following the death of Eleanor in 1290 until about mid-century.

Decorated Gothic architecture: the Geometric phase (*c.* 1250–1290)

With the onset of the Decorated Gothic style in England, architecture shifts decidedly away from continental models towards a distinctively English idiom. Moreover, the center of artistic activity decentralizes. The first manifestations appear not in London, but rather northeastward in Lincoln and later in York; in the West Country, the Early Decorated Style appears at Exeter and Bristol. In the south, it evolves from the Early Gothic in the chapter house at Salisbury. Besides additions to the interior space, several cathedrals add spires to towers during this period of innovative experimentation.

Lincoln Cathedral

Bishop Hugh of Avalon, who had initiated Gothic innovations at Lincoln Cathedral, including the “crazy vaulting” of the choir, also inspired the retrochoir, though posthumously. In 1220, 20 years after his death, he was canonized. The ensuing cult attracted pilgrims, whose movements crowded the cathedral. To make matters more pressing, in the late 1230s, after Bishop Grosseteste assumed his office at Lincoln (1235–1253), the crossing tower collapsed, taking part of St Hugh’s choir with it. Rebuilding began immediately. In 1255, cathedral authorities petitioned King Henry III to allow them to take down part of the extended town wall to enlarge the east end of the cathedral. Master builder Simon de Tresle razed Bishop Hugh’s chevet and supervised the extension to accommodate the saint’s tomb and the pilgrims’ traffic. On 6 October 1280, 56 years after Hugh had completed his Gothic choir, his remains were translated to the new space. This new retrochoir quickly became known as the “Angel Choir” after the sculpted angels that appear between the arches in the gallery (Fig. 4.1).

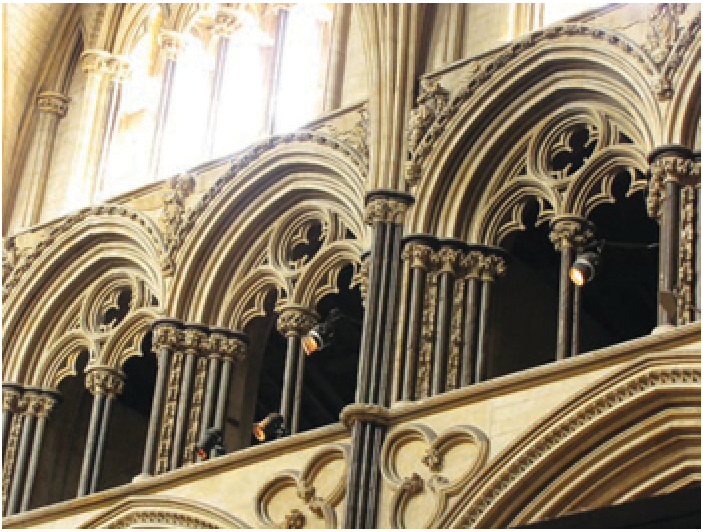


Fig. 4.2 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire, Angel Choir, detail of angels, 1255–1280. Photograph: author

The elaborate design of the elevation of the Angel Choir, with its intricate openwork and Purbeck trim, increases the interplay of light and color. Two double-arched openings with trefoil peaks crowned with single rosettes appear in each bay of the gallery. Columns trimmed in Purbeck support the arches. The clerestory contains a large four-lancet window with a pair of small rosettes to each side and topped by a large central rosette. The Norman oversailing support with its passageway continues to be a feature at Lincoln, although it disappears on the continent with the Early Gothic style, even before flying buttresses assumed support.

The famous sculpture that gives the Angel Choir its name appears in the triangular-shaped spaces above the columns of the gallery between the arches of the double arcade openings. Angel musicians sing and play a variety of instruments, perhaps in reference to the *Laudate* Psalms 148–150, which praise the Lord with song and instrumentation (Fig. 4.2). The program recounts the history of human salvation. Narrative scenes flank the outer sides of the arches. They begin with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and culminate in the Passion of Christ, where angels also hold the instruments of the passion. An angel representing St Michael holds a scale, which implies the Last Judgment. Serious as the program is, hidden whimsy appears, as often happens in manuscript illumination. The "Imp of Lincoln," a furry figure of fantasy with a freakish face and crossed legs, gleefully grins down on the viewers, reminding them of charming folklore. Legend states that when the devil let his charges out to play, the wind carried this little imp to Lincoln. After wreaking havoc in the cathedral, he sat atop this column to review his naughty deeds. At that moment, one of the angels turned him to stone.

The harmonious square-ended echelon design at Lincoln, a form borrowed from the Cistercians that appears often in England, diverges from the French-inspired rounded chevet prototypes, such as at Canterbury. At Lincoln, the windows span the entire width of the flat eastern wall, made possible in large part by the new, more extensive use of iron frames in the place of stone to support windowpanes. The less obtrusive iron supports also increase the delicacy of design and the amount of light admitted. The windows at the ends of the aisles have triple lancets and rosettes above. Lincoln's east window is a massive lancet 59 ft (18 m) high.

Exeter Cathedral

In 1258, Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter attended the consecration of Salisbury Cathedral, which is believed to have inspired him to rebuild the entire Norman cathedral at Exeter in the Gothic style, which was begun *c.* 1270 and finished in the 1360s. Exeter fully embraces the aesthetics of the Decorated Gothic style. The nave is 69 ft high (21 m) and extends for 300 ft (90 m), making it England's longest continuous Gothic vault. The influence of the retrochoir at Lincoln is especially evident in the vaulting at Exeter (Fig. 4.3), where 11 tiercerons from each pier extend upward to a central rib. This profusion of tiercerons camouflages the cells between the ribs and the evidence of the support system. Over 400 large, carved and painted bosses, some weighing a ton or more, join the ribs and tiercerons. Each boss stands alone and no overall theme pervades. The diamond-shaped supporting piers, which are covered with narrow vertical shafts, give the illusion of lightness, a sense that carries through in the elevation.

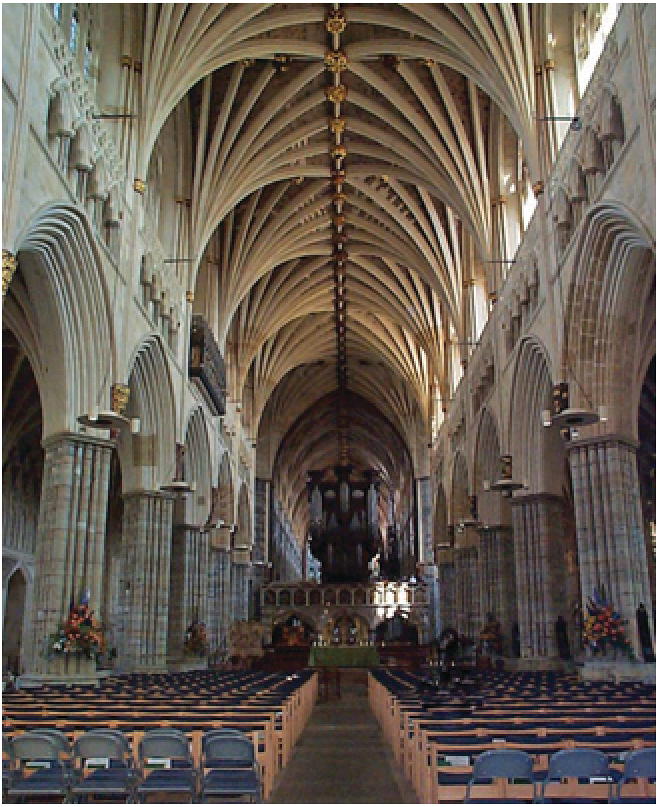


Fig. 4.3 Exeter Cathedral, Devon, interior view to east, 1270–1360. Photograph: courtesy of David Somers

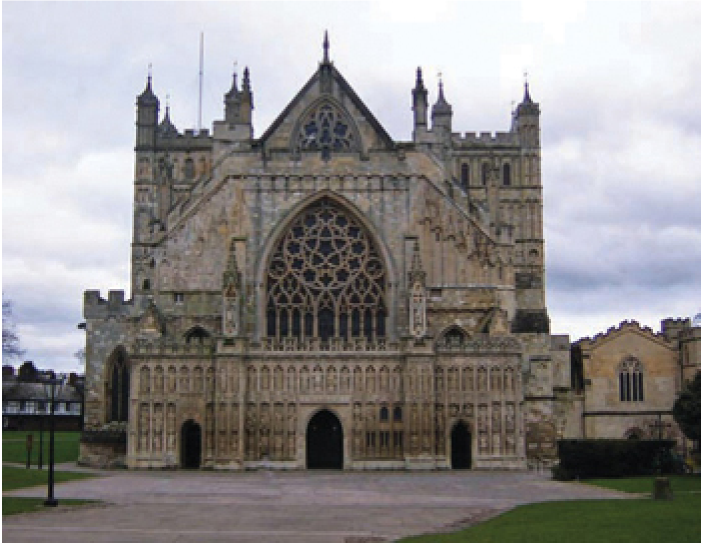


Fig. 4.4 Exeter Cathedral, Devon, west facade, 1270–1360. Photograph: author

The clerestory was heightened in the French manner, making Exeter among the first cathedrals in England to abandon the oversailing and passageway. The lancet-shaped windows consist of four lower lancets set into a lacy grid topped by multiple rosettes. The taller clerestory, combined with a higher arcade below, arcade below, reduces the gallery to a shallow blind, or windowless, arcade. This dark band increases the emphasis on the horizontal lines of the building.

The west façade of Exeter Cathedral (Fig. 4.4), built primarily between 1342 and 1360, consists of a three-tiered screen, much like Lincoln and Salisbury. Angels fill the lower tier, kings, probably Old Testament kings of Judah, fill the middle tier, and New Testament figures and saints stand above. The crowning glory is a large window with a design based on nine lancets of even height. Whereas at Lincoln, pairs of lancets form larger lancets, at Exeter, the lancets work in groups of four, with the inner and outer lancets forming mirror-images and a single lancet in the center. Above, a large circle holds a star-shaped pattern surrounded by a ring of twelve smaller medallions. Exeter is perhaps second only to Salisbury as the most stylistically consistent of English medieval cathedrals, albeit in the Decorated rather than Early Gothic style.

Salisbury: Chapter House

The design of Westminster Abbey and its chapter house, inspired by developments in France, established a new fashion for churches, cathedrals, and chapter houses throughout England. At Salisbury in particular, where the cathedral displays a remarkably uniform Early English style, a portal in Early English style leads from the southwest transept into the cloister to reveal a new vision. Beginning with the north walk, the cloister and the chapter house boast the new the structural techniques and the more open, lighter aesthetic of the Early Geometric phase of the Decorated Gothic, made possible through the use of bar tracery. Construction appears to have commenced around 1280 and ended around 1310.

In 1263, Bishop Walter de la Wyle allocated additional land for the octagonal chapter house and the cloister, the largest in area in England. The cloister consists of 190 ft (58 m) of squared walkway, 18 ft (5.5 m) wide. Originally each of the pointed arches in the arcade in the cloister was divided in half, then subdivided into four traceried lancets of equal height each with rosettes above (Fig. 4.5). The design is repeated in the blind arcade along the cloister walls. The design reflects the cloister at Westminster and the great east window at Lincoln.

The Chapter House at Salisbury (1263–1284), which stands in the traditional place of the center of the east side of the cloister, offers a clear example of the Geometrical Decorated style. The octagonal design resembles that of the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey of a decade earlier and is about the same size: 62 ft (19 m) in diameter (Fig. 4.6). Salisbury has a lower-pitched roofline and salient rather than flying buttresses. Again, rib vaults fan out from a single central column of stone, with eight small, engaged limestone columns that correspond to the ribs. Three equally spaced rings of Purbeck marble encircle the column. Charming carvings of small animals embellish the base. The broad arches of the windows completely span the space between the buttresses. The type of iron bar tracery that supports the panes of glass, influenced by the French Rayonnant style, also appears at Lincoln and at Westminster. The style of the windows, with four tall lancets of equal height topped by three rosettes, complements the design of the cloisters, but the lobes of the top rosette have increased from six to eight. With less stonework and more bar tracery, and with more patterned grisaille glass and less deep colors, the increased light seems to dissolve the walls. Around the lower portion of each of the seven walls, seven engaged columns of Purbeck support a blind arcade of pointed arches with scallops on the inside edges, which anticipates the curves of the later phase of the Decorated Gothic style.

The confident and sophisticated engineering of the Chapter House is complemented by the extensive program of sculpture that encircles the lower walls between the blind arcade and the windows. The work of an unknown master, this sublime program contains 64 frames depicting sequential stories from Genesis and Exodus, beginning with Adam and Eve. The frame showing Rebecca at the well, Joseph's labors for Laban, and Joseph wrestling with the angel face the entrance (Fig. 4.7). The series ends rather abruptly with Moses before the Burning Bush. The vestibule shows the personifications of the Vices and Virtues. These double figures, shown usually with the Virtue standing on the recumbent Vice, fit into hooded niches that surround each of the two doorways.[2]

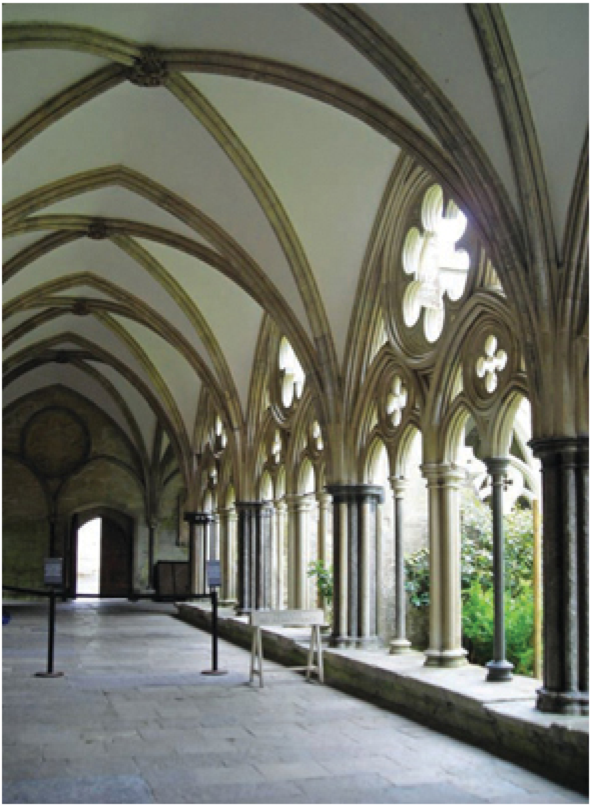


Fig. 4.5 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire, south walk of the cloister, 1263–1284. Photograph: author

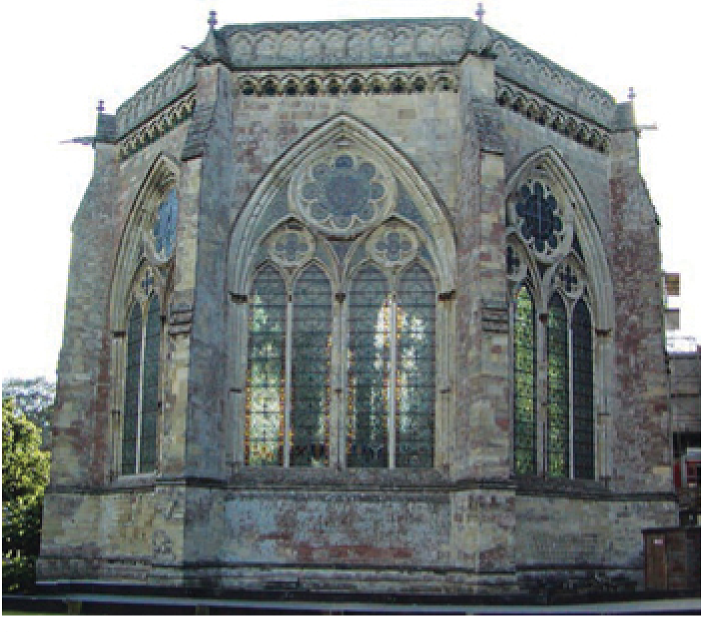


Fig. 4.6 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire, Chapter House, exterior, 1263–1284. Photograph:

author

York Minster: Chapter House

At York Minster, the octagonal chapter house (*c.* 1280–1291) represents a milestone in both the use of stained glass and in timber construction; the chapter house also bridges the transition to the later phase of the Decorated Style. Unlike most chapter houses, which stand in the center of the east wing of the south-facing cloister, at York, with no cloister, it attaches to a glazed passage off the east aisle of the north transept, which might indicate that the building was an afterthought, yet the south side lacks space for it. Like the exterior of parts of the cathedral completed by the 1250s, the walls, windows, and sturdy buttresses of the chapter house appear austere from the outside.

Each of the seven large windows in the chapter house fills the space between the angular, supporting corners, which point inward. The design consists of five lancets surmounted by rosettes. As with Salisbury, bar tracery is used in combination with grisaille glass. The gentle geometrical shapes and whimsical leaf patterns spewing from mouths of dragons below reflect the design of the Five Sisters Window in the north transept at York, installed in the 1250s. Unlike Salisbury, the new design of the “band windows” includes alternating vertical panes of patterned light grisaille and figurative colored glass. The result is the best of both worlds: increased light, yet with light always coming in from somewhere in the octagonal space, the colored light plays on the floor and wall surfaces like the ever changing patterns of a constantly rotating kaleidoscope.

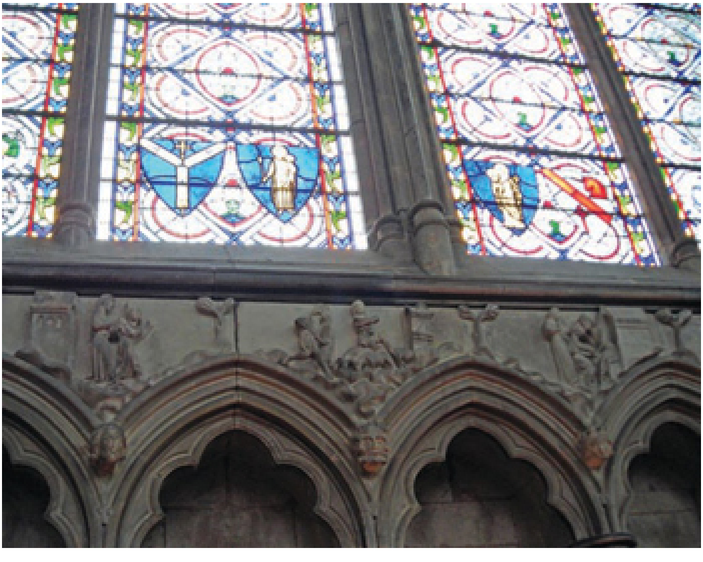


Fig. 4.7 Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, Wiltshire, interior of the Chapter House, Old Testament scenes: Rebecca at the Well, Joseph's Labors for Laban, and Joseph Wrestling with the Angel, stone relief sculpture, 1263–1284. Photograph: author

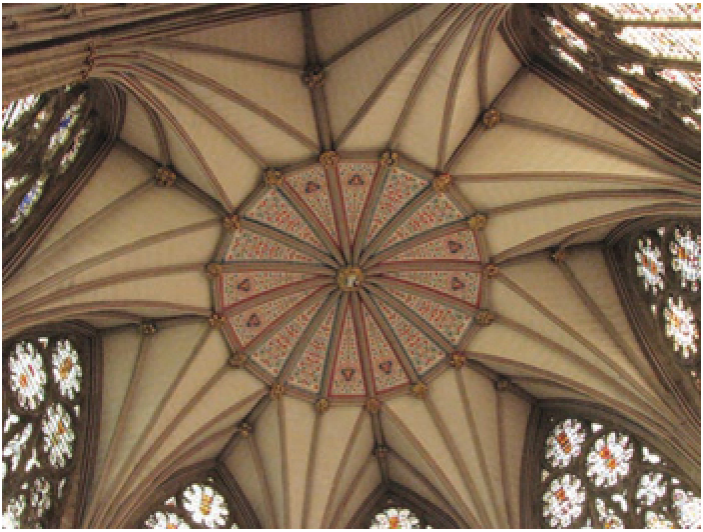


Fig. 4.8 York Minster, North Yorkshire, ceiling of the Chapter House, 1263–1284. Photograph: author

The interior, with its surprisingly delicate, even capricious and fanciful design, yields the greatest wonders (Fig. 4.8). Like contemporary octagonal chapter houses at Westminster, Salisbury, and Lincoln, the star-shaped vaults, with their alternating peaks and valleys, are of wood. The span, at 59 ft (18 m), is comparable to the others – Westminster is 3 ft (0.9 m) wider. However, unlike its predecessors, York Chapter House has no reinforcing central column. Instead, all of the support rests in the conical-shaped labyrinth of wooden beams supported by arches hidden above the ceiling making it a virtual Gothic dome. Such a span of unobstructed space represents a remarkable feat of engineering, one of the widest in Western Europe, and lays groundwork for future feats in timber construction, most notably the tower at Ely nearly a century later. The original colorful painting scheme complemented the window designs, with figures of saints, heraldry, and drolleries, now known only from written descriptions.[3] Below the windows, whimsical carved faces, including a ferocious boar, peer out from the stone canopies over the forty-four seats.

York Minster: nave

Successful design in the Chapter House may have inspired Archbishop John Romeyn (or Romanus) to build a Gothic nave at York Minster.

Certainly, the Gothic transepts would have dwarfed the Norman nave and its austerity would have contrasted with richness of the transepts and the Chapter House. In 1289, the archbishop razed the old nave, reportedly in poor condition, along with St Peter's School to the south. In 1291, construction of the new nave was begun, starting in the southeast; it was completed in 1350 (Fig. 4.9). The arcade and the clerestory rise to proportionately greater heights than earlier English Gothic churches, which reduces the gallery to a decorative blind triforium. The height from floor to top of the vault is 90 ft (27 m), high for an English cathedral. The builders encountered structural difficulties with the vaults, however, when they attempted to use stone to span an ambitious width of nearly 50 ft (15.2 m). These vaults, the widest in England, also exceed the spans of cathedrals in France. Thus, they turned to oak, the strongest wood available, and to Philip of Lincoln, a carpenter. Surface patterns remain important. Along the central ridge of the vaults, the primary ribs and tiercerons crisscross in a pattern with gilded and painted wooden bosses placed at the intersections. The tall, flush clerestory lancets, with circular patterns above to fill out a larger lancet shape, fill the space between the supports. Window treatment and decorative devices also indicate a familiarity with Westminster Abbey and Cologne Cathedral.[4] The French Rayonnant style, which Archbishop Romeyn would have seen during his years at the University in Paris, may also have inspired the lofty proportions. In addition to engineering feats, the new nave also gave York Minster a more uniform appearance throughout.

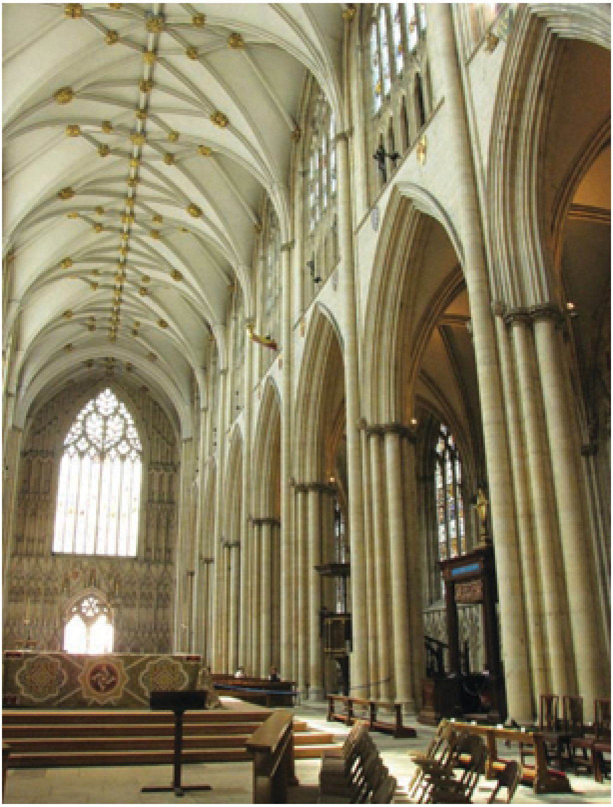


Fig. 4.9 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkshire, nave, view to west, 1291–1350. Photograph: author

Bristol Cathedral

The Curvilinear Decorated Gothic style also touched southwestern England, where St Augustine's Abbey at Bristol, now Bristol Cathedral, offers an interesting variation that pre-figures later phases of the Decorated Gothic (Fig. 4.10). In 1298, Abbot Edward Knowle began rebuilding the new cathedral to replace an earlier Norman building. The addition, complete *c.* 1330, included two aisles that form a squared ambulatory that encloses a central space, or presbytery, for the choir and the high altar. The choir is 69 ft (21 m) wide with vaults reaching 50 ft (15.2 m). The vaulting is reminiscent of Lincoln, although more graceful. Rather than having a rigid, continuous rib along the center, a quatrefoil pattern occurs at regular intervals. This addition introduced a new architectural form in England: a hall church, in which the ceilings of the nave and aisles are of equal height.[5] This type of church developed first *c.* 1162 at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers in France, a city patronized by Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Henry II of England. This hall church design, unlike France and later Germany, where it occurred frequently, remained unusual in England.

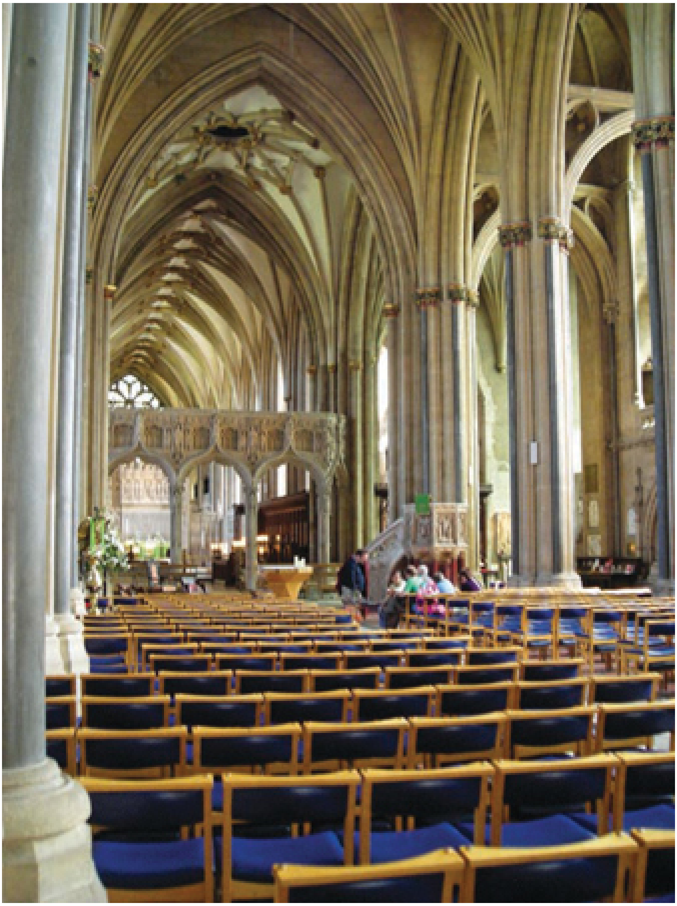


Fig. 4.10 Bristol Cathedral, Bristol, St Augustine's Abbey, nave, view to east with rood screen and south side aisle, 1298–1330. Photograph: author

To help carry the load of the vaults to the exterior salient buttresses, just below the springing of the arch of the aisle vault the architects added strainer arches – pointed stone arches with horizontal beams above. Similar larger strainer arches support towers in English churches, as at Salisbury and Wells, but Bristol charts a new course by building the first English hall church and by its early use of strainer arches throughout the aisles. The spatial innovations at Bristol serve as a precursor to the Perpendicular Style.

Decorated Gothic architecture: the Curvilinear phase (*c*. 1290–1350)

The defining event in the evolution of the Decorated Style from the

Geometric Phase to the Curvilinear Phase was the death in 1290 of Queen Eleanor and the subsequent series of magnificently decorated crosses along the route of her funeral cortège from Lincoln to Westminster. At each evening's resting place, her bereft husband built a memorial cross, a dozen in all. Three crosses remain: Waltham Cross (Hertfordshire), Geddington, and Hardingstone (both Northamptonshire). The cross within the grounds of Lincoln Castle retains only its badly worn lower portion. Today in the heart of London, a rail and underground station occupies the site of the final cross, with the nearby bustling street retaining the name of Charing Cross Road.

The large, elaborate Eleanor Crosses exhibited crockets, floral motifs, and intricate ogee arcs, which defines the Curvilinear Phase of the Decorated Gothic. The geometric lines yield to increasingly curved contours; however, the ogee curve quickly inspires graceful floral motifs and other elaborate sinuous designs in window patterns and architectural motifs. The sinuous form of the ogee appears to dissolve the lines of support, especially when used in the stone tracery of large windows that fill the facades and east walls of choirs, presbyteries, and Lady Chapels. Intricate surface decoration, which appears three-dimensional, gains emphasis. The new phase of the Decorated Gothic continues through the reign of Edward II and into the reign of Edward III, who died in 1377.

Although inspired by the Eleanor Crosses, the Curvilinear Phase of the Decorated Gothic Style reflects technological innovations begun in France. Increasingly sophisticated systems of flying buttresses give greater external support, which allows for lighter walls and larger windows. In England, architectural details and windows evolve in a more ornate and imaginative direction, with lighter stone supports, carved stone details, foliated capitals, and increasingly naturalistic statuary. Elaborate windows, especially those over principal doorways, become the focal point of a church or cathedral. The stonework supports within the windows gradually become thinner, as developments in metallurgy allowed builders to increase the network of iron frames to hold the leaded glass. The iron bars, fixed into the stone at regular intervals, give the windows an appearance of being arranged in stories. Advances in glassmaking techniques make larger pieces of glass possible, thus reducing the amount of leading. For large, compound windows, individual tall lancets on the lower level are only 1–2 ft wide (0.30–0.6 m). For the upper parts that join the lancets into one large window, builders develop narrower iron supports capable of bending into the graceful ogees, more complexly curved than stone might allow. These new experiments in window treatment appear in churches and cathedrals throughout England. Among the most innovative implementations of the Curvilinear Style occur Wells and Ely.

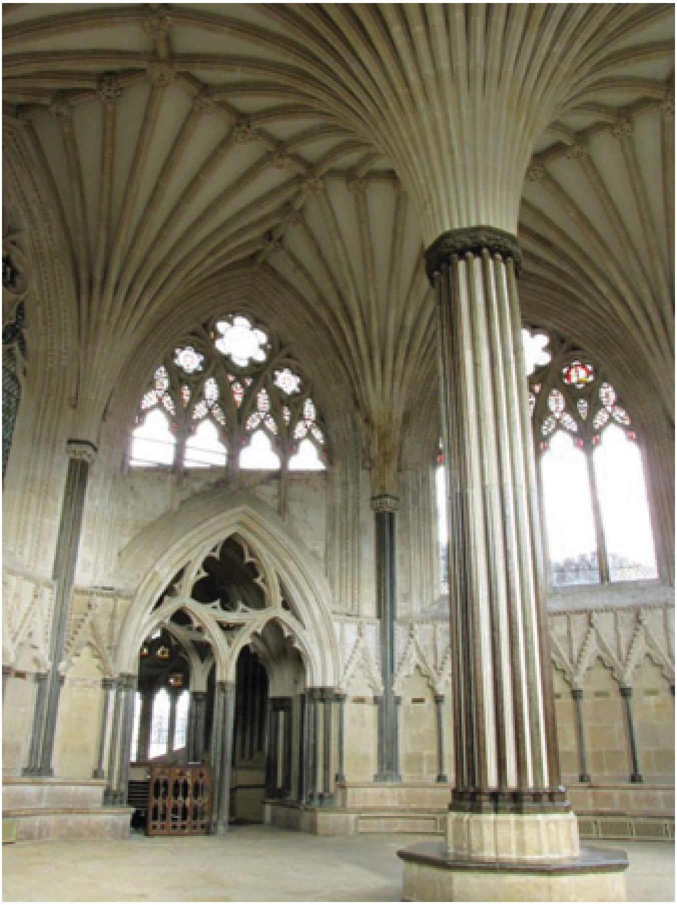


Fig. 4.11 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, Chapter House, interior, 1286–1306. Photograph: author

Wells Cathedral: Chapter House

The Chapter House at Wells offers one of the most sublime and practical solutions of any English cathedral (Fig. 4.11). Whereas most Chapter Houses sit along the cloister at ground level, this one sits over an undercroft – unique among Chapter Houses – on the northeast side of the cathedral, just beyond the transept. The undercroft was complete by 1266, soon after the west façade was finished. It never served as a crypt, as the high water table would have prevented burial, but was used as a "strong room," or for storage. From the inside of the cathedral, the Chapter House is reached through a modest arched wooden door that opens onto a wide and now heavily worn staircase, which dates from 1265–1280. The Chapter House itself was built from 1286 to 1306 and bridges the transition from the Geometric into the Curvilinear Gothic. In the fifteenth century, the stairs were extended upwards to join an arched entrance to a bridge that reaches over the street, which gave the monks dry and private passage to the gate tower and into lodging in the Vicar's Close.

Inside the Chapter House, Purbeck columns support the arches, with engaged Purbeck columns on the jambs. The Chapter House is the typical octagonal shape with a central column encircled with engaged columns of Purbeck. A blind arcade of seven Purbeck columns with limestone trefoil arches and pointed tops decorate the lower walls. The windows consist of four lancets topped by trefoil arches and at the top center, a six-pedaled floral design. Sparingly used colored glass appears only in the upper parts of the windows. Thus, the sun streams strongly from the east providing the much needed light to the staircase and the morning meetings of the dean and the chapter, and to heighten the dramatic contrast between the dark Purbeck and the white limestone.

Wells Cathedral: interior innovations and the Scissors Arch

Bishop John Drokensford (1309–1329) initiated embellishments to Wells Cathedral, beginning with heightening the central tower to 160 ft (48.7 m). Within a decade, the foundation below the crossing began to settle. In 1338, resourceful builders devised four massive crossed-arch masonry braces, one joining each pair of piers below the crossing tower, called "scissor arches," to reinforce the support for the tower. The engineering is ingenious; the effect is sublime. The arches transform a spare Early Gothic nave into a poetic, yet still majestic, interplay of light, line, and abstract silhouettes (Fig. 4.12). Some have attributed the distinctive shape to the X-shaped cross of St Andrew, the saint to whom the cathedral is dedicated.[6] Regardless of the source of inspiration, the solution illustrates the English gift for brilliant engineering and meeting a challenge with improvisation.

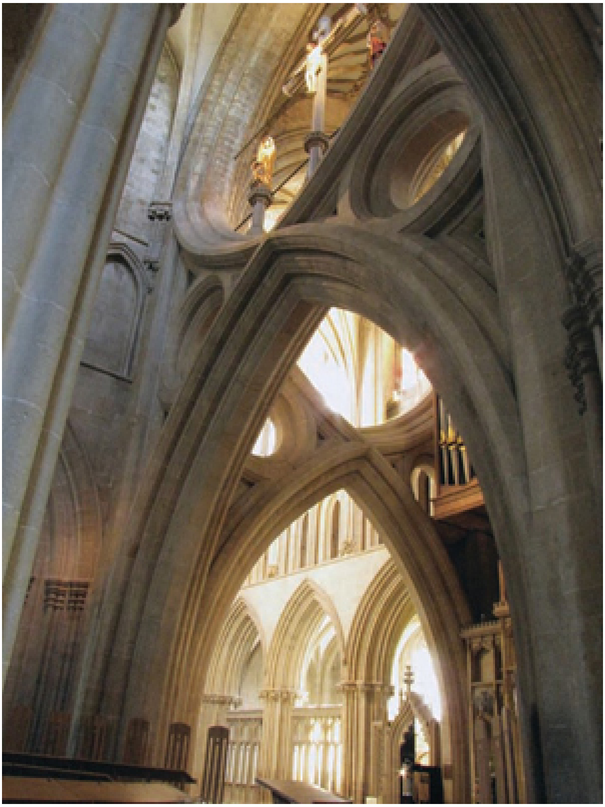


Fig. 4.12 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, nave, crossing with scissor arches supporting central tower, 1338–1348. Photograph: author

Ely Cathedral: Lady Chapel

Remarkable engineering solutions of the transitional period from the Late Decorated Gothic to the Perpendicular style extend beyond Wells. Innovations that are daring yet transcendent occur at Ely Cathedral in the Lady Chapel, the western choir, and the octagon tower over the crossing. The first project of the fourteenth century building campaign at Ely is the Lady Chapel (1321–1351). Unlike most English Lady Chapels, that at Ely is not a retrochoir, but a separate building. It lies off the northeast corner of the north transept and runs parallel to the cathedral (Figs 4.13 and 4.14). The building pushes the limits of the Decorated Style, with its wide, aisleless nave and massive windows with the large panes of glass. The chapel, which measures 99.5 × 46.5 ft (30.4 × 14.2 m), is almost half as wide as it is long. The vaults, the widest single-span stone vaults in England, compete with contemporary French feats. The span exceeds the 40 ft (14.2 m) width of the nave of Amiens Cathedral, and rivals the 48 ft (14.7 m) span at Reims, both concurrently underway. The complex plan of the vault features multiple tiercerons rising from corbels between each window to form a geometric web in the vaults with decorated bosses at the joinings. No prescribed program appears to govern the choice of subjects. Biblical characters, such as Adam and Eve, appear. A Green Man gazes down, a favorite subject in English decorative sculpture, whose origins rest in pre-Christian times. With an eerie, toothy grin, he leers through gilded leaves that grow from his ears and the corners of his mouth.

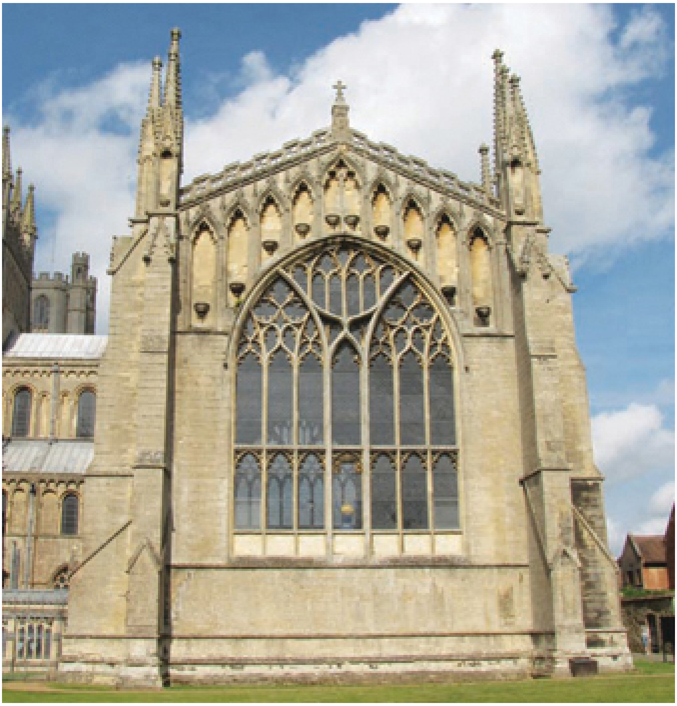


Fig. 4.13 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, Lady Chapel, exterior of east end, 1321–1351. Photograph: author

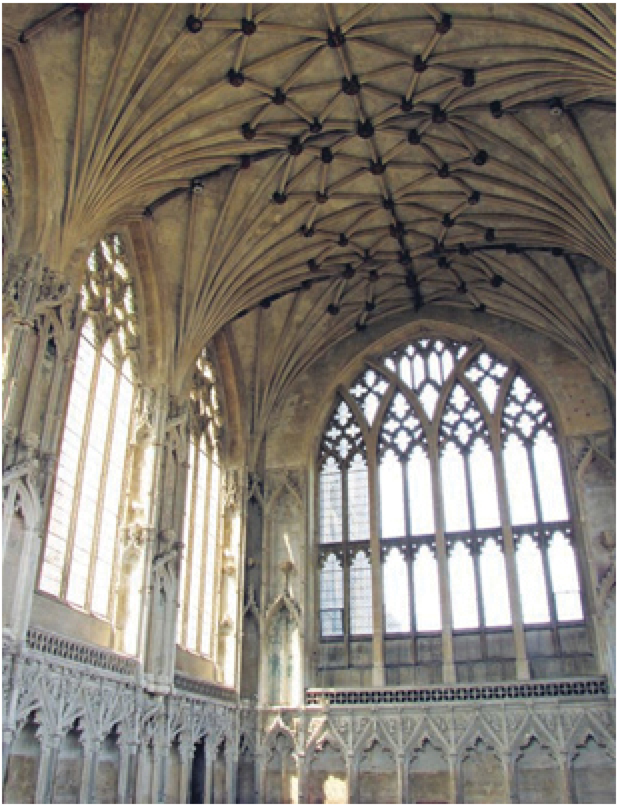


Fig. 4.14 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, Lady Chapel, interior, view to west, 1321–1351. Photograph: author

To soften the vast space, a painted statue once stood in every niche – over 100 in all. None survives. Painted relief sculpture also adorned spaces above the niches. Of the figures that remain, most are defaced; that is, the faces have been knocked off. Remarkably naturalistic foliate carving, typical of English embellishment between 1250 and 1350, does survive, especially in two tympana of the wall arcade.

Large four-light windows, one in each bay of the five-bay chapel, fill the space between the salient buttresses outside. At either end, larger windows, seven-lights at the east end and eight-lights at the west, increase the illumination and provide interesting surface patterns. The subtle stone tracery, though curved, has become simplified, foreshadowing the accomplishments of the Perpendicular Style to come. Today the chapel, stripped of much of its sculpture, appears stark and harshly over-lit with clear glass where richly colored stained glass once reigned. With such large windows and a wide, uninterrupted nave, earthly light was transformed into something unearthly and mystical, as a kaleidoscope of soft colored light danced on the walls, changing as the sun shifted position.

Ely Cathedral: octagonal tower

Another under-sung but spectacular feat of engineering at Ely is the unique octagonal crossing tower, the origins of which lie in an ingenious solution to a calamity. Early on 13 February 1322, the massive bells in the Norman tower over the crossing sounded their last ring for matins prayers. Shortly after Matins, the tower collapsed, generating a noise so loud the monks thought an earthquake had occurred. The four massive piers supporting the tower imploded, bringing down several large bells, a clock, the vaults around the tower, and all but the two easternmost bays of the presbytery. Miraculously, no one was killed. The gaping hole, therefore, was much larger than the tower opening had been. Moreover, since the earth below the narrow foundation for the four-piers had failed to support the previous tower, the monks realized that the new support would require a broader configuration to diffuse the load of a new crossing tower with heavy bells.

Alan of Walsingham, a talented monk at the cathedral, supervised reconstruction of the walls. Builders removed the remains of the original supporting piers and enlarged next four pairs of piers closest to the crossing of the transepts, presbytery, and nave. John of Ramsey led the masons as they built four new walls at roughly 45° angles to the piers, thereby joining the west side of the transepts to the nave and the east side of the transepts to the presbytery. Instead of the usual cross-shaped crossing, the result was a slightly irregular octagon 74 ft (23 m) wide with eight supporting piers – the symbolic numerology of eternity. The new walls, filled with large windows spanning the gallery and part of the clerestory levels, alternate with the arched openings of the nave, transepts, and presbytery to create a rhythmic interplay of open and closed space. The stonework of the outer octagon and flying buttresses join from adjacent transept walls, much like those supporting the tower at Salisbury. Construction of the walls took about 6 years, but it needed a roof.

In 1328, William Hurley, master carpenter to Edward III (1322–1334), was fetched to solve the roofing dilemma. Since such a large span was impossible to vault in stone, Hurley, probably looking to Chapter House designs and systems for supporting chimney louvers in the roofs of great halls, ingeniously solved the problem. He designed an angled partial roof into the center of which he suspended a smaller wooden octagonal lantern tower. The support for the lower outer roof consists of a complex series of concealed projecting beams that rest on the masonry piers and walls behind the tiercerons. Shorter bracket beams join in triangular-shaped formation for stability. The octagonal outer dome rises 142 ft (43 m) from the floor to the center of the vault. The revolutionary structural support anticipates cantilevered hammerbeam construction (Fig. 4.15). The wooden lantern, or inner tower, rises another 30 feet (9.1m) above the dome, bringing the external height to 172 ft (52 m).

The octagonal skeletal framework for the lantern tower is formed by the eight long exterior beams, placed upright. Eight more beams are positioned at right-angles like massive buttresses. All exterior wooden surfaces are encased in lead, making the structure an exotic, glistening sight. The eight primary beams are literally trunks of oak trees, each 63 × 3 ft (21.9 × 0.9 m). A maze of horizontal radial spokes and upright supports, fastened with mortise and tenon joints, join the outer and inner cores of the tower. Each beam is numbered, which indicates that the whole tower structure was probably constructed on the ground first – perhaps on the lawn behind the cathedral – then dismantled, hoisted up with the aid of the crane that cathedral documents mentioned, and reassembled inside.

Eight windows fill the space between the upright beams. Each window consists of four lancets topped with elaborate, diamond-inspired patterns in the tracery. Tiercerons forming an eight-pointed star pattern join the two octagons. The ceiling of the tower repeats the star pattern, but it is painted and on a half-turn rotation from the pattern of the outer star, creating a dizzying kaleidoscopic effect from the floor. John of Burwell (a village near Ely) carved the central boss of the lantern, which features an over life-size, half-length figure of Christ in Glory encircled by clouds. His right hand is raised in blessing, while his left points to the wound in his side. Christ in Glory implies the promise of eternal life and therefore is the fitting culmination to the heavenly metaphor of dome imagery.

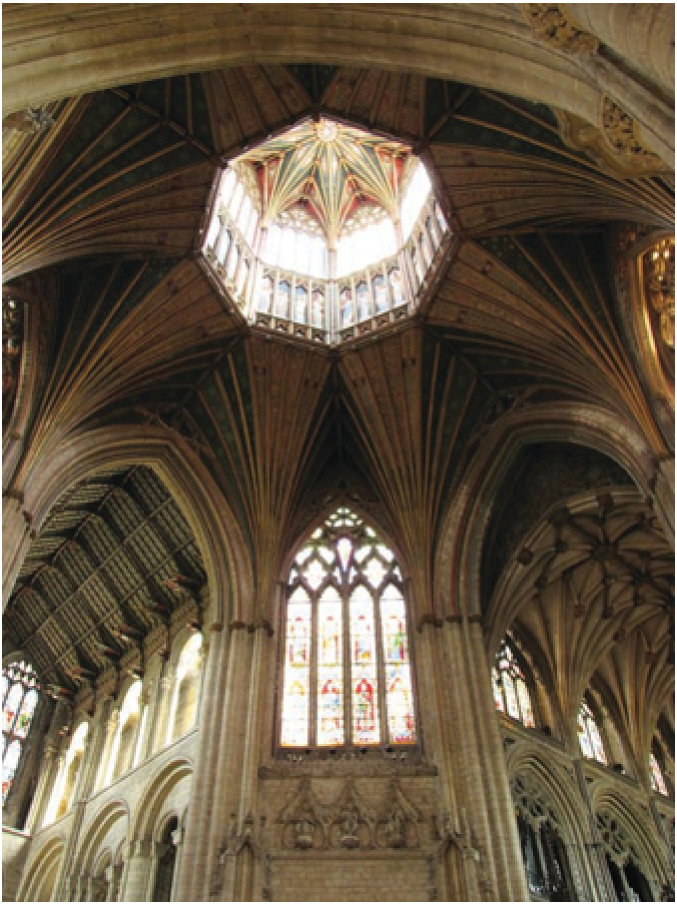


Fig. 4.15 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, Octagon Tower, nave interior, 1328–1334. Photograph: author

This tower, like its Norman predecessor, once housed large bells, removed later for structural safety; some of them now hang in the western tower. During the nineteenth-century restoration, four parallel rope marks were found on a vertical beam on the south side. They lined up with the eastern pier forming the arch in the south transept, which also bore the remains of the holes for the two pegs to which the idle bell ropes were once secured.[7]

The whole structure, made up of 400 (US) tons (363 mt?; 907 kg) of timber, lead, and glass, is not only spectacularly beautiful, but also is one the greatest feats of English timber construction and engineering – or timber construction anywhere in Europe, for that matter. Whereas Italian builders, like the English builders, sought to cover wide spaces without intervening supports, each tackled the problem differently, and the English accomplished their impressive feats first. Italian engineering ingenuity produced marvelous domes, usually of masonry;

the English minds, accustomed to shipbuilding and great halls, focused their engineering efforts on timber frame construction. Still wider spans, of masonry rather than timber, had been achieved on the Roman Pantheon of *c*. 126 AD, which is (142 ft in diameter (43.3 m), and later at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople 537 AD, which is 102 ft in diameter (31 m), and by Byzantine and Islamic builders, but no one in Europe exceeded Hurley at Ely in covering such a wide space without intervening supports until the early 1400s, when Brunelleschi finished his great brick dome in Florence, which spans 140 ft (42.7 m) and rises 370 ft (112.8 m) above the pavement.[8]

Innovative Cathedral towers and spires

The English love of towers and gift with engineering in wood emerges in crossing towers, often topped with soaring spires supported by complex skeletons of timber. The French ceased to build towers in order to to reduce the weight of the roof and to permit a higher nave; the Italians rarely employed them. The English embraced crossing towers and spires, which remain a hallmark of English churches. Builders of towers and spires at London, Lincoln, and Salisbury achieved some of the most spectacular engineering feats of the entire medieval period. The ensuing plague (1348), however, delayed, and even halted many other building campaigns.

London and Lincoln: towers and spires

Whereas the previously discussed towers at Wells and Ely stand today, thanks to ingenious engineering, others were not so fortunate. The soaring spire of St Paul’s Cathedral in London, which was in place by 1221, can be seen in the seventeenth-century engravings of London by Bohemian artist Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677). St Paul’s, high atop Ludgate Hill, boasted a 260 ft (79.2 m) crossing tower topped by a timber and lead spire of 208 ft (63.4 m), making it nearly 468 ft tall (142.6 m). It was not faulty engineering, however, but the Great Fire of 1666 that swept away this landmark in London.

In the late 1230s at Lincoln, the crossing tower collapsed, recalling similar tragedy and good fortune at Ely. Once again, a nighttime collapse averted deaths. Rebuilding continued in stages for over a century, with perhaps St Paul’s in London serving as inspiration. The lower tower of the 1240s has latticework decoration, similar to that on the west façade. Within the tower, the floret pattern of the ribs is a variation on the star-diamond vaulting pattern of the nave. By 1311, the central tower reached 230 ft (70 m). Between 1370 and 1400, the addition of lead-covered wooden spires to the crossing tower as well as the two western towers nearly doubled the height of each, making the central tower a soaring 525 ft (160 m) – the tallest structure in the world, taller than the 481 ft (146.6 m) great pyramid of Giza, until a storm took it down in 1548.[9] The height was not exceeded until the 1880s, with the 555 ft (169.2 m) Washington Monument and the 986 ft (301 m) iron-frame Eiffel Tower.

Salisbury Cathedral: tower and spire

Between 1310 and 1333, concurrent with the building of the crossing tower at Wells, the ingenious Master Richard of Farleigh built the tall lantern tower and spire at Salisbury. Inside the cathedral, the base of the tower, covered with a web of decorative ribs, gives no clue to what stands above. Support comes from beams supported by arches that span the transepts at the crossing, along with large double arches hidden in the gallery bays of the nave, choir, and transepts closest to the crossing. In addition, double-armed flying buttresses, each arm extending from a transept wall close to the tower to join at a ninety-degree angle and drop to a single base, support the four corners of the tower from the outside (Fig. 4.16). The circular substructure of the spire is made of wooden cones and triangles stacked along a central core and covered outside with wood and lead. The four-sided, two-story tower, with pairs of pinnacles at the corners and a gable in the center of each face, leads the eye upward to the pointed octagonal spire, which extends the height to 404 ft (121.9 m). Overall the design is remarkably unified and distinctively English. Of the noteworthy English towers with spires, only Salisbury remains. It still dominates the countryside for miles, as painter John Constable romantically recorded on multiple occasions, but the engineering behind it is seldom touted.

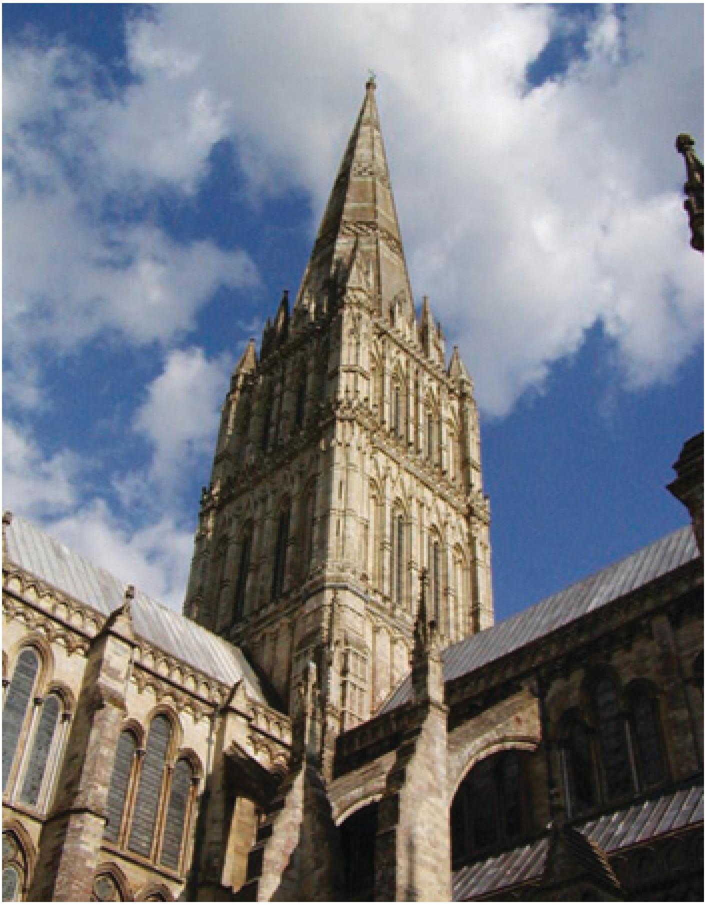


Fig. 4.16 Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire, exterior with crossing tower and spire, 1310–1333. Photograph: author

Stained glass windows

Stained glass windows continued to be an important part of church decoration, although little English medieval glass survives. Although some windows consisted of single figures, most thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English windows consist of multiple scenes, telling a story in the manner of the earlier windows at Canterbury. Some of the finest windows from this period to survive are in the cathedrals of York Minster and Wells.

York Minster

The City of York boasts the country's largest concentration of medieval glass, with most at York Minster. The windows of the nave show many innovations. The discovery of new chemical combinations to add to the molten glass increased the range of colors. The addition of silver oxide increased the range of yellows, from a pale, buttery color to deep amber, and decreased the reliance on bright red and blue. The liquid solution could also be applied as a stain to the exterior surface of white glass, which saved the tedious task of cutting and inserting colored glass, held in by lead. The stain technique could be used to color hair, beards, and decorative elements. This innovative use of yellow occurs first in England at York Minster in Peter de Dene's window of 1307–1308, which abuts the north transept. A strong and frequent use of yellow also appears in the nearby window honoring Richard Tunnoc (d. 1330), bell-founder, goldsmith, and Mayor of York (Fig. 4.17). The window simultaneously commemorates St William, a saint of local veneration and his own profession of bell-founding; thus, brilliant yellow bells abound in narrative scenes, especially in the borders. Greens and yellows appear in the Jesse Window in the south aisle (1310), an abbreviated but more monumental version of the earlier Jesse Window at Canterbury. Artisans also developed flashed glass, in which one color is fused over another, increasing the palette to include shades of pinks and pale greens.

One of the most unusual windows is the Pilgrimage Window of *c.* 1325, which also contains varying shades of yellow. While the upper portions contain serious religious scenes, including the Crucifixion of Christ and St Peter flanked by two pilgrims, the borders contain comical vignettes of squirrels and monkeys engaged in *babewyeire,* or "baboonery", where animals ape human activities. The vertical borders contain monkeys and squirrels with flasks of urine, which imitates the duties of physicians. Other stories include the fable of the cock and the goose-stealing Reynard the Fox, a hunt, and a parody of the funeral of the Virgin Mary. Such amusing, even irreverent, caricatures are more often found in the drolleries in the borders of manuscript illuminations, bosses, and misericords. The English seldom miss an opportunity for expressions of droll humor.

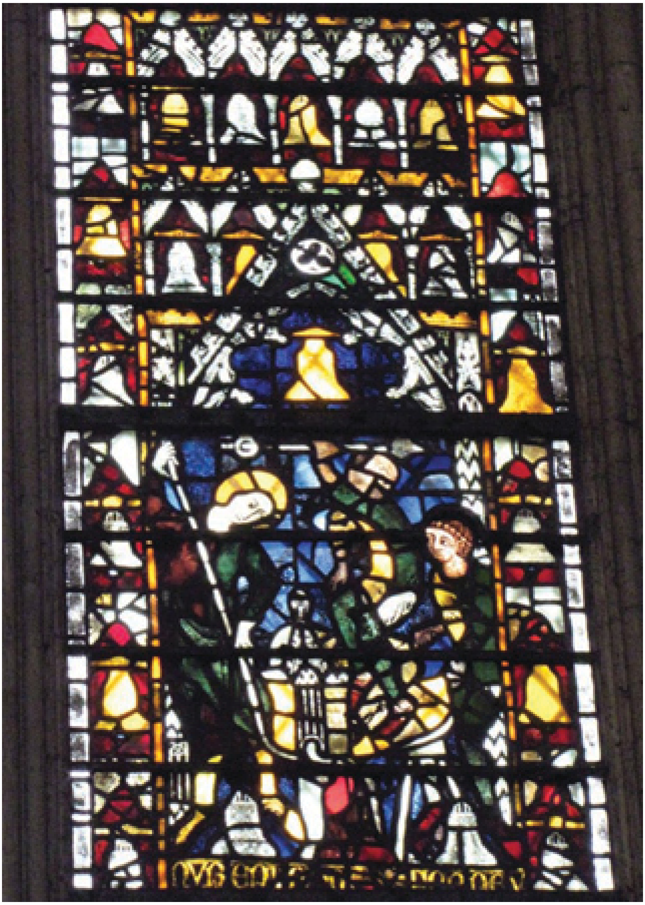


Fig. 4.17 York Minster Cathedral, York, North Yorkshire, stained glass, north aisle, Bell Founder's Window honoring bell founder Richard Tunnoc, detail, c. *1335. Photograph: author*

The west façade of York Minster was begun *c*. 1291 with the early phase of construction in the nave and is relatively austere; the more decorative upper portion dates to the second phase of work in the nave, which began in 1330 (Fig. 4.18). The exquisite window (*c*. 1338), which fills the full width of the nave, is the crowning glory of the façade and represents the full development of large west windows, characteristic of the North Country, as first seen at Ripon (Fig. 4.19). The lower portion at York contains eight narrow lancets with notched tops crowned by an elaborate upper portion with foliate tracery. A central support rises unnoticeably from the center of the bottom through foliate casings to the point of the arch at the top. At the spring of the arch, the tracery branches into heart-shaped patterns – hence the nickname, the Heart of Yorkshire. The lancets contain mostly white glass with red and yellow as the predominate colors.

Three rows of figures stand in canopied niches, much like the sculptural niches outside. The lowest level contains eight noted bishops of York. The center row features the twelve apostles squeezed into eight frames, with St Paul standing in for St Matthias, the apostle who assumed the place of Judas. The top row contains five of the seven joys of Mary: the Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension, and, at the top of the two center lancets, the Coronation of the Virgin, with Christ to her left. Otherwise, the panels contain fanciful architectural and foliate designs.[10] The elaborate curvilinear tracery of such windows becomes a hallmark of the Decorated Style. In addition to spreading throughout England, the style crossed the channel to France, where, in an infrequent instance of English architecture inspiring the French, it influenced the late Flamboyant style at places such as St Urbain at Troyes and the cathedral at Rouen.

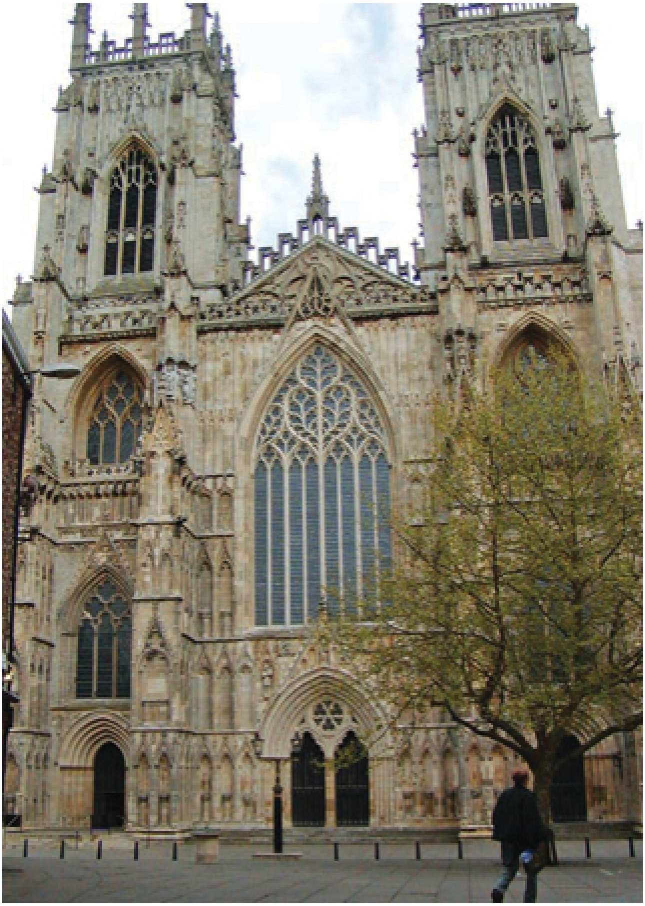


Fig. 4.18 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkshire, west façade, exterior, 1330–1338. Photograph: author

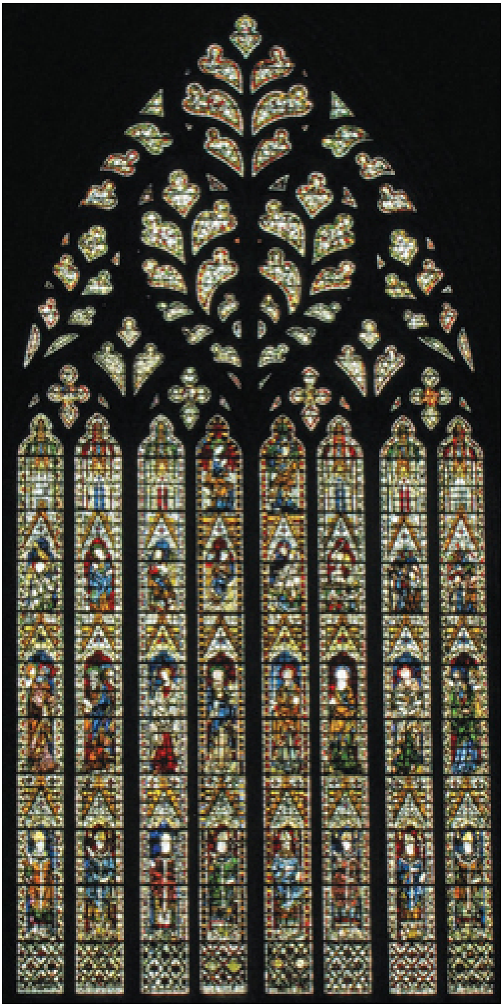


Fig. 4.19 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkhire, west façade, Heart of Yorkshire Window, view from interior, 1330–38. Photograph: author

Wells Cathedral

The east end of Wells Cathedral, rebuilt between 1320 and 1340, contains the most spectacular window of the Decorated Gothic style and another instance of the popular theme of the Tree of Jesse (Fig. 4.20). The window is composed of seven lancet-shaped windows, with the three in the center taller than the pairs on each side. The top has smaller six-lobed and diamond shaped panels. The color includes significant silver stain, with the palette moving away from the more common deep red and cobalt blue to brilliant shades of yellow with light greens and white. Many panels retain the subtle painting in the faces, drapery, background patterns, which largely consist of grape vines and crowns. In the center lancet, Jesse reclines at the bottom center; above, Mary holds the Christ Child. At the top, Christ crucified on a cross of brilliant, life-giving green gives hope for everlasting life. David, in the center of the lancet to the right of Mary, is easily identified by his crown and harp; Solomon, to her left, holds a temple. The even rows of figures throughout the lancets, identified by inscriptions and encircled by supple branches to soften, yet unify, the composition, echo the statuary on the west façade. Moreover, the clerestory windows of the choir, which also contain large standing figures, survive virtually intact.[11] Overall the late Decorated Gothic windows show a broader palette of colors and an increased delicacy in execution, with increasingly larger compositions.

Sculptural embellishments

Rich sculptural programs once complemented the splendid stained glass windows of English cathedrals. Some is lost to time, but more is lost to acts by zealous reformers during the Dissolution and the Civil War. In the Lady Chapel at Ely, for example, empty niches once boasted full length figures of saints, all brilliantly painted. Some canopies over the niches have remnants of relief sculpture, while others retain decapitated figure fragments, mere shadows of the former glory.

On the other hand, high in the vaults, roof bosses of stone and wood usually escaped harm. Some of the carving of these bosses took place in the workshop. Finishing, however, occurred *in sitù*, with the paint-splattered craftsmen straining their necks on a scaffold overhead to refine, paint, and gild the stone. The spaces between the ribs, often called webs, are then filled in with stone, brick, or wood. Bosses appear on the continent, but they are small and seldom sculpted; in fact Francophile rumors claim that the English used bosses to cover up less refined stone joinings! Regardless, the English once again take advantage of a surface to decorate and let their imaginations soar. Boss decoration begins with flowers and leaves, then faces, with Green Men peeking through the foliage. The bosses gradually increase in size, and with multiple branches of tiercerons in Decorated Gothic vaulting, they increase in number; these changes bring hybrid figures, griffins, and dragons. Perhaps the most interesting and abundant program of bosses appears at Norwich Cathedral.

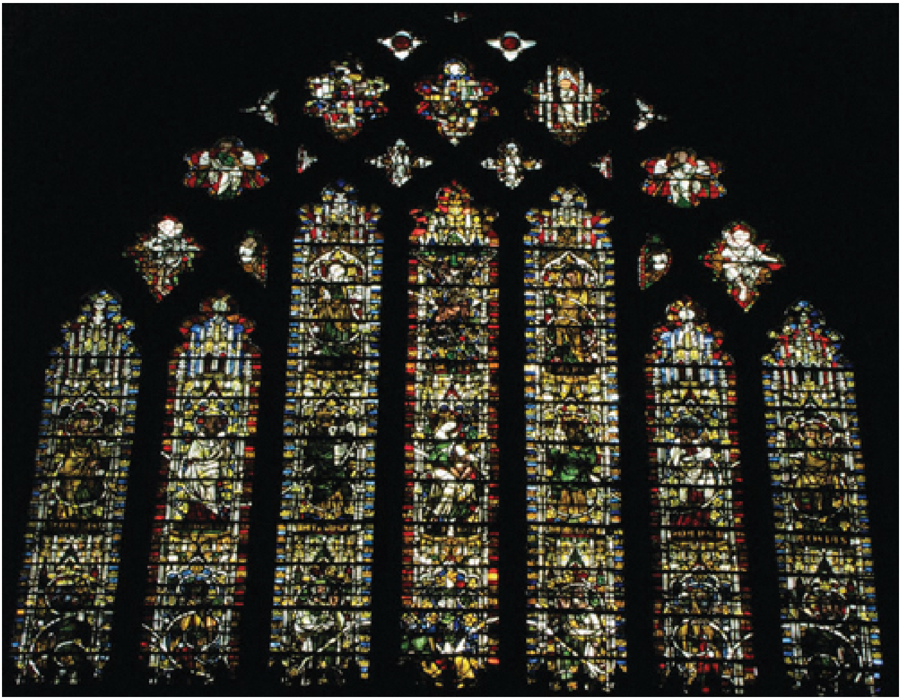


Fig. 4.20 Wells Cathedral, Wells, Somerset, east end, stained glass, Tree of Jesse Window, 1320–1340. Photograph: author

Bosses at Norwich Cathedral

Norwich Cathedral in East Anglia (Norfolk) boasts imaginative carved, painted, and gilded bosses – perhaps the best and most innovative in England – throughout the cathedral complex. Riots of 1272, a result of an interdict placed on the town by the bishop, incited the townspeople to set fire to the cathedral complex. The damage subsequently lead to a huge rebuilding campaign. Construction in the cloister began in 1297 and ended around 1350. William Ramsey, one of a local family of masons that had worked on the cathedral for several generations, may have helped develop the lacy quatrefoils in the tracery that appear first in the arched openings facing the inside of the cloister. The changes in the tracery design that would evolve at Norwich gives the most visible evidence of the time it took to complete the rebuilding. However, the vaulting pattern, which looks much like the choir at Lincoln, remains fairly consistent. The innovations spread afar. Ramsey goes from Norwich to London to oversee the completion of St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, where he uses similar tracery patterns.[12]

In addition to innovative tracery, for the first time at Norwich, the bosses evolve from decoration into biblical narrative, instigating the tradition of sequential narrative roof bosses that date to 1330–1430. Perhaps Ramsey introduced this innovation as well. A carver, Simon Hue, was mentioned by name in 1326–1327. The ribs of the vaults, primarily made from stone imported from Caen, spread out in a series of star-like patterns, with large sculpted bosses placed along the central spine at the intersection of a tierceron. The groups of bosses often form narrative vignettes, with the most important scene in the center, and supporting scenes along the sides. Subjects range from Green Men to the history of human salvation, each told with both pathos and humor. The designs suggest the influence of manuscript illuminations, especially illuminations of the Apocalypse. In fact, in the 1340s, the cathedral acquired an Apocalypse manuscript.

The earliest bosses, begun around 1330, appear alongside Geometric style arched openings in the East Walk of the cloister, which measures 180 ft square (55 m). Compositions cleverly fit into circular formats. The south end holds bosses with foliage, hybrid creatures, and heads – which could be portraits. Green Men exude gilded leaves from their mouths. A fox with a goose appears, probably a reference to the same tales of Reynard the Fox seen in the amusing Pilgrimage Window at York Minster Cathedral. Similar drolleries decorate the margins of contemporary manuscripts, such as the Ormesby Psalter (*c.* 1310), which also originated in East Anglia. Perhaps these artists also suggested designs for the bosses.

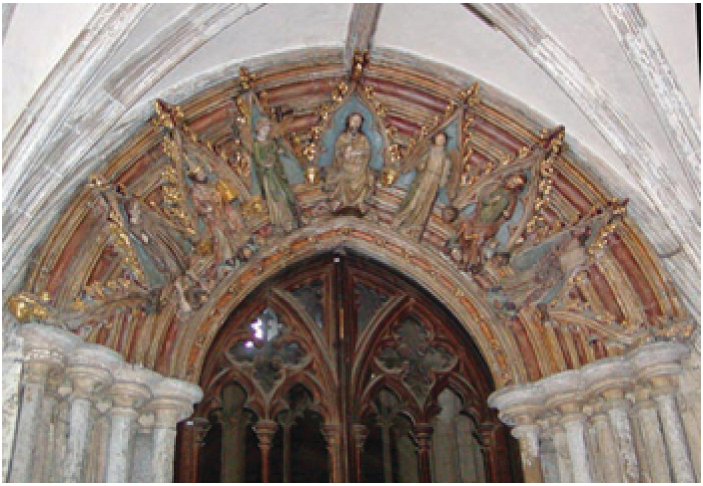


Fig. 4.21 Norwich Cathedral, Norfolk, Prior's Doorway, polychromed relief sculpture, at north corner of east walk of cloister, 1330–1350. Photograph: author

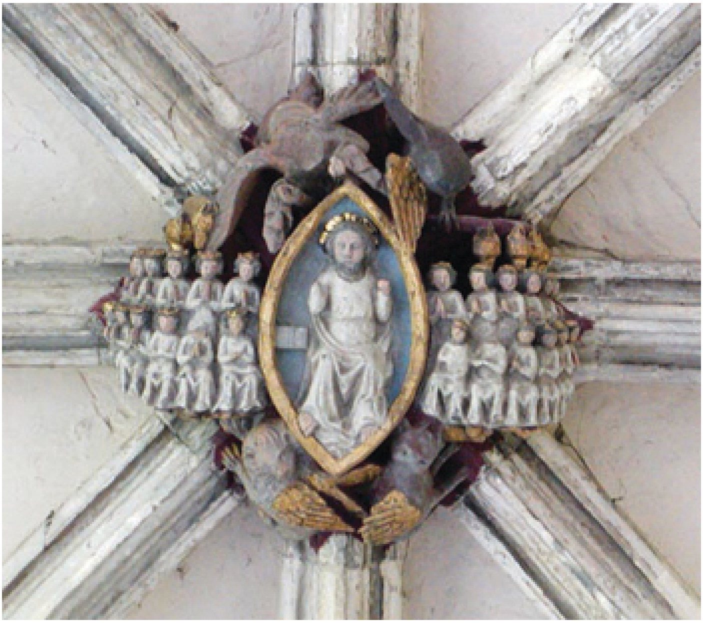


Fig. 4.22 Norwich Cathedral, Norfolk, ceiling boss in the south walk of the cloister, polychromed relief sculpture, Christ in Glory Flanked by the Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse, 1330–1350. Photograph: author

On the North Walk, a five-sequence narrative of Christ's Passion moves from west to east, beginning with the Flagellation of Christ and continuing with the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Harrowing of Hell. Flanking bosses offer moral judgments. For example, next to the Flagellation, a man wrestles the devil. Next to Christ carrying the cross, a woman catches a thief stealing her laundry. The culmination of the narrative occurs in the arch over the Prior's Doorway (Fig. 4.21). Here pairs of painted and gilded slender, graceful angels, kings, and saints flank a central mandorla holding Christ in Glory. Each figure stands beneath a gilded canopy.

The South Walk recounts the narrative of the death of John the Baptist. The scenes include the Feast of Herod, with an arched Salome swirling like a dervish around the table in the center. That narrative gives way to a sequence of one hundred apocalyptic subjects on the remaining South Walk and all of the West Walk. In the case of the apocalyptic scenes, the smaller bosses contribute to the narrative in the central boss, often filled with angels or stars. Some of the scenes, so tenderly rendered, may well reflect the gestures in local medieval dramas performed at Corpus Christi. East Anglia, in fact, has the most surviving texts of English medieval dramas. Apparently many of the plays were performed in the round, a format that lends itself to the depiction of dramatic scenes in circular bosses.[13] One especially powerful scene in the ceiling of the south walk shows Christ in Glory in a mandorla flanked by the twenty-four elders of the apocalypse, all dressed in white robes (Fig. 4.22). The four beasts, representing the four Evangelists, flank the corners of the mandorla. Matthew, the winged man and John the eagle hover at the top; Mark the winged lion and Luke the winged bull sustain the bottom – yet from the viewer's point of view below, the image appears ever-turning and visionary. Similar carvings appear in other English cathedrals, demonstrating a sophisticated and imaginative sculptural tradition that included not only bosses but also altar screens and other church decorations, some of which no longer exist intact.

Church furnishings of carved wood

Woodwork and sculptural relief represent a related area of English sculpture, especially prominent in liturgical furnishings, such as pulpits, roodscreen, and especially the choir stalls. Liturgy and hymnody long figured importantly in English services, as apparent in the development and persistence of the Old Sarum liturgy and English hymns. The tiered choir stalls where assistants and choristers sit flank the aisle leading to the altar. Whereas the back row seats have carved wooden canopies, each lower row has a lower wooden back, which provided a sill for the books for those behind. A low, solid screen provided the sill for the front row. These fronts, as well as the canopied backs, usually contain rows of rosettes, angels, and foliage interspersed with the occasional Green Man. The seats have hinges, so they could be raised up to allow choristers space to stand to sing. Necessity being the mother of invention, some clever singing monk devised wedge-shaped, ledge-like projections at hip-level to the underside of the seats, called misericords, or "mercy seats." Concealed from sight when the seats are down, misericords allow the standing choristers to rest their hips and keep their knees slightly bent while standing – an ingenious device for surviving long liturgies without fainting! The outer face of the projecting misericord proves a wonderful place for fanciful carvings. Patterns of decoration vary. Sometimes a single scene fills the space; other times one scene is in the center with two small ones flanking it. Here the English imagination takes over.

Choir stalls and misericords at Ely Cathedral

The fourteenth-century choir stalls at Ely display the medieval woodcarvers' art at its best (Fig. 4.23). In addition to pinnacles, knobs that look like faces or animals, and the front panels, 54 beautifully carved misericords hide beneath the seats. No consistent theme appears. Some scenes are biblical, such as St Martin Dividing his Cloak with a Beggar; others depict animals, birds, creatures of fantasy, and fables. In yet another instance of the story, Reynard in a quatrefoil on the stall front looks longingly at a goose in the adjoining quatrefoil. Some of the secular scenes may also depict proverbs, as they do in some contemporary Flemish churches where misericords also appear.

Choir stalls and misericords at Lincoln Cathedral

At Lincoln, many of the carvings in the misericords, installed around 1370, reflect a musical theme. The angels on the choir stalls that play harps, pipes, a drum, a portable organ and hold a censer, like the musical angels above in St Hugh's choir, continue the link between the earthly liturgical music and the soft, sweet celestial music of the spheres. Birds may also allude to music. Considering what body part rested against the misericords, some can be humorous, even bawdy, such as the pair of cranes curled under a seat with beaks pointed up as if lying in wait to nip an unwary haunch (Fig. 4.24). Misericords throughout England, like the carved bosses overhead, demonstrate a remarkable ability with carving, creativity, imagination, a fascination with animals, and a delightful, earthy sense of humor. Interestingly, in most churches and cathedrals the misericords, like bosses, do not form a systematic program the way murals and illustrations in manuscripts do.

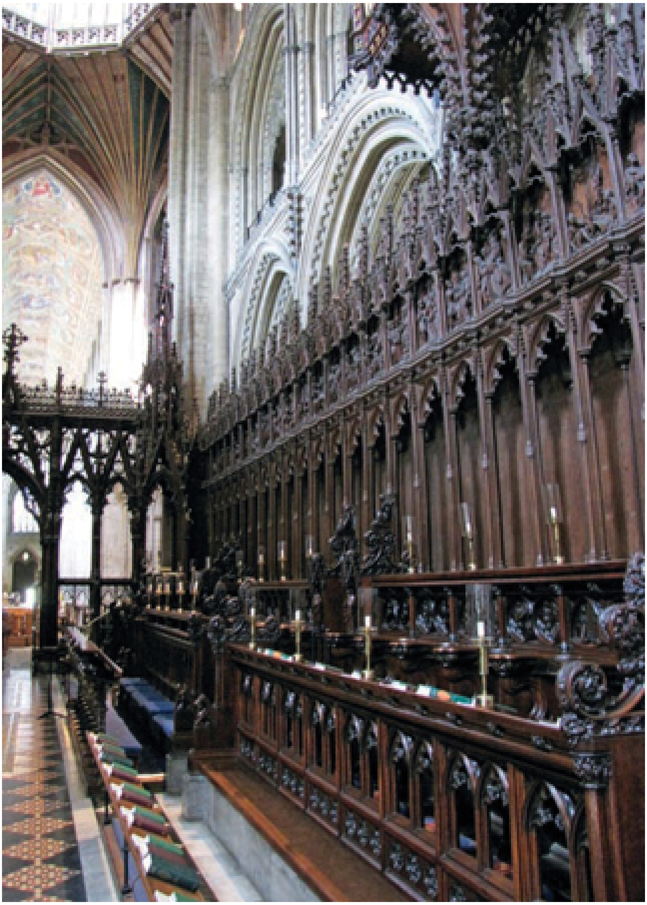


Fig. 4.23 Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, choir stalls, carved wood, c. *1337–1357. Photograph: author*

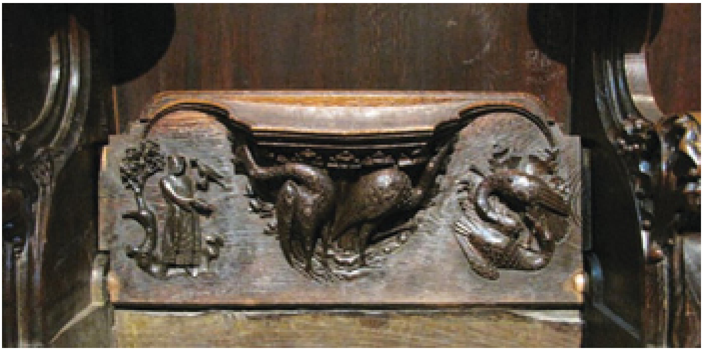


Fig. 4.24 Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire Falconer and Two pairs of Cranes, detail of a misericord, choir stalls, wood relief sculpture, c. *1370–1380. Photograph: author*

Royal works

During the period between 1230 and 1350, the French ideas that shape the rebuilding at Westminster Abbey dominate much of the architecture in London, although little survives. Unlike Westminster Abbey, which remains truer to the French style than most English buildings, especially in the doorway to the south transept, the English more often take the French innovations out of context and exploited them for whatever serves their purposes. Thus, what begins as a French import develops into something peculiarly English.

Westminster Palace and St Stephen's Chapel

Royal endeavors dominate building projects in London, most notably works at Westminster Palace, the beginning of St Stephen's Chapel within the palace complex, and additions to the Tower of London. From 1238 onward, Henry III and his son, Edward I remodel Westminster Palace extensively. Henry III rebuilds the Queen's Quarters, a chapel, and makes the lesser hall into his chamber, called the Painted Chamber. In 1272, Edward I enlarges the palace, although it is difficult to tell exactly what he did, for on 29 March 1298, a fire rages through much of the palace. The great hall survives intact and damage to the chapel is unknown, but overall the harm is sufficient for the royal household to move temporarily to nearby York Palace, the London residence of the archbishop of York.

In 1290, Edward I places the foundation stone for St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster starting a project that would take 50 years to complete. Construction on the lower portion began in 1292. The original design is inspired by a French counterpart, the Ste Chapelle, the royal chapel in the palace complex in Paris. The dimensions of the footprints of the two buildings are nearly identical. Like the Ste Chapelle, St Stephen's Chapel was built within the palace complex to be entered on the first floor. The western front had a two-storied porch, a turret, and a wooden fleche stood on the roof. The ground level held a vaulted crypt, completed between 1292 and 1297 and measuring 90 × 28 ft (27.4 × 8.5 m). The vaulted aisleless upper chamber served as a palace chapel. Unlike the chapel, the crypt survived the burning of the Houses of Parliament of 1834, and serves today as the Chapel of St Mary Undercroft.

In 1325, Edward III would institute a new architectural feature at Westminster Palace that would have far reaching influence. An enclosed corridor, or a gallery, joined St Stephen's Chapel with the Painted Chamber in the Palace to allow convenient access and dry passage in inclement weather. Enclosed corridors evolved out of the open loggias of monastic buildings. Previous galleries, of which few existed in either England or on the continent, tended to be simple, utilitarian one-story structures with solid wooden walls and tile roofs. At Westminster, the corridor was transformed into a magnificent display.[14]

Defensive works

History probably best remembers Edward I for his military conquests in Wales and Scotland. During his Welsh campaign, Edward, like his conquering ancestor, built a string of defensive castles, such as Caernarfon, along the border, called the "Iron Ring," to defend and intimidate his new subjects. In fact, Edward was the greatest castle builder since William the Conqueror. In addition, Edward improved defensive designs, incorporating features he had seen in and near Constantinople. Especially notable is the new, sophisticated concentric design – that is, with one ring of defenses inside another – seen at the Krak des Chevaliers (1142–1271), one of the Crusader castles in Syria, built by the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. Such designs also appear at Beaumaris Castle and the Tower of London.

Caernarfon Castle

Begun in 1283, Caernarfon Castle represents both a more sophisticated fortification design and a nod to the Romans. The castle dominates the point at which the River Seiont joins the Menai Strait, the main route between North Wales and Aberystwyth in West Wales and Ireland beyond. This castle replaced a simpler Norman motte and bailey built by Hugh of Avranches (*c*. 1090), which, in turn, had replaced a Roman fort. The site lies near the Roman coastal town of Segontium where an important Roman sarcophagus was discovered, reputedly that of Emperor Maxentius, father of Constantine and allegedly the first independent ruler of all of Britain. Not only did Edward wish to associate himself with the august emperor and his burial site, but he also paid homage to Rome in his building practices. The polygonal towers echo those at some Roman fortifications. The striped stone masonry imitates the bonding courses of brick common in Roman works and used in the land walls at Constantinople. Master James of St George, who had traveled on crusade to the Holy Land with Edward, served the king as the master builder.[15]

Rather than being concentric, like the Byzantine and Moorish fortresses in eastern Europe, Caernarfon, on an odd-shaped peninsula, assumes the shape of an hourglass, originally separated into two wards by a cross wall at the narrowest point. Two bodies of water protect two sides of the castle, joined by a defensive moat. The ramparts of the castle were practically impregnable. The two gatehouses and nine towers placed at intervals along the elliptical outer wall allowed crossfire at all points. In order to reach the inner bailey, invaders would have to cross two drawbridges, walk under six portcullises, each protected by arrow slits and murder holes (Holes concealed in ceiling bosses through which objects or liquids could be dropped onto assailants), and ram through five heavy doors. Like gallery and clerestory passages in churches, continuous wall-passages at two levels, well-equipped with arrow-loops, honeycomb through the heavy castle walls and allow soldiers protected access to all parts of the castle. In addition to defense, Caernarfon also served as a royal residence, even a birthplace. As stated previously, in 1284, Queen Eleanor gave birth there to Prince Edward, the first English Prince of Wales. Thus, in addition to being one of Edward's strongest and most modern fortresses, Caernarfon remains the investiture place for the Prince of Wales.

Beaumaris Castle

Beaumaris Castle, begun in 1295, was the last and largest of Edward's Iron Ring castles in Wales. The concentric castle design represents a sophisticated example of medieval military architecture, perhaps the finest in Britain, and the English love of symmetry. Built on a flat shore with no preexisting structures to interfere with its design, Beaumaris is almost square and surrounded by a moat, which, as with Caernarfon, connects to the sea. A lower outer curtain wall with corner towers, two massive gatehouses on opposite walls, and three towers along the other pair of walls, encircles a high inner ring of walls and towers. A block behind the pair of major inner tower gates replaced the keep. These massive gatehouses resemble the gate at Tonbridge, which means the design probably was adapted from Henry III's design at the Tower of London.[16]

Since gatehouses were the weakest point, to have more than one, each functioning as an independent fort, forced the attackers to divide their forces. The concentric design with multiple towers at intervals along the outer wall gave more flexibility than earlier plans; they also presented an unparalleled level of strength and firepower, especially in the age before gunpowder and cannons, and would influence subsequent castle design. In addition, towers allowed crossfire at all points. The design also allowed quick safe access to all parts of the castle through wall passages and wall-walks. The defenders had a panoramic view of the invaders and could fight with considerable protection, making it nearly impossible for the enemy to mount sieges against the inner walls.

Tower of London

Back in England, Edward I also transformed the Tower of London, using Welsh models both for defense and living quarters. Edward built more at the Tower of London than any king before or since. He doubled the enclosed area, bringing it to about 12 acres (4.9 ha), filled in the existing moat, and built a new, wider one. His new curtain wall, built around the exterior perimeter of the moat to encompass the land side, also enclosed the defensive wall his father had built. This curtain wall, which measured 3156 ft (962 m), changed the design from a standard Norman castle to a concentric castle, like the Welsh models.

The new curtain wall required two drawbridges on the west for entry into the Tower (Fig. 4.25). The pre-existing Lion Tower, destroyed in the nineteenth century, stood on a half-circle-shaped island at southwest corner of the outer side of the moat. Entry to the castle was over the first drawbridge on the east side of the Lion Tower across to the new twin-towered Middle Tower on the south-westernmost corner of the new outer curtain wall. From there, a second causeway and drawbridge connected to the Byward Tower, the new gatehouse of the Outer Ward, and the twelfth-century Bell Tower on the inner wall, last bastion of defense. The Middle Tower and the Byward Tower each had two portcullises equipped with murder holes.

On the south, or the riverside, Edward built up the riverbank and extended the outer wall into the river, so that the former box-shaped watergate (later renamed the Bloody Tower) beside the rounded Wakefield Tower, became a land-gate. Between 1275 and 1279, Edward built St Thomas's Tower (later Traitors' Gate) into the new outer wall to serve as the new Watergate. On the upper floor he added a new hall and royal lodgings. The hall, larger than that of his father in Wakefield Tower, had two large windows overlooking the Thames and a large, hooded fireplace. By 1285, the Tower was Britain's largest and strongest concentric castle, making a firm statement of royal strength to Edward's subjects and enemies alike.[17]

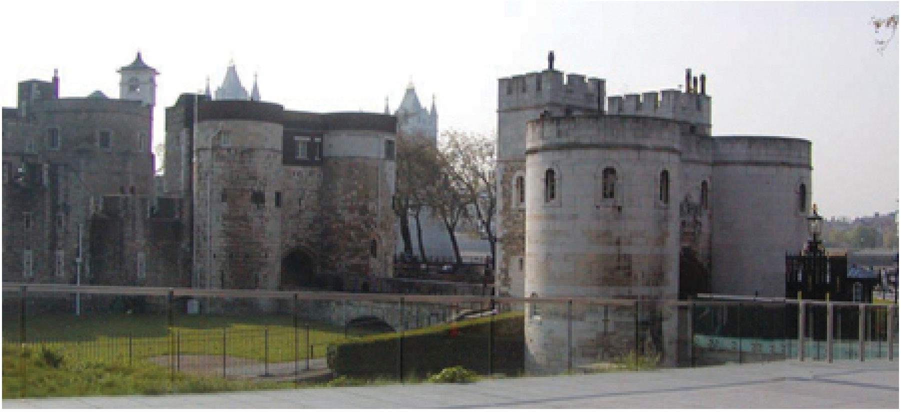


Fig. 4.25 Tower of London, London, Curtain Walls with double gates and drawbridges, c. *1280. Photograph: author*

Fortified manor houses and timber frame construction

During the thirteenth century, as the English government became stronger and more centralized around the king and his court, the reduction in military needs and changes in social structure initiated corresponding modifications in domestic architecture. The landed gentry, a middle class that owned rural land, yet held neither royal nor noble status and therefore had neither the financial resources nor the permission to build a castle, developed the fortified manor house. Smaller than a castle yet larger than a farm house or a Saxon or Norman hall, these complexes contained several structures within an enclosed precinct with towers and served both as residences and regional administrative and economic centers. At the heart of the complex stood the great hall, with walls of brick or stone and a timber roof. The increased size of the hall initiated major innovations in English domestic architecture, the most important of which was the shift from an aisled space, such as the halls at Oakham and Winchester Castle, to an open interior with no intervening supports. English builders chose timber roof supports over brick or stone vaults because of availability, lower cost, greater versatility and lighter weight. In order to disperse the weight and thrust of a wider roof without using interior supports, carpenters developed new methods of joinery and structurally-sound, aesthetically pleasing supports: trusses, arch-braced collar-beams, and hammerbeams. Another development, which reflects a parallel change in the social order, was the addition of a private room for the landowner and his family, called the solar. Extant examples include Stokesay Castle and Haddon Hall.

Stokesay Castle

Stokesay Castle (a later honorific title), the oldest fortified manor house in England, lies in southern Shropshire near the Welsh border. The oldest parts of the building, the lower two stories of the north tower, date from around 1240. The present structure achieved much of its form under the auspices of a wealthy wool merchant in Shrewsbury, Lawrence Ludlow, who needed protection from Llewellyn the Last, the Welsh warrior whom Edward I eventually defeated. In 1281, Ludlow acquired a royal charter for hunting rights. By the 1290s, construction must have begun, confirmed by recent research in dendrochronology (scientific analysis of tree-rings in the timbers). Further evidence indicates that Ludlow used the same group of innovative carpenters throughout.[18] In 1291, Edward I granted Ludlow a license to crenellate. He added a moat, a curtain wall, and a second independent tower, the multi-angled South Tower, crowned with its original crenellations. The South Tower served exclusively for defense purposes and could be reached only by a secure covered exterior stairway. To the north corner, adjacent to the hall, Ludlow added a defensive projecting timber gallery (called a *hourd* in France), the sole surviving example in England.

The four-bay great hall at Stokesay is built of local mudstone with sandstone trim around the windows and on the corners; the roof is of sandstone slate. The large gabled lateral windows, which have interior shutters, consist of pairs of triple-lobed lancets topped by a circle. As was typical, a central octagonal-shaped open hearth offered the only source of heat. The aisleless hall, which measures 31 × 54.5 ft (9.5 × 16.6 m) and 35 ft (10.7 m) high, has a cruck roof. That is, the frame is made from a tree with a strong outgrowing branch split and then is split in half. Here three pairs of gigantic curved crucks rise from corbel brackets half way up the wall to the top of the roof. These arches connect to two curved braces that support a horizontal collar beam. Here, two parallel collar beams support each bay. Thus, crucks, braces, and collar beams together form a series of broad rounded arches that span the hall. Although not used at Stokesay, sometimes upright king posts or pairs of queen posts join the collar beams, or pairs of horizontal beams, to each other and to the gable of the roof to add stability. In addition to the innovative structural engineering in the roof of the great hall, Stokesay also exhibits the change of social structure in the hierarchy in living arrangements. Whereas previously the master and his family would have lived in the great hall with the household staff, at Stokesay, the original wooden staircase, with treads cut from whole tree-trunks, rises along the west and north sides of the room to give access to an upper room in the north tower, complete with windows and its original tile floor, which provides a private space to which the family could withdraw.

Haddon Hall

Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, which also dates from the twelfth century, follows a form similar to Stokesay but with more sophisticated facilities. The crenellated walls and exterior of the house are built of local grey and yellow stone. Unlike the walls and layout of the buildings at Stokesay, which is rather elliptical, Haddon Hall is arranged symmetrically around a double courtyard and terraced up a hillside, with the entrance on lower side. Much of the medieval complex survives, including the four-bay early fourteenth-century banqueting hall, which has a truss roof. The south wall of the hall abuts a dining room. In the southeast corner, a staircase leads to a solar. A screen in the north end of the hall conceals the buttery, where beverages are stored, and the pantry, which join a hall to the kitchen. Stokesay Castle and Haddon Hall demonstrate that as the stable centralized government in England reduces the need for fortifications, the hall of the manor house supersedes the keeps and towers that dominate castles.

Evolution of timber frame and hammerbeam construction in non-domestic buildings

The most distinctive and transformative architectural engineering achievement of the late Middle Ages in England is hammerbeam construction, which provides roof support for an interior space too wide for a single horizontal crossbeam. As in truss construction, horizontal wooden beams rest on corbels or brackets along the wall at regular intervals. Unlike trusses with crossbeams, hammerbeams extend roughly one-quarter to one-third the width of the space. They act as cantilevers to support the vertical struts, or hammer posts, that reach to a higher horizontal collar beam, which, in turn, extends across the upper space of the roof. At the midline point, the collar may have a crown post above, which may join a scissors brace just under the gable. Structurally, hammerbeam construction shifts the weight from the roof as far down the walls as possible. Initially the forms are simple; later structural forms become more complex and more beautiful. Although the notebooks of Villard de Honnecourt (*c.* 1240) indicate that the French knew the advantages of such engineering to support roofs above stone vaulting, they never used it as a standalone feature. In England, however, hammerbeam construction remains one of the most distinct elements of late medieval and Tudor architecture, especially in great halls and in parish churches. Moreover, instead of being hidden above stone vaults, hammerbeam in the hands of the English develops into an art form. As the hammerbeam construction evolves into more complex forms, the English love of surface decoration inspires elaborate carved, painted, and gilded beams, with ornamental pendants and fanciful figures at the joining points of the timbers.[19] The earliest early examples of hammerbeam construction in England occur at Chichester and Winchester.

Bishop's Palace, Chichester

The kitchen of the Bishop's Palace, built in the 1290s adjacent to Chichester Cathedral, contains one of the earliest experiments with hammerbeam construction. This innovative and unique system supports a central louver (now covered) to vent smoke over a 34 ft square (10.4 m) room. The roughhewn, unembellished beams suit the functional nature of the room. The hip-shaped roof, in which all sides slope downwards to the walls, narrows as it rises toward the louver (Fig. 4.26). Each wall has an embedded arch and rafters. Near each corner, a horizontal hammerbeam extends outward from the point at which the wall meets the roof and joins another hammerbeam extending from the adjacent wall. A vertical post attaches to the joining point of the beams and extends upwards to the rafters to form a three-way open framework. Additional crossbeams join the hammerbeams to the rafters and to the arches embedded in the side walls. This ingenious solution for covering a square space never recurs (as far as known), but the groundwork laid for hammerbeam engineering is important.

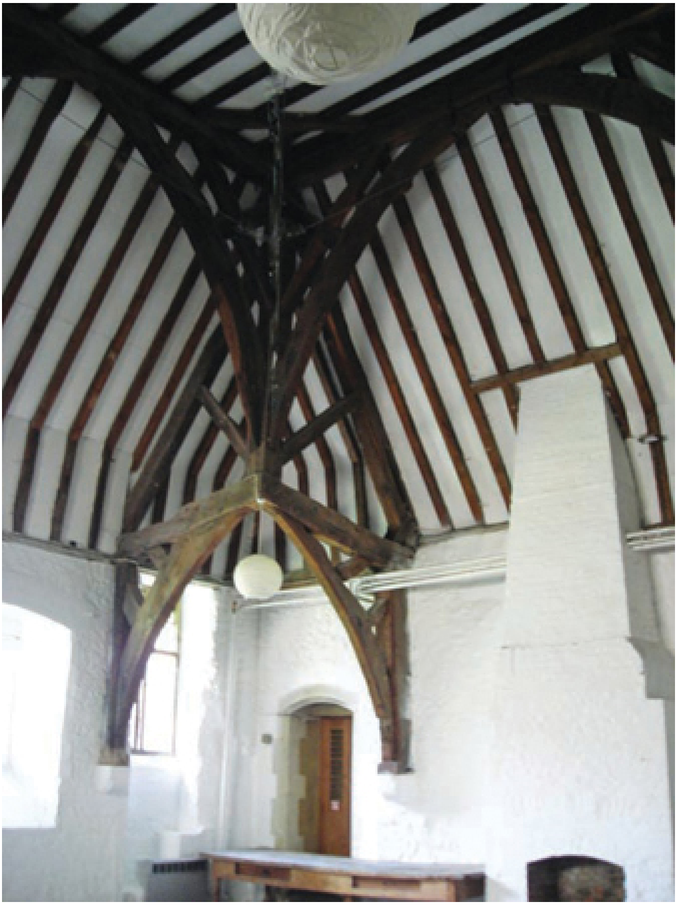


Fig. 4.26 Chichester Cathedral complex, West Sussex, Bishop's Palace, kitchen, 1290. Photograph: author

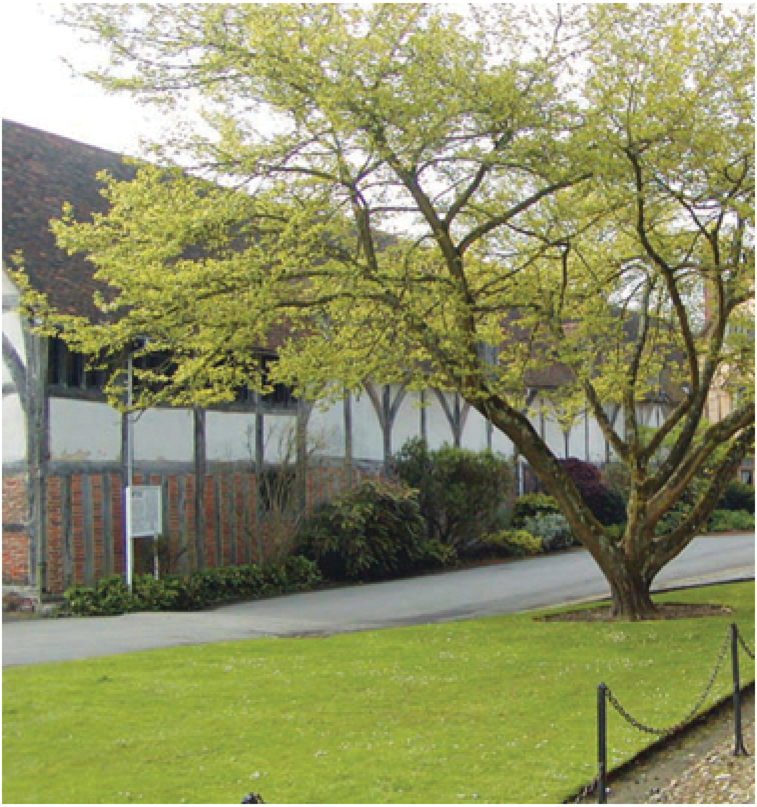


Fig. 4.27 Winchester Cathedral Close, Hampshire, Pilgrim's Hall, exterior, 1308–1311. Photograph: author

Pilgrims' Hall, Winchester

Because of its simplicity of design, Pilgrims' Hall, Winchester (*c.* 1308–1311), the oldest surviving rectangular hall with a hammerbeam ceiling, provides a good example of the principles of the construction system (Fig. 4.27). Originally it was six-bays, consisting of two halls lying end to end, plus a service bay, which probably extended 70 ft long (21.3 m). The surviving hall, in the north end, consists of three-bays of approximately 14 ft (4.4 m) each. It measures 31 ft (9.3 m) wide and 43 ft (13.2 m) long. Each of the two 13 inch (33 cm) thick oak hammerbeams supports an upright beam of equal size. Kingposts join the upper braces to the rafters. The minimal decoration consists of carved heads at the ends of the beams. On the exterior, the lower walls consist of closed studding with brick infill; above a midway horizontal rail, plaster infill surrounds large timber arch braces. Clay tiles cover the half-hipped roof.[20]

St Mary's Hospital, Chichester

Also dating to *c.* 1300 is St Mary's Hospital, at Chichester, a timber frame hall notable for its size, function, and timber construction. The name "hospital" reflects an archaic usage that refers to charitable institution for the needy, incapacitated, or elderly. Medieval hospitals typically consist of long halls with wooden posts and side aisles. The 45 ft (13.7 m) wide structure originally consisted of six truss bays. As with the barn divisions of animal stalls between posts, wooden screens divide the aisles from wall to post into individual cubicles for the residents. Often, as here, a chapel fills the east end. Kingposts and purlins that reach to a height of over forty feet join the massive horizontal oak beams. Cross-bracing ties the purlins to trusses and rafters. All is covered by one large low-sloping roof tile hipped roof; no clerestory appears. The English continue to develop hammerbeam, arches, wood vaulting, and other inventive methods of wood construction as solutions to the challenges of roofing increasingly wider spaces.

English sculpture: tombs and effigies in England

Medieval English tomb monuments survived the iconoclasm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries less scathed than other non-architectural sculpture in churches because of the cultural aversion toward disturbing graves. Beginning in the twelfth century, slabs with incised effigies begin to appear for high-level churchmen. Westminster Abbey has a particularly large concentration of distinguished tombs. On 13 October 1163, Henry II transferred the body of Edward the Confessor from a grave before the high altar into a shrine. A century later, as Henry III renovated the austere Romanesque abbey in the fashionable Gothic style, he erected a magnificent new raised shrine for his saintly predecessor in the horseshoe-shaped area between the back of the high altar and the ambulatory, employing artisans and mosaicists from Italy. As the work on the shrine proceeded, Henry III directed that Westminster Abbey should also serve as his own resting place rather than his previously designated place in the choir of Temple Church. Edward I transformed Westminster Abbey from a Benedictine abbey with a seldom-visited shrine into a royal mausoleum by carrying out his father's wish and building upon it with his wife's tomb and his own; he and his noble retainers also transformed tomb design from simple slabs to ornate structures with a tomb chest with a gisant, or a well-dressed recumbent effigy in tranquil repose. Later sheltering canopies, shields, and accompanying family mourner figures appear. Most often the figures were formed of cast bronze and fire-gilded or wash-gilded, by mixing gold with mercury, brushing it on the bronze, and then heating it to drive off the mercury. The resulting patina was exquisite – subtle and soft. Later, the process was realized to be lethal, as mercury vapors are poisonous, and the process was outlawed. The sublimity of these works certainly dispels any rumor that the art of bronze casting was lost after Roman times and not rediscovered until the Renaissance in Italy.

In the fourteenth century, two additional types of tombs develop that include the recumbent deceased on top of a chest. The continental idea of the tomb of kinship appears at Westminster, with shields on the chest that show family lineage. Examples at Westminster include the tombs of Eleanor of Castile, Henry III, Edward II, and William de Valence. In addition, the deathbed tomb develops, with the deceased surrounded on the sides by a social ceremony, usually a group of mourners or weepers, as seen on the tombs of Aveline de Forz (d. 1274) and her husband Edmund Crouchback, brother of Edward I (d. 1296).

Eleanor of Castile

In the late thirteenth century, Edward I placed his father Henry III's body (d. 1272) and that of his wife Eleanor (d. 1290) between northern piers that encircle the apsidal shrine, similar in placement to the earliest of the French royal tombs at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Queen Eleanor's tomb chest represents one of the first examples of the tomb of kinship in England (Fig. 4.28). Carved by Master Richard of Crundale of Purbeck marble, the shields sculpted in relief on the sides define her Spanish lineage, her land holdings, and her marriage. In 1291, Master William Torel, a gifted London goldsmith, designed and cast the gilt-bronze recumbent portrait effigies of Henry and Eleanor. Eleanor's sublime effigy is the earliest gilt bronze tomb in England. Her head rests on two crossed pillows. The lower pillow has an incised checkerboard pattern in which the castle of Castile and lion of Leon alternate. The upper pillow and the pall (drapery, or mortcloth, over a coffin) upon which her body rests have the same insignia in a diamond-shaped pattern. She wears a crown, with her wavy hair draping below her shoulders. Her right hand once held a scepter, displaying her rank; her left hand curls beneath her chin holding the tie of her cloak, the same gestures that appear on effigies of many of the queens of France. A bronze gablet, or canopy, surrounds her head to her shoulders, much as a canopy covers standing sculpted figures on cathedrals. On each side of the base of the gablet, a small head, presumably an angel, looks out, much as they do from the ends of hammerbeams. A Norman-French inscription cut in Lombardic letters encircles the outer edge.[21] A carved wooden canopy covers the entire tomb. The canopy probably imitates those on the hearses upon which the bodies rested from death through the funeral. Contemporary wall-mounted tombs in France also often had canopies.

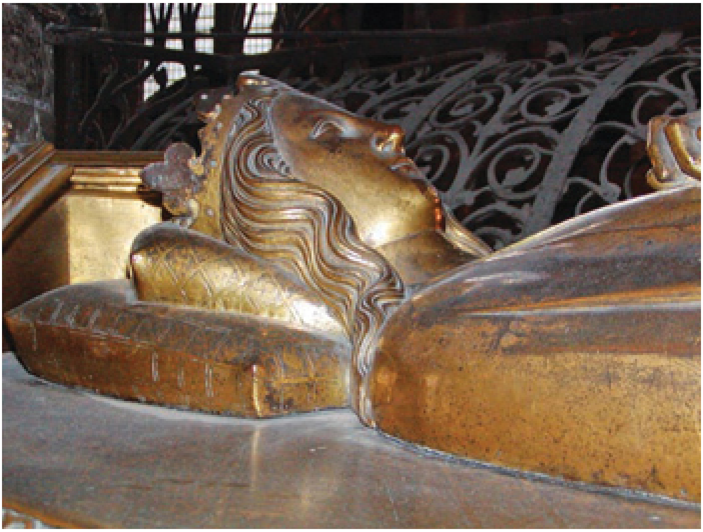


Fig. 4.28 Westminster Abbey, London, William Torel, goldsmith, tomb of Eleanor of Castile, detail of the gilt bronze effigy, 1291. London. Photograph: author

Henry III

Henry's tomb, like that of the Confessor, is raised high – too high to see the effigy, in fact. The two stacked parts of the tomb chest are of Purbeck marble with antique porphyry insets. Further inlay of red and green porphyry, glass, marble, and gilding is set in Cosmati fashion, but much of the work is lost. Because of the height, Henry's magnificent crowned gisant, exquisite in form, detail, and patina, is only visible in profile from below. His head, like that of Eleanor, rests on crossed pillows, which, along with the pall beneath him, have checkerboard and diamond patterns inset with the lions of England. Likewise, an inscription in Norman-French and cut in Lombardic letters runs along the edge. His gablet, probably similar to that of Eleanor, no longer survives. The English seem to take every opportunity to embellish, yet the detail work – patterns, letters, or angel heads – never diminishes the effect of the whole.

William de Valence

The tomb of William de Valence (d. 1296), Lord of Pembroke and Wexford and half-brother to Henry III (their mother having remarried after the death of King John), probably once in the royal pantheon, now lies in the pedal-shaped apsidal chapel of St Edmund in the south aisle of adjacent to the Confessor's shrine. The tomb consists of a stone base upon which the oak tomb chest and effigy rest. The lower stone chest gives an early example of the tomb of kinship displaying shields with coats-of-arms, the blue shield of Valence alternating with coats-of-arms of England. Both the effigy and the upper chest contain gilt and enamel copper plates, and thus give the only surviving example in England of French Limoges champlevé enamel work on a tomb. Some plates are lost, especially from the chest. Since William is known to have visited Limoges at least twice in the 1270s, he may have ordered and designed the tomb before his death – a common practice among the French. Dressed in the chain mail of a knight and laid in a simple frontal position, typical of French military effigies, William folds his hands in prayer. His head, encased in a richly decorated helmet, rests on a cushion decorated with his coat-of-arms. His shield, which rests against his left side, also contains remarkable enamel work. In Limoges, the production of champlevé enamel funerary monuments in the late thirteenth century appears to have helped sustain an art form more commonly used for decorative arts and reliquaries, which otherwise was in slight decline.[22]

Edmund Crouchback and Aveline de Forz

The tomb of kinship continues with other progeny of Edward I, although the design moves in a different direction. The elaborate tombs of Edmund Crouchback Plantagenet (d. 1296), Earl of Lancaster, and his first wife, Aveline de Forz (d. 1274), include carved ornamental canopies, richly decorated with pinnacles and deathbed tombs of kinship, with carved plinths or bases beneath the recumbent painted and gilded freestone effigies. The newest and most influential new feature is the presence of figures rather than shields to represent royal kinship, which strongly reflects French practices reinterpreted in a purely English vocabulary. The masons who worked on these tombs had worked on the Eleanor Crosses, with which they share similar decorative ornamentation. Aveline's tomb rests in the westernmost half of the first bay on the north side of the sanctuary and is visible only from the sanctuary. Edmund's tomb, visible from both the aisle and the sanctuary, fills the adjoining bay.

Aveline, only 15 at the time of her death, appears in the bloom of youth. A pair of angels, waiting to carry her soul to heaven, supports her head, which rests on crossed pillows. She wears a loose robe, a long mantle, and on her head, a close coif, a wimple with a long Paris hood, and the chincloth of a mourner. Her hands, folded in prayer, rest on her chest. Her feet rest against two dogs, symbols of fidelity. An overhead arch supports a single gabled canopy. Although now damaged, written descriptions of an earlier age state that one side had a painted branch of a vine, both a symbol of fertility (although Aveline died childless) which also symbolized Aveline's mother's family name, Redvers; the other side had acanthus leaves. The touchstone tomb chest contains carved crockets that are painted and gilded.

Six gabled niches on the lower part of each side of the chest contain pleurants, or weeper figures (now mutilated). Based on the ankle-length robes, all are secular males. The pairs of figures turn toward each other, reminiscent of statues on a French church façade. Edmund probably commissioned Aveline's tomb soon after her death, but the change in architectural form between her tomb and his probably indicates a different designer, perhaps French.[23]

Edmund's tomb, the largest and most elaborate in the north sanctuary, has an exceedingly elaborate triple gabled canopy framed by pinnacles. In a trefoil at the peak of the canopy, a relief sculpture shows Edmund as a knight in full armor on horseback. He has dropped his reigns, folds his hands in prayer, and looks up. He died in 1296 in battle at Bayonne; he was buried in London *c.* 1301. The heraldic tradition extends to the gable, where 55 coats-of-arms represent of all the earls in England. The architecture here, more intricately carved than its French prototypes, rather than being an element unto itself, helps bring attention to the sculpted gisant. The face is mutilated and the sword hilt and shield are lost. The body is dressed in chain mail with feet resting against lions, a symbol of courage.

Below, on the ambulatory side of the chest, a painting remnant thought to be by Walter of Durham shows ten knights wearing chainmail armor and surcoats in niches with weepers, alternating male and female. The decoration apparently contained colored glass in imitation of enamelwork, much like the Westminster Retable. At the turn of the fourteenth century, his tomb was the most spectacular tomb in England; its influence appears not only at Westminster, but also in tombs at St Paul's in London, Ely Cathedral, and Gloucester Cathedral.

Edward II, Gloucester

Although by the fourteenth century, most royal tombs were in Westminster, Edward II (d. 1327) rests in a shrine-like canopied tomb in the north ambulatory of the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester, not far from Berkeley Castle where he was murdered. The tomb is important in the evolution funeral practices and of tomb design. A temporary wooden effigy with a copper crown was made for his funeral and is the first known use of a funeral effigy. The subsequent alabaster tomb, which stands between two piers in the ambulatory, competes with, if not exceeds, the richness of the royal tombs at Westminster Abbey (Fig. 4.29). Constructed in the 1330s in the late days of the Decorated Gothic style, the theatricality and sophistication of the monument indicate that the regent, Queen Isabella, rather than the teenage heir, Edward III, was the designer and patron of the tomb. Like the tomb of Edmund Crouchback, the canopy is tripartite, with even taller and more elaborately carved crockets, this time in stone. The alabaster effigy is especially remarkable. Since about 1325, this translucent stone had been for small sacred figures, but this tomb represents the first English example of a full length alabaster effigy.

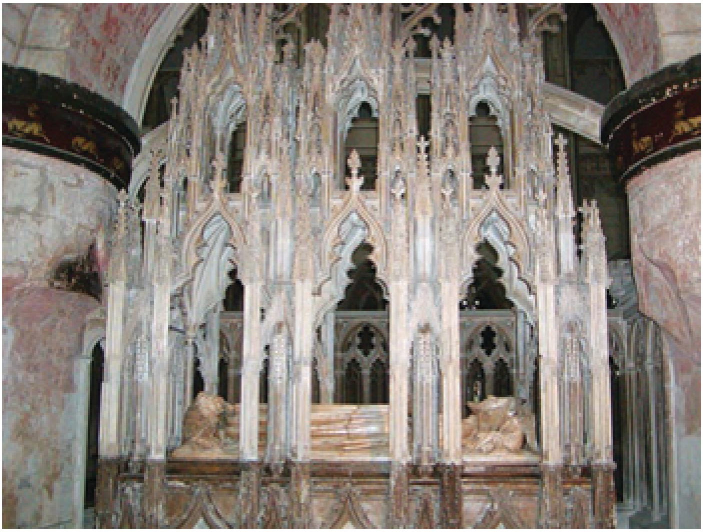


Fig. 4.29 Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucestershire, tomb of Edward II, carved alabaster, 1330s. Photograph: author

The image of the king also takes on new significance. Edward appears in death as he did in life, as lord over both the secular and the priestly realms. He wears a tunic, mantle, and crown and holding a scepter and orb of a king. With open eyes, he looks heavenward in the manner of Christ. Two kneeling angels support his head. At about this same time, images of Christ began to include an orb. For Christ, the orb is a sign of victory over death; for the king, the orb represents the king as Christus Domini, the anointed representative of the Lord. Significantly, the anointing of the head of the king with chrism, in the manner of the consecration of a bishop, had been reinstated at the coronation of Edward II, implying that the king was also God's representative on earth.

As with the effigy, the imagery on the limestone chest not only speaks of royal kinship but also of divinely ordained kingship. On each side of the chest, three deep arched niches outlined in Purbeck with plant forms carved in minute detail once held two figures each. These niches alternate with four shallow niches with a single figure. The coats-of-arms of Edward II's relatives, made of metal, once stood above the Purbeck arches. The larger niches appear to have held statues of the twelve apostles. The shallow niches held figures of mourning relatives. The corresponding placement of the royal relatives with the apostles reinforces the association of the king with Christ and enhances the dynastic legitimacy of the relatives. Coupled with the cult propagated by his relatives and the power to heal that medieval kings were perceived to have held, the imagery takes on an additional almost saintly mystique. Much of the enhanced imagery of kingship established here reappears on tombs of Edward's successors in Westminster Abbey.[24]

Painting at Westminster

Less painted decoration than sculpture survives from the reigns of Edward I and II; however, two richly painted items at Westminster Abbey survive as fragments: the Westminster Retable, or altarpiece forming the back of an altar, and the Sedilia, or seatbacks. Like the abbey itself, the works bridge the reigns of Henry III and his son Edward I and incorporate the lilting elegance of the French court style.

Westminster Retable

The most magnificent work of English panel painting to survive from the late 1200s and the oldest existing altarpiece in England is the Westminster Retable, housed at Westminster Abbey (Fig. 4.30). The bilaterally symmetrical altarpiece consists of five panels of equal height but unequal width that together measure 3.2 × 10.9 ft (0.97 × 3.33 m). Stylistic considerations and dendrochronology place the date close to 1269, the time of the dedication of the high altar of Westminster Abbey. The presence of St Peter, to whom the abbey is dedicated and who figures prominently in the retable, adds credence to this hypothesis. Moreover, the retable would complement the inlaid Italian Cosmati pavement, which consists of multi-colored stone and glass. The pavement extends from in front of the altar into the shrine behind. The tomb of Edward the Confessor is likewise inlaid with multi-colored stone and colored and gilded glass. Even in its newly restored but still badly ruined state, the rich materials and exquisite workmanship of the Westminster Retable give a window into the lost splendors of the age.

In addition to its magnificence and importance in England, the Westminster Retable appears to be the only surviving contemporary European example to use such materials, form, and iconography. The materials show that the English traded widely and that their artisans successfully amalgamated their resources. The surface glistens with gilding and glass in imitation of the cloisonné metalwork of the Mosan Valley of France. The lead that joins portions of the work is English, the inlaid colored glass is French, the wood for the panels is German and English, and the lapis lazuli pigment is from Afghanistan. The altarpiece originally contained paste gemstones, ancient cameos (one survives), painted and gilded gesso, and *sgraffito* (patterns scratched into the gesso surface). The oil pigments, the opulent style, along with the imported materials, like the productions of court painters in London, belong to the courtly Gothic ambience that led to the painting associated with the Ste Chapelle in Paris. The illustrations in the Psalter S. Louis, a product of the French Court, represent its closest painted counterpart. However, much contemporary work on the continent follows predictable patterns and themes; originality was not considered a virtue in France. Thus, the originality of the work – the fact that no other similar work exists from the continent – points away from continental sources. In the absence of sophisticated enamelwork in England, it appears that the artisans attempted to achieve the best of both worlds: an elegant painting and enamelwork all at once. Such variation on materials, invention, and ingenuity suggests that a gifted group of artisans at Westminster Abbey designed and assembled this work.

The wider central rectangular panel, sub-divided into three carved tabernacles, resembles the triple arched front of a Gothic cathedral or an enamel reliquary set into a rectangular frame. Christ fills the larger center panel, flanked by the willowy figures of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, who hold palms and look inward. Christ blesses with his right hand and holds a small globe in his left. The remarkable globe contains tiny images of the sun, moon, water, sheep, birds, and a boat. In this context, the world is a delicate object, protected by the loving Christ the Savior. Little gilded glass circles imitating roofing tiles of a church appear behind and between the peaks of the niches and at the top of the frame. Borders, precisely painted in minute detail, alternate with embedded tiles of colored glass.

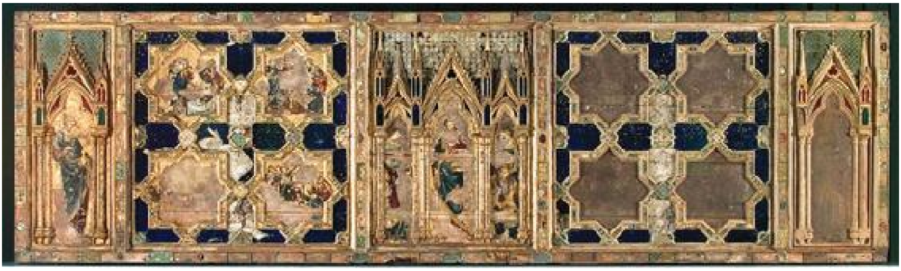


Fig. 4.30 Westminster Abbey, London, anonymous Plantagenet court painters (French or English), Westminster Retable, oil on gessoed panel with glass inlay, 1270s. Photograph: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, London

The two narrow, niche-shaped outer panels resemble elaborate stone tabernacles that house sculpted saints on French cathedrals. Still visible on the left side is the elegant, elongated figure of St Peter. He faces inward and holds the keys to heaven and earth. Early descriptions identify his missing corresponding saint as St Paul, the usual companion saint to St Peter.

Two square panels separate the central Gothic niches from the outer panels. Each panel holds four eight-pointed wooden medallions surrounded by gilded cobalt blue glass. Although the paintings in the right panel are lost, three of Christ's miracles are still visible on the left. The panels, executed in remarkable delicacy and detail, depict: the Raising of Jarius's Daughter, the Healing of the Man Born Blind, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and a defaced scene. An earlier description identifies the corresponding four lost medallions only as scriptural. The context, however, indicates that they likely contained other of Christ's miracles, a rare theme.[25] Whereas scenes from the life of Christ appear often in medieval manuscripts, decorative arts, and mural cycles, even Giotto's fresco cycle at Padua (*c.* 1300), which contains an extensive program of the life of Christ, depicts only Christ's first and last miracles. Perhaps miracle subjects were chosen because they related to St Peter, to whom the abbey is dedicated, for he appears in the three identifiable miracles and presumably in the now lost scenes. Edward the Confessor, moreover, was credited with posthumous healing miracles, so these scenes of miracles may highlight similarities between the two saints.

Westminster Sedilia

Westminster Abbey possesses, on the south side of the high altar, four sedilia, or the row seats for the officiating clergy, constructed of oak, not the usual stone. Installed in 1307, during the reign of Edward I and abbacy of Walter de Wenlock (d. 1307), these four seats have remained in sitù in the chancel ever since. Each seat is covered by an elaborately carved Gothic canopy with little heads protruding from below the springing of the arches. Each of the painted panels, which act as seatbacks, shows a full-length figure: two kings (possibly Henry III and Edward I) alternate with two ecclesiastics. The kings stand against dark blue backgrounds that imitate silken cloth embroidered with golden lions. Two face inward to a figure between them, perhaps St Peter. The fourth figure on the far right is completely obliterated. The reverse side, visible from the ambulatory, shows St Edward the Confessor extending his hand with his ring to St John as the Pilgrim to kiss. The remnants of an Annunciation, with the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel, also appear. Half of the painted figures suffered damage in 1644, during the iconoclasm of the Civil War. What can be gleaned from existing painting in fourteenth-century England indicates influence from the courts of France and the Low Countries, where royal ties were strong. But, as with ecclesiastical architecture, sculpture, manuscript illumination practices, and the importation of Flemish glass for English stained glass windows, the English selectively embraced aspects of the continental vocabulary, yet maintained their independence and developed distinctive variations.

Manuscript illumination

Artistic developments in architecture, sculpture, and painting spill over into the book industry; in fact, books give the best record of late medieval English painting. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the production of manuscript illumination moves further from the limited sphere of monasteries, royal centers, and Oxford to places such as Lincoln, Norwich, and other parts of East Anglia. Patronage also expands beyond the church and the royal court to members of the English upper class. For the lay audience, especially women, Psalters, such as the Queen Mary Psalter, and Books of Hours, such as the Ormesby and Luttrell Psalters, are most popular, as they are the heart of family devotions, and women are responsible for the spiritual well-being of the family. Many of these manuscripts imply in both texts and illustrations that they were owned, and presumably commissioned, by women. Secular books continue to be produced as well, many of which, such as the *Miscellaneous Chronicles*, recount historical events.

The English style of manuscript illumination reflects continental sources, but retains certain distinctly English characteristics. Whereas the rich, detailed, restrained French style epitomizes neat-handedness and exquisite precision, English examples tend to retain a whimsy, an exuberance, and a monumentality not seen in France. Developments in English illumination, as in France and other European countries, include greater decorative elaboration, especially in the borders, initial letters, and marginalia, or illustrations in the margins. However, while the continental books retain the earlier narrow bands of purely decorative marginalia, usually based on sinewy vegetal forms, with infrequent figures that relate to the text, the wider English borders teem with all sorts of whimsical figures: people, animals, birds, and composite creatures, often loosely painted in washes, epitomized by the verse from a Cornish (or Scottish) Penitential Litany:

> From ghoulies and ghosties and long-leggitie beasties And things that go bump in the night,
> Good Lord, deliver us!

The originality and abundance of vernacular subjects in the margins typify English books; so does the dry humor. Often the marginalia operates independently of the text, sometimes giving glimpses into everyday life, as in the Luttrell Psalter. Interestingly, such candid depiction of life with its earthiness, mild irreverences, and human foible, continues to characterize English literature and art: consider Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Hogarth.

Queen Mary Psalter

Several large Psalters that exhibit these characteristics survive from the first half of the fourteenth century, such as the Queen Mary Psalter (1300–1320). No heraldry, colophon, or other evidence in the book reveals an artist, a precise date, or the patron; the present title refers to its ownership by Mary Tudor 200 years later. The richness and breadth of the book does suggest a royal patron, perhaps Queen Isabella, the French consort of Edward II of England and mother of Edward III. Written in a mixture of Latin and French, the languages of the church and court, this psalter contains more than 200 illustrations that appear to have been illustrated by a single anonymous artist. Scholars speculate that the artist worked in London and perhaps administered a workshop.

The sheer breadth of the rich illustrations points to English origin. They include introductory pictures, historiated initials, and marginalia with grotesques and scenes of contemporary life. The book also includes a calendar, a liturgical psalter, Old Testament scenes, an extensive life of Christ, lives of certain saints, canticles, the Athanasian Creed, a litany, and acknowledgements of special feast days for English saints. Illustrations vary from outlines colored with soft wash, typical of the traditional English style, to bold color on gold grounds. The more formal illustrations fit within a linear border. Some pages have a grid with four to six pictures, sometimes with each showing a different background pattern. The elaborate and complex Old Testament narratives include stories of the kings, perhaps as a model of largess and ideal kingship. Folio 51 gives a case in point. The top frame shows Jonathan on the left, killing Philistines in battle. On the right, Saul, his father, after defeating the army, captures Agag, king of Amalek. Below, Samuel anoints David as his brothers stand nearby. The delicate drawing is done in the English style of soft wash of sepia and green ink. The refinement of the figures, with swaying postures, sweet faces, gentle expressions, and graceful gestures, however, typify the French figure style, such as that of the contemporary acclaimed illuminator Jean Pucelle and his large workshop in Paris. Pucelle also sometimes works in sepia wash. He includes bizarre marginalia, as in his tiny Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, *c.* 1324–1328, now in the Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Pucelle, however, uses stronger line and more shadow; therefore, he lacks the delicate fluidity of the English style.

In addition, the Queen Mary Psalter contains ninety bestiary drawings that reflect the wording and sequence of the Norman-French poem of Guillaume le Clerc (*c.* 1210) with nine additional animals. Marginal illustrations show favorite pastimes, such as hunting and falconry, activities known to have been enjoyed by Queen Isabella. Such illustrations may have had a moral significance, such as the huntress who overcomes animals, which symbolizes chastity conquering lust. In the bestiary portion, the artist appears unfamiliar with some of the animals and therefore draws exotic animals in stock forms based on anatomies of dogs, asses, and deer. For example the book contains such creatures as Ethiopian ants and crocodiles and tigers that resemble dogs. This convention could originate in pattern books or reflect knowledge of Pliny's *Natural History*, which contains a section on bizarre creatures.[26]

Ormesby Psalter

The unfinished Ormesby Psalter (MS. Douce 366_B87, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford), which came from East Anglia *c.* 1285–1320, represents a variation of the English style with some Islamic elements. The name of the book derives from Robert Ormesby, a monk who gave the book to the sub-prior of a convent in Norwich. Both the figurative initials and the decoration originated in the same workshop (possibly in Bury St Edmunds), done by two different miniaturists. The corners of the various sheets contain stars, knots, frets, tendrils of vines, and lozenge patterns. Some of these patterns, along with the lettering style, indicate an Islamic source. Knowledge of Cufic script and Islamic motifs came to England in the ninth century with books, imported textiles, and other items. Islamic motifs appear during the reign of Henry III in the Winchester Psalter and in decorations at Westminster Abbey.[27]

The broad and abundantly ornamented margins offer a strong contrast to many earlier thirteenth-century manuscripts. Myths of kings, courtesans, other animals dressed in human garb, genre scenes with falcons and hunting dogs at bay, riddles, and puzzles abound. Histories also appear, usually tucked into the whimsical initials. The body of a winged serpent forms the initial *S* on fol.89r, which then encases the story of Jonah. Some illustrations may obliquely refer to contemporary events. For example, an illustration of Doeg the Edomite, who, following an uprising, killed the high priest on the order of King Saul might recall the revolt of the townspeople against an abbot.

A variety of imaginative and irrepressibly energetic images in the rich borders – some from fantasy, some genre, and some bawdy – sparks another world to life. As with the figures in the border of the aforementioned stained glass window at York, the long tradition of fascinations with everyday life and its earthiness, themes of eccentricity and nonconformity, “baboonery,” or animals aping people, and indecorous subjects, continue to reverberate throughout English medieval art and literature. These figures typify the native genius, originality, humor, and free-thinking of the English people, which diametrically opposes the more the rule-bound, predictable, and decorous Northern European traditions and the classical roots of Mediterranean cultures.

Luttrell Psalter

Probably the most remarkable surviving manuscript from this period is the Luttrell Psalter. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (1276–1345), a knight of Irnham Manor in Lincolnshire, commissioned the book, probably sometime between 1325 and 1335.[28] The psalter contains over 300 sheets with the requisite psalms, canticles, Office of the Dead, and celebrations of feast days. A single scribe appears to have written the large, formal script. At least five illuminators contributed to the illustrations, producing outline drawings with pale washes. Depending on the artist, scenes range from the naïve to the meticulously detailed. Subjects vary from religious narrative to favored saints to drolleries, often spiced with humor. Rendered to please and honor its wealthy patron, the figures possess a rare vitality and the representations of daily rural life guide scholars today. One can only speculate upon how accurately it portrays actual people and events and how much originates in the artists' imaginations. A large portrait of Sir Geoffrey appears at the bottom of a page (folio 202v.), dressed in blue armor, mounted on his bedecked horse, and attended by his wife and daughter-in-law. The lower margins of folios 207–210 show a feast, from the preparatory stages to its serving at the banquet table of Sir Geoffrey, his lady, and his guests, who include two Dominican friars (Fig. 4.31).

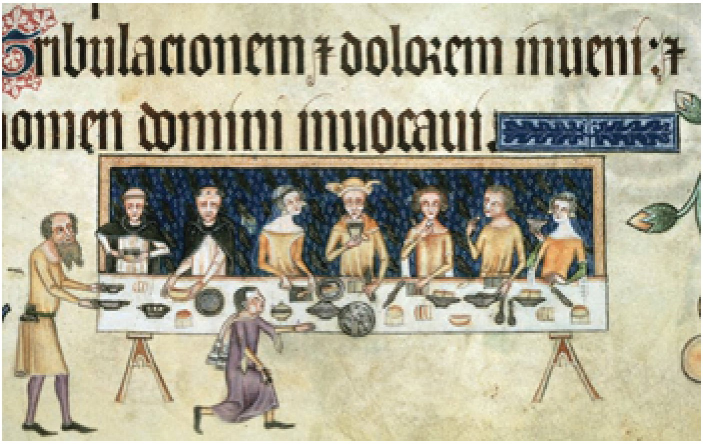

tribulacionem ↄ dolorem inueni: ↄ
nomen domini inuocaui.

Fig. 4.31 Sir Geoffrey Luttrell dining with his family, c. *1325–1335 (vellum), Luttrell Psalter, English School, fourteenth century, MS Add. 42130 f. 208, British Library, London. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

The most informative marginalia depict a sequence of agricultural activity, including plowing, harrowing, breaking clods, sewing seeds, weeding, harvesting, and tying sheaves (folios170r–173v). Scenes also show an ox-drawn cart, jousting, and a town (264v) with the unlikely label of "Constantinius Nobilis" (Constantinople). The artists may have intended to give a generalized representation of an ideal town with timber frame houses, churches, taverns, and a market square surrounded by defensive walls. The possibility exists, however, of specific references to a local place, such as Irnham, Stamford, or Lincoln. In short, the illustrations in the Luttrell Psalter offer the best surviving representation of life in medieval England.

In addition to scenes of daily life, rich drolleries in the borders of every page teem with some sort of visual fascination: imagination, humor, violence, bawdiness, even obscenity. Human figures, rendered with remarkable imagination and skill, enact humorous vignettes, moments of domestic drama, women's labors, warfare, jousts, and falconry. Beasts range from the naturalistic, including snails, birds, and goats, to anthropomorphic creatures of fantasy that have faces on their buttocks. Could they enact parodies, lessons, or representations of the irrational? Although other manuscripts share some similarities with the Luttrell Psalter, no other one to survive offers as much.

Miscellaneous Chronicles

Although damaged in 1731 in the fire in the Cotton Library, the 101 folios that survive from The *Miscellaneous Chronicles* (*c*. 1280–1300) give evidence of an increasing market for secular books.[29] The illustrations include eight miniatures of the kings of England from Edward the Confessor to Edward I. A short text in French follows, written in decorative red, blue, and gold lettering. The figures of William of Normandy Killing Harold at the Battle of Hastings (f.3v) face each other in profile seated on horses standing nose to nose against a star-studded, ultramarine blue background. Soldiers wearing thirteenth-century armor crowd the top of the composition, while the horses' legs form an open pattern below. Folio 4v. shows King Stephen standing with a falcon facing King Henry II, who is seated on his throne. Each is enclosed within a gabled niche, a format that resembles the carved and painted wooden sedalia, or bench for the clerics, at Westminster Abbey. Thus, as in past eras, England continues to excel in the book industry and though influenced by the artistic movements on the continent, the artists retain their own distinctive character.

Textiles: *opus anglicanum*

The English have a long history as great producers and consumers of textiles, as apparent in the twelfth-century Bayeux Tapestry, which probably was one of many similar embroidered wall hangings known today only through secondary sources. From the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century, *opus anglicanum*, English embroidery work, made by nimble-fingered women, was the most sought after textile work in Europe. The labor involved could take years; thus, the finished products cost dearly. Many of the surviving examples include liturgical vestments and altar hangings, embroidered in silk and metallic threads of gold and silver, with backings of linen or velvet. Often the borders of vestments had rows of saints or narrative scenes that related to a particular liturgical season. The production of vestments and liturgical furnishings, however, declined after the Black Death. Some textiles, of which few survive, served secular purposes, such as furniture covers, standards, bed coverings, and wall hangings. Occasionally a name is recorded. For example, between 1239 and 1243, Mabel of Bury St Edmunds filled two large commissions for Henry III.[30]

The popes were especially fond of *opus anglicanum*. A 1295 inventory at the Vatican lists over eighty liturgical vestments of English origin. Pope Benedict XI gave one such chasuble to the Church of S. Domenico in Bologna, which today is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Stitched in silk, gold, and silver on a linen ground, it portrays nineteen scenes from the Life of Christ enacted by graceful figures set into decorative pointed niches. The style of the needlework, with lilting lines, gold and silver-wrapped silk threads, and broad areas of dazzling color, tends to reflect the richness of some of the contemporary manuscript illuminations. Borders containing the heads of Christ and 3 apostles and saints separate the two registers of narrative scenes. Matthew Paris records a story pertaining to Pope Innocent IV's esteem for these textiles:

> About the same time [1245] my Lord Pope, having noticed that the ecclesiastical ornaments of certain English priests, such as choral copes and mitres, were embroidered in gold thread after a most desirable fashion, asked whence came this work? From England, they told him. Then exclaimed the pope, “England is for us surely a garden of delights, truly an inexhaustible well.”

Summary of Decorated Gothic art in England

Edward I ushered in the late Plantagenet period with characteristic strength, leveraged also in battle. The Gothic style in England, imported from France, came into its own in the twelfth century and by the late thirteenth century, had developed in unique and creative ways that distinguish English works from those of the continent. The intrinsic love of sinuous pattern reaches new levels of sophistication and complexity in window mullions, decorative rib vaulting, wood carving, sculpture, painting, and manuscript illumination. The French courtly style especially influenced the elegance in English painting. Large scale panel and mural painting appear to have lagged behind continental trends. However, manuscript illumination continued to be strong and that tradition, like sculpture, had a distinctively English flavor. The English examples show greater monumentality, sincerity, earthiness, and humor, as well as the age-old fascination with pattern and surface ornament.

In architecture, the relatively short-lived Decorated Gothic proved to be a staging ground for the innovations and austerity to come in the lengthy Perpendicular Gothic phase. Some of their engineering feats, however, remained unmatched until the modern industrial era. Whereas life in England was relatively stable and predictable in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, calamity struck in the middle of the fourteenth century that changed economics, social order, and life in general. These changes extended the life of the Gothic style in England but did not stifle its freshness and creativity.

Notes

1 The campaign gained him the epithet "Scottorum malleus" (Hammer of the Scots). Edward's war booty included the "Stone of Scone" (also called the "Stone of Destiny"), the oblong, 336 lb (152 kg) block of sandstone upon which Scottish kings sat to be crowned. The stone allegedly is that upon which Jacob rested his head and dreamt of angels descending from the heavens on a ladder and that from which Moses received water. It was taken to Spain and then Scotland, where it rested in the Abbey of Scone until 1296, when Edward I took it to Westminster Abbey and incorporated into the English royal coronation chair. Edward II was the first monarch to sit at his coronation upon the oak throne and Stone of Scone. Every monarch since has been crowned on that throne. In 1996, it was returned to Scotland and now rests in Edinburgh Castle.

2 Pamela Z. Blum, "The Sequence of the Building Campaign at Salisbury". *Art Bulletin* 73(1) (1991): 6–38 at 23–9 and ns 81 and 114; "Thirteenth-Century Glass of the Salisbury Chapter House". *Gesta* 37(2) (1998): 142–9; Rosalie B. Green, "Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 148–58.

3 Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London, 1999), 25–30. Geoffrey F. Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages, The Pelican History of Art,* Nicholas Pevsner ed. (Baltimore, MD, 1956), 61–2, 152–3.

4 The span is for vaults only and does not include the side aisles. The nave at York Minster is 250 ft (76.2 m) in length. The nave was destroyed by fire in 1840. Rebuilding replicated the earlier forms and materials. Louise Hampson, *York Minster* (York, 2005), 37–9. Brown, *Stained Glass,* 33–4.

5 The choir at Bristol determined that the nave also would be in the hall church design, although only the choir is fourteenth century. In the nineteenth century the nave was completed according to the original plan.

6 Derek Pearsall, *Gothic Europe: 1200–1440* (Harlow, 2001), 83 and 86; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (London, 2004), chap. 5, 103–21.

7 Phillip Lindley, "Carpenter's Gothic and Gothic Carpentry: Contrasting Attitudes to the Restoration of the Octagon and Removals of the Choir at Ely Cathedral"**.** *Architectural History* 30 (1987), 83–112; Michael White, *A Promise of Beauty: The Octagon Tower and Lantern at Ely Cathedral* (Ely, 2007), 27–5 and *ad passim.*

8 The dome of the Roman Pantheon of *c.* 126 AD measures 142 ft wide and 142 ft high (43.3 m). The diameter of the dome of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul

(532–537) measures about 102 ft (31 m). The dome of Charlemagne's Palace Chapel, the largest in northern Europe in *c.* 800, is 47.6 ft (14.5 m).

9 In 1807, the western spires, reinforced in the eighteenth century, were deemed structurally unsounded and removed.

10 Ivo de Raghton served as master mason. Archbishop William Melton commissioned the glass in 1339 from the workshop of Master Robert [Ketlebarn?] and Thomas Bouesdun. Brown, *Stained Glass*, 34–7, 42–3, 48–52.

11 Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (Oxford, 2004), *ad passim*.

12 John Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 281–2.

13 Martial Rose and Julia Hedgecoe, *Stories in Stone: The Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich Cathedral* (London, 1997), 8–11, 23–43, and 123–39 for the relationship to liturgical drama. See also Eric Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993), *ad passim*.

14 Rosalys Coope, "'The Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration". *Architectural History* 29 (1986): 43–72 at 43–5, 74–84; J. T. Smith, "Medieval Roofs: A Classification". *Archaeological Journal* 115 (1958), 111–49 at 124; N. W. Alcock and M. W. Barley, "Medieval Roofs with Base-Crucks and Short Principals". *Antiquaries Jour*nal 52(1) (1972), 132–68.

15 Goodall, *Castle*, 218–20. The Roman fortifications at Split, Croatia and Istanbul, Turkey included polygonal towers.

16 Goodall, *Castle,* 226.

17 The waterfront area of the Tower was altered again in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 4ff and John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1993), 64.

18 Goodall, *Castle*, 157.

19 John Walker, "Late Twelfth & Early Thirteenth-Century Aisled Buildings: A Comparison". *Vernacular Architecture* 30 (1999), 21–53; Lynn T. Courtenay, "The Westminster Hall Roof and Its 14th-Century Sources"**.** *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43(4) (1984): 295–309.

20 Smith, "Medieval Roofs: A Classification", 123; John Crook, "The Pilgrim's Hall, Winchester". *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 38 (1982): 85–101; Crook maintains the date of 1308. Courtenay, quotes C. Munby for date of 1290, "*The Westminster Hall Roof and Its 14th-Century Sources*", n. 11, p. 296. Today the hall has an inserted floor with modern windows and entry.

21 Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship* (University Park, PA, 2000), 64.

22 Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, 64–7. Valence's tomb is altered and may not be in its original location in the abbey.

23 "Westminster Abbey," *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Artes, Sciences* (1821), 779–80; Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Rochester, NY, 2002), 109–11; Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, 64–72.

24 Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, 82–8.

25 Paul Binski and Ann Massing, eds, *The Westminster Abbey Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (London, 2009); Paul Binski, "The Westminster Retable: England's Oldest Altarpiece". Exhibition catalogue, 18 May–4 September 2005, National Gallery (London, 2005); *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation Of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, CT, 1995),

152–67; "The Earliest Photographs of the Westminster Retable". *Burlington Magazine* (February 1988): 128–32; W. R. Lethaby, "English Primitives – III. The Master of the Westminster Altar-Piece". *Burlington Magazine* (December 1916): 351–3, 355–7.

26 Anne Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience*. (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), *ad passim,* and Sir George Warner, *Introduction to Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century Reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII in the British Museum* (London, 1912), *ad passim*; Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the "Natural History"* (New Haven, CT, 2013), 4–6.

27 Frederica C. E. Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter: An English Medieval Masterpiece* (Oxford, 2005), *ad passim*.

28 Janet Backhouse, *Medieval Rural Life in the Luttrell Psalter* (London, 2000); *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (London, 1998), *ad passim*; and *The Luttrell Psalter* (New York, 1990), *ad passim*.

29 Michelle P. Brown, ed., *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour Of Janet Backhouse* (London, 1998); Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page*, 91.

30 Pearsall, *Gothic Europe*, 136.

Chapter 5

Particularly, peculiarly, and perpetually English: the Perpendicular Gothic style and Wars of the Roses. The last Plantagenet, the Lancasters, and the Yorks, 1327–1485

The long reign of Edward III (1327–1377), the last Plantagenet, coincides with the onset of the Perpendicular Gothic style in architecture and the concurrent International Style in painting and the decorative arts. In spite of the devastations left by plague, foreign wars, internal social unrest, and dynastic struggles, England remained sufficiently stable to support a developing artistic tradition. In fact, under Edward's grandson Richard II (1377–1399) and subsequent Lancastrian and Yorkist kings, the style flowers into its glory. The onset of the fifteenth century in England and on the continent witnesses a fundamental change in the arts: patronage widens from the nearly exclusive religious sphere into the secular. Purpose likewise broadens from pious conviction to conspicuous consumption and display. Much of the impetus comes through royal contacts on the continent, especially with the court of Burgundy.

As early fifteenth-century Florentines begin to revive antique models, the Perpendicular Gothic in England, sometimes called the autumn of English architecture because of its late development and its longevity, flowers as one of the most imaginative and decidedly English periods of the architectural styles. Just as Mozart's invention on a nursery tune intrigues all the more because of its inventive variations on familiar harmonies, so this new phase of a seasoned architectural style is, on the one hand, pleasingly familiar, and on the other, captivating in its imaginative restructuring of traditional motifs.

The sumptuous, mannered International Gothic style complements the Perpendicular Gothic architecture in painting and the decorative arts. A lilting elegance, costly materials, and rich embellishments characterize the courtly style, which become more international in scope and therefore more uniform in style. In its later manifestations, the English style grew increasingly independent of continental developments. Subject matter broadens from the almost exclusively religious to history, mythology, politics, portraiture, and scenes of daily life.

The late medieval and early Renaissance courtly style evolved at the papal court, which moved from Rome to Avignon in 1308 at the urging of the French king. The style was intertwined with the convoluted canons of courtly decorum, which, in turn, was rooted in philosophical and religious texts. Courtly etiquette, accompanied by policy, written and unwritten, articulated what was appropriate to which rank in behavior, ceremony, dress, architecture, and the patronage of art. By the fifteenth century, as political power was consolidating, this courtly conduct spread from the church to royal courts throughout Europe, first to France and Burgundy and later to England, initiating an age of conspicuous consumption the likes of which were unrivalled since ancient times. Key to courtly decorum was the Aristotelian idea that the display of magnificence and ceremony that surrounded a person of rank projected a visible sign of authority. Likewise, the influential thirteenth-century theologian Thomas Aquinas, among others, praised magnificence as a virtuous balance between miserliness and excess. Ceremony – hierarchical and strictly regulated – also migrated from the ecclesiastical court to secular courts. The trappings extended to everything from clothing, armor, and jewelry to palaces with rich furnishings and gardens with tiltyards and formal plantings as settings for ceremonies. Nobles, following the royal model at a slightly lesser level, began to establish a distance between themselves and those beneath them, so dwellings increased in size to accommodate a hierarchy of living quarters and guest quarters.[1]

The English monarchy, weakened by the overlapping turmoil of the Hundred Years War, the Black Death, and dynastic infighting, lagged behind its European peers. The king needed to reassert his supremacy over his subjects, especially the nobles; he also needed to strengthen alliances abroad and appear imposing to European powers. English court culture and artistic patronage began to escalate during the reign of Edward IV. As a victim of the Wars of the Roses, he sat in exile (1470–1471) at the sumptuous court of the Duke of Burgundy, living the life of splendor that Burgundian writer Guillaume Fillastre (*c.* 1470) articulated. That is, the chief virtue of a monarch was magnificence; therefore, he should live richly. At the same time, John Fortescue published *The Governance of England,* in which he codified specifically for the English king the decorum regarding the importance of magnificence to power. Neither writer perceived frugality as a virtue; rather they believed that to live unpretentiously gave the appearance of weakness and vulnerability. In the words of Fortescue, without these accoutrements and displays, the king did not live in keeping with his rank, "… rather in miserie and in more subgeccion than doth a private person."[2] The growing importance of the controlling concept of magnificence dominated the arts and architecture in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Artists, masons, craftsmen, musicians, scholars, those skilled in ceremony and rhetoric, and a bevy of minions worked together to create the splendid accoutrements demanded by the court.

The catastrophic fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the character of the monarchs

The reign of Edward III began ominously. He ascended the throne at 13. In 1330, after enduring 3 years of the misrule of his mother, Queen Isabella, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, Edward seized control and, for the most part, proved to be a good ruler. In addition to ushering in a new architectural style, Edward also witnessed the start of a long, difficult period, first the onset of what became known as the Hundred Years War in 1337, followed by the Black Death in 1348.

Edward was a warrior with nationalistic ambitions and a devotee of the legendary Anglo-Saxon King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. To achieve his ambitions, he garnered the support of his nobles. Whereas Edward II was often at odds with his peers, Edward III generated harmony. On the eve of war with France, he added six earls and created the new, even higher title of duke for his close relatives.

Although England grew increasingly strong and united, the lands that the English king held on the continent as a duke, and therefore a vassal to the French king, proved a different matter. Whereas the English king resented this subservient status, at the same time, English control of Aquitaine and Calais curbed the power of the French king. In 1328, when Charles IV died leaving no male issue to inherit the throne, Edward claimed the throne through the bloodlines of his French mother. This power struggle with the French heir, Philip VI, erupted into warfare in 1337 that continued intermittently over the next century – hence the name, the Hundred Years War (1337–1453).

A fear of foreign invasion always reinforces national unity, and both Edward's strengthening of the nobility and his sense of national identity emerge in the war with France. Under the skilled leadership of Edward's son Prince Edward of Woodstock (1330–1376), popularly known as the "Black Prince" (allegedly so named because of the color of his armor), the early encounters in 1347 at Crécy and Calais favored the English. Later, the fortunes shifted to the French. By 1453, England had lost its holdings in France except for Calais, along with any claims to that throne. Moreover, since the Norman Conquest, the

English aristocracy had tenaciously clung to their Anglo-French origins, customs, and the French language; however, in light of the animosity toward the French, the English language came into vogue. In 1362, the Statute of Pleading (although written in French) required that English be spoken in courts of law; the following year, Parliament opened in English for the first time. Art, like language, law, and literature, reflected this growing nationalism.

Upon Edward III's return from his victory at Calais, he increased the camaraderie with his nobles when he founded the chivalric Order of the Garter in 1348, modeled on King Arthur's 300 Knights of the Round Table. This exclusive military order, Britain's highest order of chivalry, initially consisted of 25 knightly companions to the king. Centered at Windsor Castle, the Order of the Garter brought the code of chivalry to its height. It also inspired architectural projects at Windsor, as the order absorbed itself with courtly ceremonies and chivalric tournaments rather than matters of warfare. Edward adopted St George, a warrior saint of international stature, as patron of his Order and England's special patron. By invoking the favors of this warrior saint, who gained favor in Western Europe during this era of crusading, Edward simultaneously demonstrated the international scope of his chivalric aspirations and the spiritual dimension of the nationalism that his wars fostered.[3]

Within months of the victory at Calais, the "Great Pestilence," which later generations called the "Black Death," cast its pall across Europe. This pandemic occurrence of Bubonic Plague, which may still be humanity's most devastating recorded tragedy, entered England at Weymouth and spread throughout the island in the course of a year. Plague virulently returned the two following years, and afterwards recurred at less devastating sporadic intervals. The worst subsequent episodes occurred in 1361–1362. Whole villages vanished. The shadows of these "deserted medieval villages" appear in oddly lumpy fields scattered throughout the English countryside.

England did not suffer alone. All of Europe endured calamities during the fourteenth century: plague, famine, peasant revolts, and, periodically, weak monarchs. Although England may have fared better than the continent, to lose between a third and half of the population had tremendous ramifications in every theater of life: politics, social and religious structures, the economy and cultural life. In art and architecture, the middle class and newly wealthy people would have new tastes and different patterns of patronage. Some scholars maintain that the Black Death, with all of its subsequent social and economic ramifications, ended the Middle Ages. Certainly afterwards, life was forever changed. The feudal system weakened as skilled laborers and the merchant middle class began to gain wealth and independence. With a smaller labor force, workers demanded higher wages; those who employed them resisted. Further social unrest ensued, erupting in 1381 as a Peasant's Revolt. Only in the 1460s did England's population growth begin to recover, but probably did not reach the level it had been in 1300 until well after 1600.

Issues of royal succession erupted as well. Upon the death of Edward III, his 14 year-old-grandson was crowned Richard II, as his promising warrior son, the Black Prince had predeceased his father. Although Richard ruled 20 years and patronized the arts, he proved to be a weak warrior, a despotic ruler, a spendthrift, and, for the first time since Richard I, a king who produced no male heir. In 1399, his first cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Derby and eldest son of his father's brother, John of Gaunt, seized the throne and was crowned Henry IV (1399–1413). Rather than imprison Richard in the Tower of London, Henry sent him to a remote part of Yorkshire to Pomfret (Pontefract) Castle, where he was murdered.

After the death of Richard II, a time of stable rule ensued under Henry IV and his son Henry V (1413–1422), who was brilliantly successful as a military leader but short-lived. He brought brief glory to England as the dashing hero of the Battle of Agincourt. Shakespeare brought legendary proportions to his fame in one of his finest history plays. Other descendants of Edward III, during the long and ineffective reign of Henry VI, claimed that they had a better right to the throne, leading to a period of dynastic conflict later called the Wars of the Roses. The name came from the emblems of the opposing families: the red rose of Lancaster, through John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the white rose of York, through Edmund, Duke of York. After many years of confusion, deposition and violence, the death in battle of the last Yorkist king, Richard III, ended these wars, and Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, took the throne in 1485. The feud later inspired Shakespeare to write a series of history plays about Richard II and his successors, which, rightly or wrongly, continue to color our vision about these monarchs.

Henry VI proved more successful as a patron of education, the arts, and architecture than as a king. In particular, he founded Eton College, across the Thames from Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge. His weaknesses, however, led to strife. In 1461, he was deposed by his cousin Edward, Duke of York, who served 1461–1470 as Edward IV. Henry was imprisoned in the Wakefield Tower at the Tower of London, restored in 1470, and the following year, imprisoned again in the Tower. Soon after he was murdered, as tradition has it, in the oratory of the Wakefield Tower, on the orders of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on behalf of his brother, Edward, Duke of York.

The death of Henry VI's only son Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1471 at the Battle of Tewkesbury brought the Duke of York from exile to resume his reign as Edward IV (1471–83). He began as a good, fiscally responsible administrator. Unfortunately he did not continue as such. Edward had spent Henry VI's brief restoration of 1470–1471 in exile in The Hague and Bruges, where he moved in the rarefied court circles of the Duke of Burgundy. Once back in England, Edward IV's experience at the Burgundian court helped revitalize English court culture and artistic patronage. Upon his death in 1483, his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, seized the crown as Richard III. Shakespeare painted Richard as quite the villain. He did indeed gain power at the expense of his young nephews and rightful heirs, the uncrowned Edward V and his brother Richard, sons of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, whom Edward had married secretly. After Edward's death, the validity of his secret marriage was disputed, during which time the boys vanished – allegedly murdered by their uncle Richard and buried at the Tower of London.[4] How evil Richard really was will never be known, for in 1485 he died at Bosworth Field and was hastily buried at Greyfriars Friary Church in Leicester. Recently, archaeologists exhumed the king's body, which showed mortal head wounds and severe curvature of the spine.[5] The victor, Henry Tudor, who also claimed the throne, took the helm of England's government.[6] His accession and marriage would end the feud, reunite the two factions, and usher in the reign of a new royal house: the Tudors.

Origins of Perpendicular Gothic architecture

Although the Perpendicular Gothic style in England emerged around 1350, during the reign of Edward III, who was almost as prolific a builder as Henry III, it soared during the reign of Richard II (1377–1399), another great builder, and endured. On the continent few important late Gothic innovations occurred. By 1425 in Italy, the classical style rejuvenated in Florence, spread in a ripple effect to Urbino and Rome, and then abroad to France. By the end of Richard's reign, the English, on the other hand, continued to explore and exploit the possibilities of the Gothic style, rearranging and expanding the canon in creative ways.

The gentle suppleness that characterized the Decorated Gothic buildings disappears in favor of a more disciplined approach, austere in form, yet often highly embellished with surface decoration. As with the earlier styles, the new Perpendicular Gothic is first apparent in the large windows that dominate the architecture inside and out, especially over the entrances to the nave and transepts, and in the choir, which often ended in a flat wall. The windows give the new style its name, "Perpendicular," because of the rectilinear system of framing in large grids of tracery with repeated cusped peaks. Stone mullions become narrower, replaced by larger and less visible iron casings to support the larger individual panes of glass. The stark and rigid lines, especially in the windows and exterior surfaces, diametrically oppose the lyrical freedom of the Decorated Style. The windows and doorways often assume the shapes of the four-centered arch, a low, elliptical pointed arch that centers around four arcs: two centered on the springing line and two centered below, the level at which the vertical sides of the arch begin to curve. First seen at Gloucester Cathedral and sometimes called a "Tudor" arch, or an ogee, this flattened, pointed, ogee-type arch will become a hallmark of the Perpendicular style.

Although exterior and window surfaces are severe, the vaulting is the complete opposite. Often a system of four-centered arches supports the vaults. The multiple points and wide surfaces create the ideal incubator for creativity in vaulting design with opulent webbed patterns that sometimes resembled fans or umbrella spokes. Unlike their French counterparts, where verticality prevails and only the lines of the supporting ribs are visible, in England, often decorative vaulting patterns obscure the supporting ribs. This final incarnation of the Gothic Style remains imposing and dignified; it also fits English taste for rich surface decoration. Ceilings never reach the heights of the French cathedrals. However, like the French, the proportion of windows to wall space increases drastically.

The images in the windows also expand to include a wider variety of colors and secular subjects – victorious battles, donor portraits, and displays of royalty. The inventive patterns and images in the windows are both restrained and rich, and above all, particularly, peculiarly, and perpetually English. The Perpendicular Style, with its rich surface decoration and large windows (a sign of wealth in themselves) is the perfect complement for the rising emphasis on magnificent display. Perpendicular Gothic becomes the standard for English building for two hundred years, or until the classical revival in the late Tudor and Stuart reigns. Over the course of the next half-millennium, periodically the style would reawaken. It remains the hallmark of

England, a sign of her inventiveness, individuality, and national spirit.

The Perpendicular style in London and royal circles

The Perpendicular style of architecture emerges first at various royal projects and churches in London. The documents record the names of four important builders: Thomas of Canterbury, a mason who worked at St Paul's, London and at Gloucester, and who possibly was the son of Michael of Canterbury, the original mason and designer of St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster; William Ramsey, a master mason at St Paul's and St Stephen's; William Hurley (or Hurle), a master carpenter in London who also had worked at Ely Cathedral; and Henry Yeveley, who also worked at Canterbury. Edward and his builders brought the Perpendicular Gothic style into its magnificent glory at Westminster and St Paul's as well as at the ever growing, increasingly lavish royal residences at the Tower of London, Windsor Castle, and Sheen Palace near Richmond.[7]

Westminster Abbey

Royal and ecclesiastical commissions at Westminster Abbey bridge the transition from the Curvilinear Gothic to the Perpendicular. Edward III resumed construction at the Abbey, which Richard II finished; like his grandfather (not to mention his ancestor Henry III), Richard was devoted to Edward the Confessor. An early instance of stylistic evolution occurs in the South Cloister, built between 1349 and 1362 (Fig. 5.1). Henry Yeveley, one of the most prominent of all medieval English builders, may have participated, although only from 1362 on is his work there documented. He was in London by 1353 and by 1360 had received the life appointment as Master Mason of the Kings Works. Yeveley, his brother Robert, and their successors would dominate architectural design throughout England until the end of the century. Probably guided by Abbot Litlyngton and Cardinal Simon Langham (d. 1376), who contributed funds, Yeveley chose consistency with the Decorated Style of Henry III over the exuberance of the new Perpendicular Style. Abbot Litlyngton laid the foundation stone for construction in the nave on 3 March 1376, during which time the old Norman façade was demolished. By 1403, the Purbeck columns stood in place and the walls reached to the triforium level. The earlier diaper pattern on the walls above the arcade disappeared in favor of simplicity, although the gallery, windows, and vaulting remained consistent with the previous treatment. Richard II and Henry V continued the project. From 1471 to 1498, the nave was roofed and the west façade was crowned with its huge Perpendicular Gothic window frame. Between 1500 and 1517, during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, builders completed the final vaulting and glazed the west window, also in the Perpendicular Style.

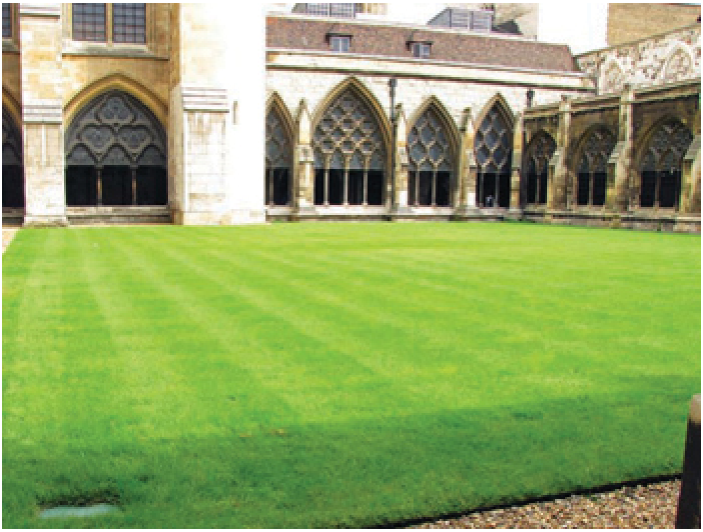


Fig. 5.1 Westminster Abbey, London, Henry Yeveley, master mason (?), South Cloister, 1349–1362. Photograph: author

Westminster Palace: St Stephen's Chapel

Whereas the innovations at Westminster Abbey survive, fire consumed three seminal buildings: St Paul's Cathedral and its Chapter House in London were lost to the Great Fire of 1666, and St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster Palace burned along with the Houses of Parliament in 1834. (The Chapel of St Mary Undercroft in the crypt did survive and is embedded within the nineteenth-century Parliament building.) Both the St Paul's Cathedral and St Stephen's Chapel appear in Wenceslaus Hollar's and Claes Visscher's seventeenth-century engravings and in other sources. Although these prints are reasonably accurate for scale and appearance, they reveal only so much. Little evidence survives from the Chapter House at St Paul's. Documents, engravings, and greater longevity left more information about St Stephen's, although Sir Christopher Wren severely altered the chapel in the late seventeenth century when its function changed from royal chapel to the chamber for the House of Commons.

In 1290, Edward II laid the foundation stone for St Stephen's Chapel, the English response to the French Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. Like its French counterpart, the form of St Stephen's was that of a little hall church with an emphasis on verticality: no aisles, tall stained glass windows, and lavish painted decoration. Both were two-stories high and embedded within the palace, with the tall upper portion serving as the private chapel for the royal family and the ground floor as a crypt chapel for the court and royal household. Unlike the reserved, attenuated elegance and sophisticated iconography of the Sainte-Chapelle, however, the English counterpart delighted in richly painted ceiling panels and bosses, ornamented designs, and lilting lines.

Construction on the lower portion began in 1292. In 1298, a fire erupted in the palace. In 1323, Edward III resumed construction. By 1329, the lower chapel appears to have been completed. In fact, a boss depicting the martyrdom of St Stephen survives in the crypt (now the Parliamentary Chapel of St Mary Undercroft). Between 1330 and 1347, Master Thomas of Canterbury, followed by William of Ramsey of Norwich, directed the building of the vault, clerestory, and windows in the upper chapel. In 1332, the stone arrived for the windows. For the first time, large great rectilinear grids of iron tracery held large glass panes, minimizing the stone tracery needed to frame the windows. Glazing and decoration continued after the Black Death, with masters scouring the countryside for materials and workmen, especially painters and glaziers. In 1348, Edward III issued a charter for the chapel.

In addition to the rich architecture and large stained glass windows, St Stephen's Chapel was decorated with biblical paintings done in the exquisite jewel-like colors, primarily reds and blues, characteristic of the courtly International Gothic style. Work on the painting scheme seems to have lasted until 1363. Fragments of scenes from Job and Tobit that survive in the British Museum echo the miniature style and detail of contemporary manuscript illuminations. They were arranged in two registers of four scenes with explanatory text between and below. The figures were situated in faux architectural surroundings set against colored backgrounds reminiscent of cloth of gold.[8]

St Stephen's bridges the culmination of the Decorated Gothic style and the conception of the Perpendicular, in part because the project took so long to complete. For several generations, artisans from all over England who trained there would transmit ideas when they left and took work elsewhere. Especially influential was the new use of bar tracery, which reappeared in the 1330s at Gloucester Cathedral. Such successors, remaining fragments, and documentary evidence allow scholars to reconstruct something of the novelty and magnificence of the chapel.

Westminster Palace: gallery

In 1325, Edward III constructed a gallery at Westminster Palace to connect Henry III's Painted Chamber with St Stephen's Chapel. This new, influential architectural form, based on the open-sided cloister design of monasteries, appeared around 1300 in France. These free-standing connecting passageways (sometimes called pentices) were enclosed on both sides. Some stood at ground-level, while others stood above an open loggia. At Christchurch Priory, Canterbury, a single story timber covered way with a tile roof (*c.* 1382) survives, which replaced an earlier passage that predated Edward's at Westminster. The gallery at Westminster, however, was more than utilitarian. It appears that the stone foundation supported two enclosed stories and a leaden roof. It may have been heated. The cut stone walls were pierced with glazed windows to allow in light, which also displayed elegance and wealth. Gradually palaces and grand houses of nobles began incorporate such galleries, which soon served important functions beyond that of a passageway. They also offered space for indoor exercise, walls for the display of portrait collections, and through the windows, a view of the gardens.[9]

Tower of London

Edward III made the last substantial changes to defensive fortifications in England. At the Tower of London, he built an outer curtain wall. On the riverfront, it connected with Edward I's Watergate on the eastern corner, called St Thomas's Tower. He extended the wharf to facilitate the loading and unloading of cargo. It proved especially useful for military items for the Hundred Years War. About two-thirds of the way down that wall, Edward III added the Cradle Tower (1348–1355), which served as a private Watergate, complete with a portcullis. Through the Cradle Tower the king could reach his lodgings in the Lanthorn Tower. In the arched opening below, the ribbed vaulting featured open ring bosses, originally designed for church towers to accommodate ropes for bells. These, however, were murder holes through which objects or liquids could be dropped onto assailants. This disguised defense mechanism soon appeared at other gatehouses built by royal builders.[10] The Garden Gate, begun by Henry III as a Watergate (now landlocked) and later named the Bloody Tower, opened into the Inner Ward. Edward III and Richard II reconstructed the tower. Between 1360 and 1362, Robert Yeveley, Master and Warden of the Tower of London and brother of Henry Yeveley, designed the magnificent ribbed vault in the arched opening; the circular bosses, however, feature recessed rosettes rather than murder holes (Fig. 5.2). After the reign of Edward III, the defensive function of castles slipped into obsolescence because of the new use of gunpowder. Subsequent improvements to existing English castles primarily enhanced residential comfort and facilitated ceremony.

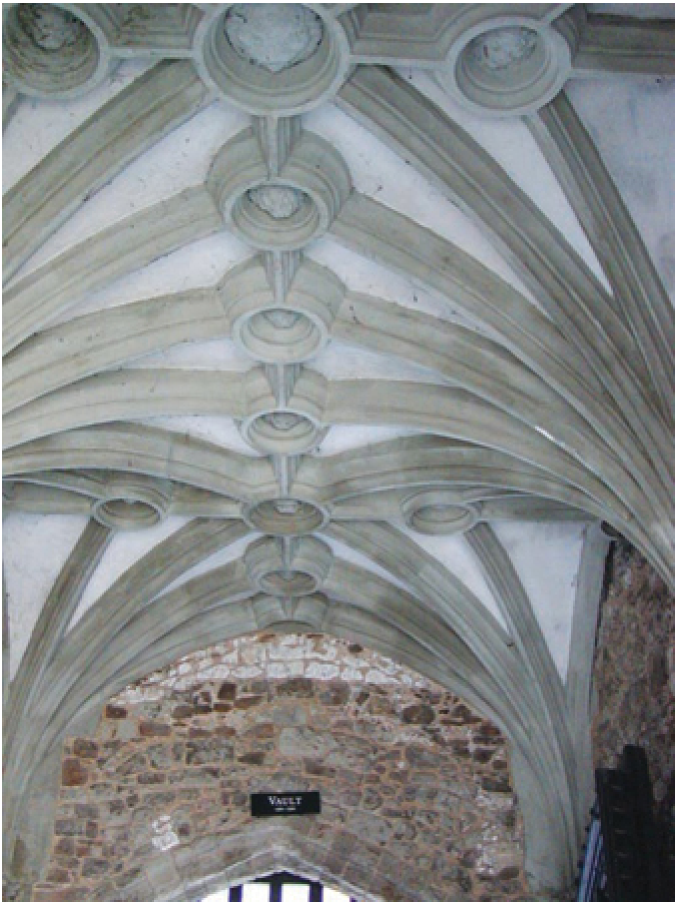


Fig. 5.2 Tower of London, London, Robert Yeveley, master mason, vaulting in garden gate (later renamed the Bloody Tower), 1360–1362. Photograph: author

Windsor Castle

Absorbed in the symbolic cult of Arthurian chivalry, evident in the newly formed chivalric Order of the Garter centered there, Edward III turned his attention to Windsor Castle, his birthplace, which he transformed from a citadel into the grandest royal palace in the realm and the chief center of operations for the English monarchy, as it remains today. Convenient to London and surrounded by a park rich in game, Windsor made the perfect royal retreat for the flamboyant young king and the ultimate embodiment of his idea of kingship. William Wykeham, later bishop of Winchester, headed the renovations. Wykeham entered royal service as early as 1348; in 1356, Edward appointed him surveyor of the King's Works. William Wynford, who had previously worked at Wells Cathedral while Wykeham was provost there, and John Spoonlee, who had worked at St George's Chapel at Windsor, served as master masons. Spoonlee probably had a major role in designing the new buildings. The partnership between Wykeham and Wynford proved especially productive. By 1377, Wynford was master mason for all of Wykeham's building works, several of which were spectacular. Royal carpenters William Hurley and William Herland (father of Hugh) also worked at Windsor. This team was seminal in the formation and dissemination of the Perpendicular Style, both secular and ecclesiastical.

Windsor Castle: Middle Ward

Expansion and strengthening the fortifications, including the stone curtain walls, received first priority. Wykeham inscribed his name and the date 1356 on the Winchester Tower on the lower side of the Middle Ward. The Round Tower at the upper end, called Henry II's keep, became the geographic center of the complex. Royal apartments and the hall within the Round Tower, built of timber frame construction with curved braces reaching to tie beams, served as temporary quarters while the Upper Ward was refurbished.[11]

Windsor Castle: Upper Ward

In 1357, William Wykeham, clerk of the works, with William Mulsho, canon of Windsor, began to expand and rebuild the royal lodgings in the Upper Ward. In spite of subsequent rebuilding of the state apartments in the seventeenth century, the uniform appearance of the courtyard plan, with grey stone walls and lighter colored stone window mullions, entrance arches, embedded gatehouses, and quoins at the corners endure, supported by the original stone vaults in the undercroft.

At the northwest joining point of the Middle and Upper Wards, adjacent to the motte, Wykeham built the most imposing of all of his gates, a four-story, doubled-towered gatehouse, now called by the misnomer of Norman Gate (Fig. 5.3). As Windsor's last bastion of defense, this gate, like the Cradle Tower at the Tower of London, also has murder holes concealed behind removable lion's head bosses. Beginning at the narrow, multi-sided Rose Tower adjacent to the wall at the base of the motte, three perpendicular ranges frame a courtyard, called "The Quadrangle." This large open area provides the perfect setting for tiltings, jousts, and pageantry. At each corner and each end, the ranges join with drum towers. The parallel wings hold royal apartments, guest quarters, and formal state rooms. The low elliptical four-centered arch that becomes characteristic of Perpendicular Gothic architecture makes an early appearance here in the various entrances.

The western end of the north range began with the narrow, multi-sided Rose Tower, which stood beside the Great Chamber, with its delicate rounded windows and elaborate moldings. The palace chapel and the great hall stood end to end on the east side. The kitchen gatehouse stood in the east corner beside the hall. A large, projecting central gate entrance separated the chapel from the chamber. Between about 1358–1360, William Wykeham, and after 1361, William Mulsho, created luxurious independent lodgings for Edward and his court that adjoined the Norman Gate and extended around the east and south sides. As a counterpart to the Norman Gate, he built St George's Gate in the southwest corner, named for the patron of the Order of the Garter (Fig. 5.4). The boxy entrance, with its four-centered arches and crenellations, projects outward from the curtain wall on both sides. Along the western end of the south range, the king built the handsome five-storied, slightly elliptical tower, named the Tower of Edward III in honor of the king, to house the private royal apartments. On the west side, adjacent to St George's Gate, that tower adjoins a smaller but taller tower, both crenellated. For the first time in architecture, the public persona and private persona of the king were recognized as distinct and separate.[12] This new formalization of the king's separate roles would continue in the architecture of his successors and would be followed on a lesser scale by his nobles.

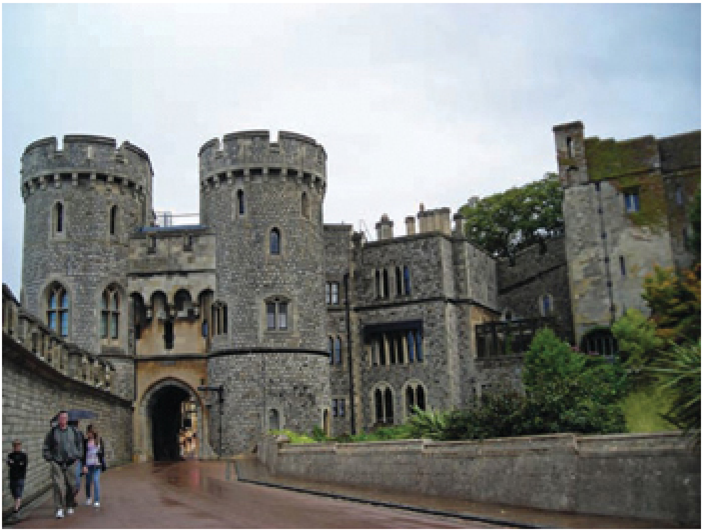


Fig. 5.3 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, William Wykeham, Surveyor of the King's Works, and William Wynford and John Spoonlee, master masons, Norman Gate, 1357. Photograph: author

The harmonious rectangular form of this complex, modeled after church, monastic, and earlier palace designs, would be adapted at universities, most notably at New College, Oxford. This majestic, distinctively English, variation of Gothic architecture, used chiefly in royal rather than ecclesiastical settings, in combination with Edward's chivalric and nationalistic spirit, set into motion a perpetual nationalistic association of the style with the monarchy and the government that continued into such recent construction as the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament and the 1992 rebuilding of the Great Hall at Windsor.[13]

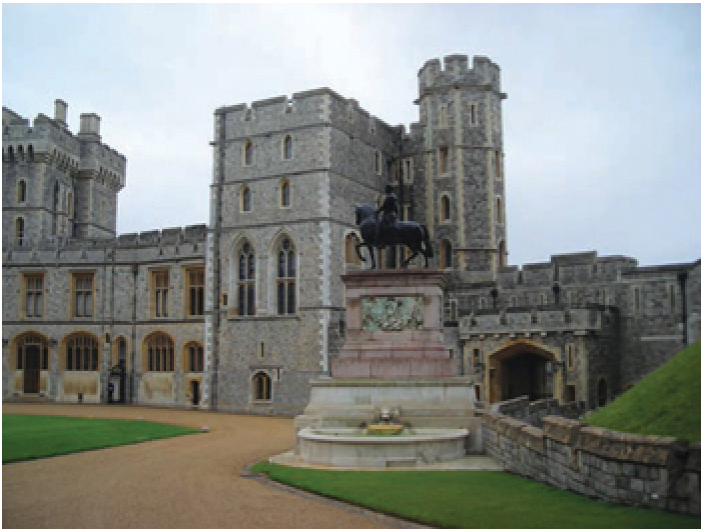


Fig. 5.4 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, Upper Ward, William Wykeham, Surveyor of the King's Works, and William Wynford and John Spoonlee, master masons, St George's Gate, living quarters, and Tower of Edward III, 1358–1365. Photograph: author

Windsor Castle: Lower Ward

Edward III had transformed the Lower Ward into the College of St George, which he founded on 6 August 1348, with canons, priests, and choristers to serve the spiritual needs of both royalty and the Order of the Garter (Fig. 5.5). Between 1357 and 1368, he began to rebuild the chapel, dedicated to St George; the project would span more than a century. The College and Chapel of St George, founded simultaneously with the College of St Stephen at Westminster, inaugurated an English tradition of collegiate foundations, run by secular canons, for liturgy, intercessory prayers, and institutional needs. Between 1478 and 1481, Edward IV built the Horseshoe Cloister outside the west entrance to the chapel to house the priest vicars. The apartments, which curve away from the chapel entrance, are accessed from the Lower Ward through a four-centered stone arch, and are the only structures at Windsor Castle to be built of timber and brick. The new collegiate combination of lodgings and ecclesiastical structures competed with the architecture and organization of Louis IX's Ste Chapelle. It also inspired other collegiate organizations, most notably the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Warwick, exquisitely renovated in the Perpendicular style by the Earl of Warwick, Thomas Beauchamp.[14]

Sheen Palace

Precedents established at Windsor Castle continued at Sheen (Shene) Palace. Originally built in the twelfth century as a moated castle, it graced the banks of the Thames in Surrey, along with 2500 acres (*c.* 810 ha) of parkland. Sheen had long served the English kings as a favorite retreat, partly for the convenience of being just upriver from London. The inward focus of the plan remained medieval, with a large moated stone donjon and an outer court beyond. Edward III extended the complex. After 1377, his grandson Richard II rebuilt it, adding a private retreat on an island in the Thames called La Nayght, an early attempt at royal privacy. Early in the next century Henry V and Henry VI made ground-breaking changes in the architecture with far-reaching consequences. Influenced by buildings he saw in France, Burgundy, and the Netherlands, Henry V chose a new building material: brick. Although initially regarded as a humble material, expediency convinced the king otherwise. Brick was not only cheaper and faster than stone construction, but it was readily available, as it could be made on site. Thus, for the first time since the Romans, the English began to manufacture brick.[15] In choosing brick as the building material for a royal palace, the king not only elevated its status, but he also transformed the appearance of subsequent English architecture.

Both Henry V and Henry VI renovated the residential quarters. Henry VI extended the palace to accommodate his bride, Margaret of Anjou. Unlike other moated castles, for the first time a physical barrier separated the king from his courtiers. Royal apartments were situated in a tower which severely limited access.[16] This innovative architectural feature formalized the precedent set by Edward III at Windsor and, along with brick for building, set examples for other palaces, both royal and noble.

By the accession of Edward IV in 1461, nine palaces served the royal family: Westminster, Baynard's Castle on periphery of London by the conflux of the Fleet River with the Thames, Eltham, Greenwich, Sheen (later Richmond), Woodstock, Langley, Minster Lovell near Oxford, and Tickenhill in Worcestershire. In addition, royal fortifications, such as Windsor, Leeds, and Carnaveron had royal quarters. The Perpendicular style promoted the grandeur of the royalty, much as William the Conqueror's Norman Romanesque style had bolstered his powerful presence. The difference was that rather than being a foreign import, the Perpendicular style came largely from within.

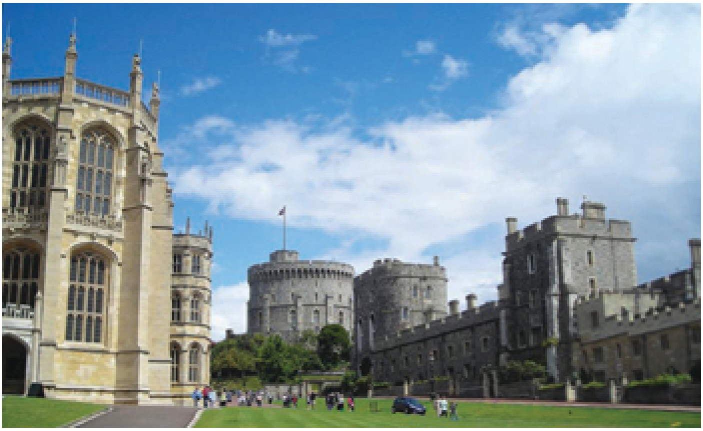


Fig. 5.5 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, William Wykeham, Surveyor of the King's Works, and William Wynford and John Spoonlee, master masons, Lower Ward with view of St George's Chapel, 1357–1368. Photograph: author

Ecclesiastical Perpendicular

The Perpendicular style soon spread outside the royal realm into other parts of England and became an enduring hallmark of English architecture. It first appears outside London at Windsor, including the early phase of St George's Chapel, and at Gloucester Abbey, followed by renovations at Winchester, York, Canterbury, and Norwich cathedrals. The style comes full circle with the late phase of St George's Chapel.

Gloucester: St Peter's Abbey

Concurrent with royal works in London and ultimately connected to the royal court, the earliest extant example of the Perpendicular Style outside of London occurs in the remodeling of the Norman style in the south transept at the St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (later elevated to cathedral status). Although the names of the masons are not recorded, some scholars argue that the Perpendicular Style begins with an innovative mason at Gloucester while others credit a royal source, noting that the windows resemble contemporary works in London, especially at St Stephen’s Chapel at Westminster. Since the highly sought after king’s masons and carpenters traveled to other projects, it appears more likely that the style spread westward to Gloucester and northward to Ely with these masons rather than through someone outside the royal circle. In addition to the circumstantial evidence, around 1330 Queen Isabella, the widow of Edward II, and their son, Edward III, had placed the body of Edward II (d. 1327) in an elaborate tomb at Gloucester, which adds credence to the London-based theory of origin. The widowed queen and her son reputedly paid for the rebuilding in south transept at Gloucester, where the style first appears, and the choir. The cathedral had other royal significance: Robert Curthose (*c.* 1051/1054–1134), Duke of Normandy and eldest son of William the Conqueror, was buried in the choir and in 1216 Henry III was crowned here, the only king to be crowned outside of Westminster Abbey since William the Conqueror.

In the 1320s, changes occurred in the nave at Gloucester. Leaving the aisles and Norman pillars intact, builders installed new vaulting that raised the height of the ceiling, and mounted new windows in the contemporary Decorated Style in the clerestory. In the 1330s, a new workforce moved into the south transept. In this transitional stage, the overlaying fretwork of their vaulting resembled that in St Stephen’s Chapel, which set a precedent for later treatment. In fact, Thomas of Canterbury, who may have been the son of the designer of St Stephen’s Chapel, probably served as the chief mason. Larger windows in the clerestory and the south transept wall feature double lancets within a larger, single lancet and a rosette above. The interior lines of the lancets gently curve upwards. This softness disappears as the Perpendicular Style develops along more rectilinear lines.

Between 1331 and 1357, innovations occur that will help define the Perpendicular Style and will influence developments elsewhere. About the time construction ends in the south transept, royal patronage funded the removal of the Norman apse in order to enlarge the space into a three-bay Perpendicular choir and presbytery with space in the aisle for the royal tomb of Edward II. Around 1320, the two east-most arches at the crossing that lead into the transepts are reinforced with delicate double strainer, or supporting, arches, perhaps designed by William Joy, who later designs the larger, more complex scissor-shaped strainer arches at Wells Cathedral. Builders also introduce the low elliptical four-centered arch and a new, more decorative vaulting technique that has no relation to the supporting structures underneath. The ribs of the net-like overlay in the vaulting come together between the windows and extend down the piers to the floor as a single engaged column, giving greater verticality to the structure. Gilding on the ticerons, or secondary ribs, draws attention to their complex webbed design and decorative colored bosses emphasize the connecting points.

In the four clerestory windows, innovative builders used a larger, more rectilinear version of the windows in the south transept at Gloucester and at St Stephen's, Westminster. In the last bay on each side, the walls gently curve eastward toward the center to join the great eastern window, ever so slightly bowed. This massive window, the crowning glory of the choir, measures 72 × 38 ft (23 × 11.5 m) and virtually fills the eastern wall (Fig. 5.6). Constructed with larger than usual panes of glass, much of which is clear, the window is supported by extensive iron casings and strongly geometric tracery. In the 1350s, it comprised the largest area of glass ever seen; it remains one of the largest stained glass windows ever made. The grand window promotes the strength and magnificence of the English monarchy: it commemorates the Battle of Crécy of 1346, glorifies its hero, the Black Prince, and, displays the heraldry of its patron, Edward III.

Rebuilding the cloisters at Gloucester Abbey occurs next, from 1351 to 1412 (Fig. 5.7). A new type of tracery and vaulting unique to England develops here: fan vaulting. This vaulting system grows out of the elaborate Perpendicular Style ceilings, such as that in the choir. However, fan vaulting has certain unique interrelated structural and visual elements that include three significant and enduring features: geometrically formed conoids, or clusters of ribs that curve out and upward from the respond on the wall; a central spandrel; and decorative net-type sheathing. The rubble infill in the conoids attaches to the walls and helps transfer the weight to the exterior walls. The ribs spread equidistantly, reaching towards the ribs opposite, so that each curved area resembles a fan. Key to the construction is the use of joined masonry, which develops at earlier structures in the west of England. At Gloucester, between the curved sections on the ceilings, a flat diamond-shaped area contains eight symmetrically arranged rosettes. The walls have a high wainscoting. Tracery patterns cover the upper walls between the conoids. On the garth (garden) side, either glass or arched openings fill the tracery.[17]

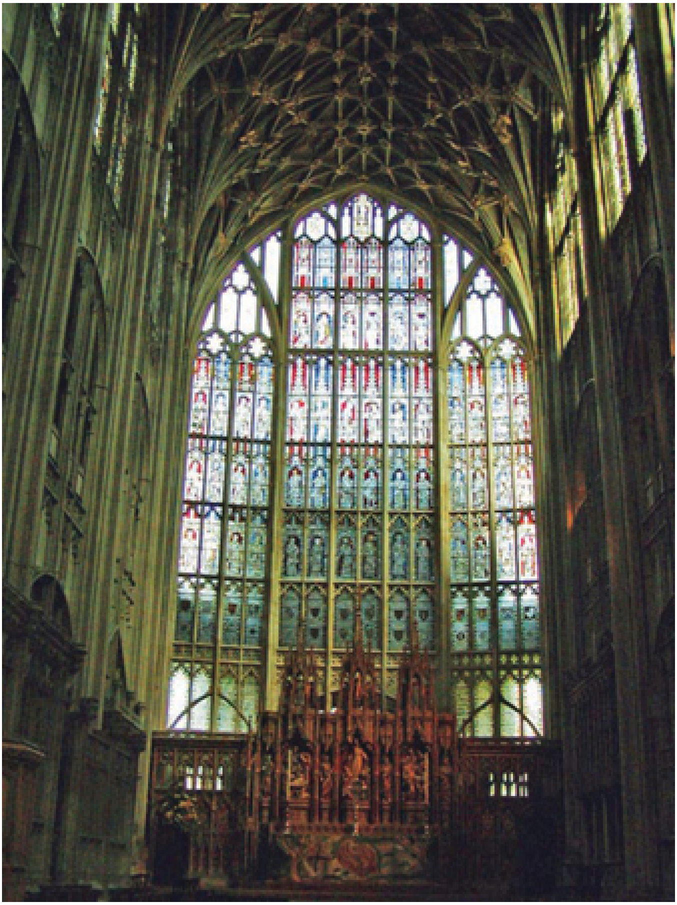


Fig. 5.6 Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucestershire, choir, view to east with the great East Window, 1420s. Photograph: author

The large aisleless Lady Chapel, built between 1457 and 1498, completes the building program at Gloucester Cathedral. Separate from the cathedral, as at Ely, and slightly lower and narrower, this Lady Chapel, unlike the parallel structure at Ely, lies end to end with the choir. The buildings cleverly connect through a narrow hall-like passage below the windows, so the windows of both buildings receive unobstructed sunlight. An external pair of buttresses joins the buildings and salient buttresses line the walls between the windows to add support. The five-bay interior uses the four-centered arch. Fan vaulting, inspired by the cloister, supports the ceiling. The five levels of starkly geometric window panes fill the pointed windows of the nave; taller, more massive windows light the east and west ends. Two long bay windows, which have screens and function like hidden oriel boxes, flank the altar. These innovations developed at the Lady Chapel at Gloucester reach a pinnacle at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, begun in 1446, and at Chapel of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey, finished in 1506.

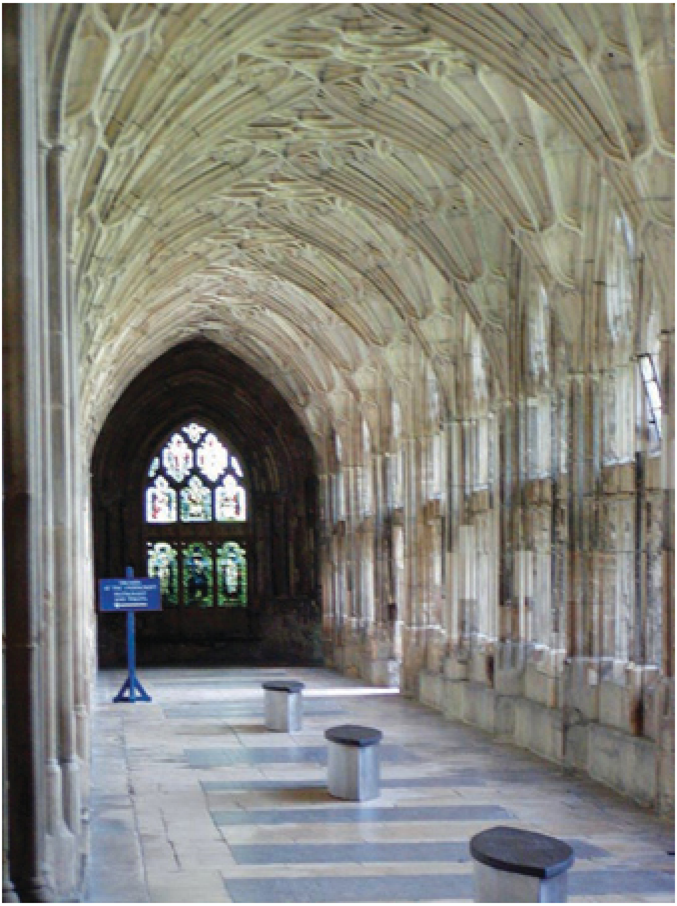


Fig. 5.7 Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucestershire, east walk of the cloister, 1351–1412. Photograph: author

Winchester Cathedral

At Winchester, surviving Norman Romanesque work hints of structural problems that affected in the original western portion of the cathedral. Around 1350, Bishop William of Edington (1345–1366) removes the massive westwork, or the fortress-like western entrance. After his death, his successor, Bishop William Wykeham (1366–1404), formerly Surveyor of the King's Works at Windsor and Lord Chancellor of England, with his colleague from Windsor, master mason William Wynford, continues the project in the current fashion of Perpendicular Gothic. Salient buttresses divide the new west façade into three parts. Small towers and a window above each doorway top the taller center section (Figs 5.8 and 5.9). The low vaulted porch between them de-emphasizes the heaviness of the buttresses and causes the side doors to appear recessed. The central window, with six vertical and nine horizontal levels of panes, forms a wide lancet that is subdivided into vertical thirds. Tracery is narrow and delicate, but severely linear. The side windows complement the design of the central window, but on a smaller scale.

In the 1360s, construction finishes in the 11-bay nave at Winchester, the longest nave of any surviving English cathedral. Moreover, the six bay choir and presbytery, along with the squared ambulatory and Lady Chapel off the east end, are all in the Perpendicular Style. Whereas the three-part Norman elevation, with a gallery that is roughly the same height as the nave, and a clerestory with narrow windows and a passage, remains in the transepts, it has all but disappeared in the nave, choir, presbytery and retrochoir, or space behind the choir. The new two-part Perpendicular Gothic elevation consists of a tall nave arcade and a long clerestory that reveals remnants of its Norman past in the thickness of the walls. A reminder of the gallery appears in an almost unnoticeable blind arcade below the windows. The vaulting owes a debt to Lincoln, where ticerons join a central rib. At Winchester, however, the more embellished ribs fan across the nave like long bony fingers touching end to end, with stone bosses at each joint. Reflecting the more pronounced and elaborate fan vaulting in the cloister at Gloucester, the ticerons join just above the piers to send one respond down the pier to the floor, thus giving greater than usual emphasis to the height. At the square bay of the crossing tower, the vaulting becomes more severely geometric. Four gilded fan-shaped ticerons, one emanating from each pier, spread out from the corners and touch to form a diamond pattern inset with a circle. Gilded, polychromed bosses designate the joints. The retrochoir continues eastward in a more elaborate, web-like pattern studded with gilded bosses.

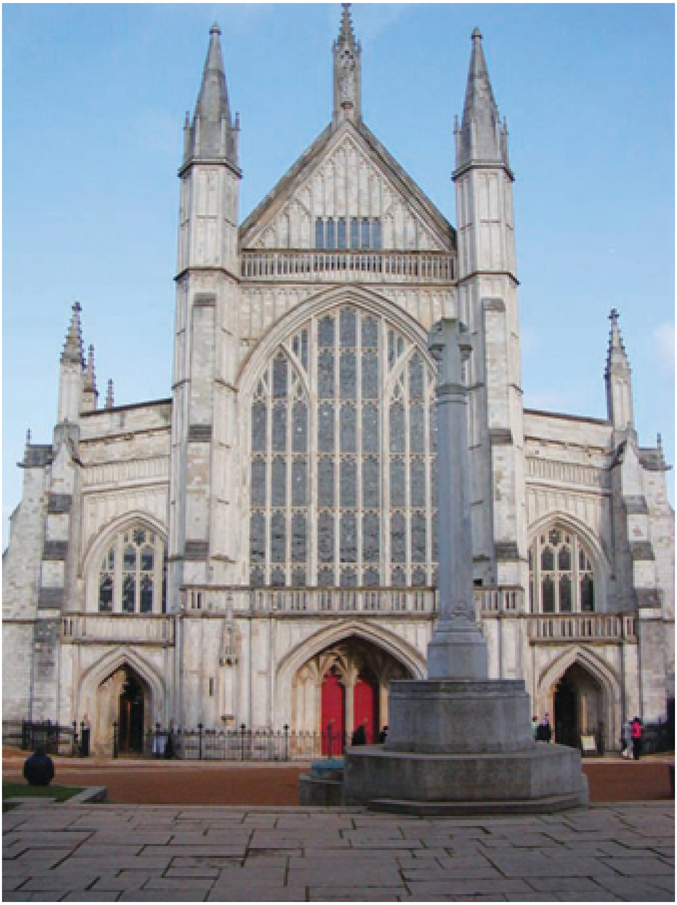


Fig. 5.8 Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, William Wykeham, bishop, and William Wynford, master mason, west façade, begun 1350. England. Photograph: author

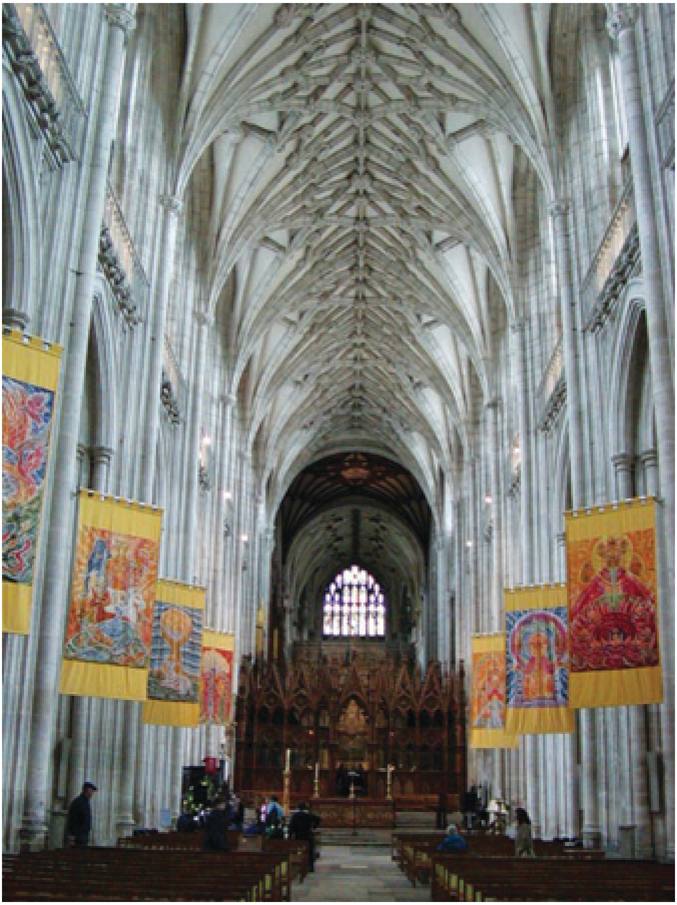


Fig. 5.9 Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, William Wykeham, bishop, and William Wynford, nave, view to east, 1350–1360s. Photograph: author

Further masterpieces from the fifteenth century included an elaborately carved rood screen, which once filled the eastern end of the presbytery, brimming with polychromed limestone figures embellished with precious metal and stones. Because the richness and imagery were an affront to the sixteenth-century reformers, in the wee hours of Saturday morning, 21 September 1538, Thomas Wriothesley, then personal secretary to Thomas Cromwell, oversaw its destruction. Some fragments remain, and descriptions give some idea of the iconography. The only remaining parts *in sitù* are two pairs of reliefs in the upper spandrels that show the Annunciation and Visitation.

From the mid-fourteenth century, funerary chantry chapels, usually with a richly carved, polychromed recumbent effigy, gained popularity in Northern Europe, particularly in England. They developed out of traditional chest tombs and the need for continuous intercessory prayer for the dead whose family could afford to pay for it. Some were small chapels. More often they were ornamented cages of stone openwork that filled the space between two columns in either the nave or retrochoir. A small doorway allowed clergy to enter to pray. Winchester Cathedral has an especially rich group, some of which date from this early period. The Chantry of Bishop William of Wykeham (d. 1404) fills the fifth and center space between columns on the south side of the nave, aligning with, as Wykeham observed, "… that part of the cross (formed by the church) … [that] corresponds to the Savior's pierced side."[18] The site previously held an altar to the Virgin Mary.

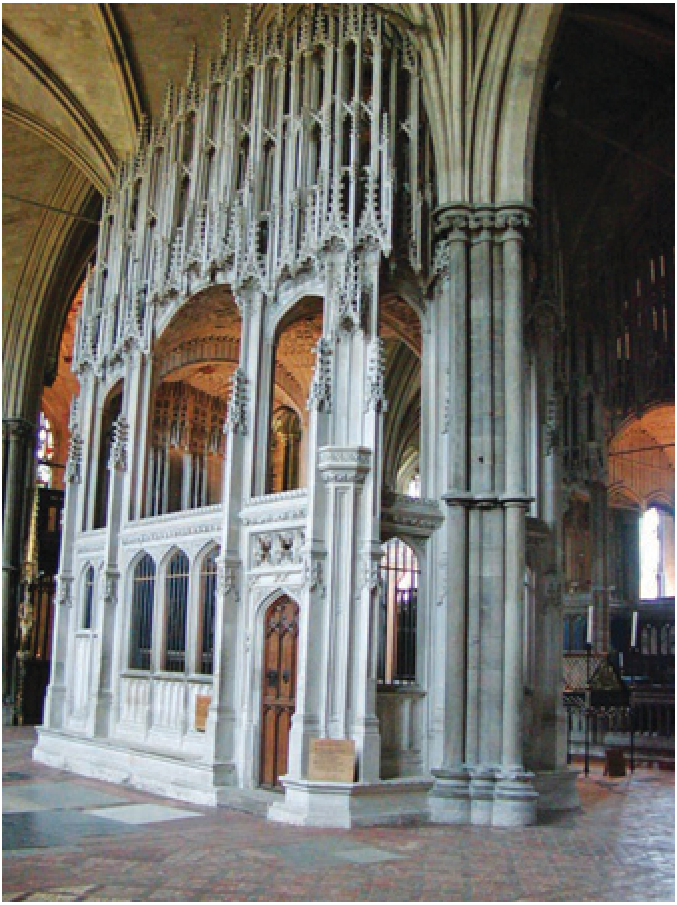


Fig. 5.10 Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, William Wynford, master mason, Chantry of Bishop Waynflete, after 1486. Photograph: author

The architecture of the chantry gives further evidence of the genius of the masons at Winchester, especially William Wynford. The three bay screens on the long sides of the chantry, delicately carved, support a tripartite canopy. Inside, the larger center bay has a polychrome star in the center of the vaulting flanked by two smaller bays with complementary rosette designs. The openwork in the center section reveals the gilded alabaster tomb chest with Wykeham's polychromed recumbent effigy, dressed in full bishop's regalia, including a gilded mitre and cope with blue robes beneath. Little angels in pale blue and pink gowns support his head, while a trio of little tonsured Benedictine monks prays at his feet, which reflects the terms of Wykeham's bequest. In his will Wykeham had provided revenue for three monks from the cathedral priory to celebrate masses in his chapel. This chantry demonstrates that Wynford was equally adept and inventive with small scale design as he was with large architectural projects. At his death in 1405, Wynford was the leading mason in southern England. His career is testament to the wide and varied possibilities to which an ambitious mason could aspire.

A slightly later and more elaborate three-bay chantry tomb between two columns on the north side of the retrochoir between the choir and the Lady Chapel commemorates William Waynflete, who served as Bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 1486 and was Lord Chancellor of England from 1456 to 1460 (Fig. 5.10). The profuse delicate pinnacles reach to the springing of the arch of the vault. The triple-arched open grillwork in the center section reveals the gilded stone tomb chest with Waynflete's polychromed recumbent effigy. Like Wykeham, he wears full bishop's regalia with a mitre, dark blue cope, and white robe. As with the effigy of Wykeham, little angels who pray support his head. Again, the central vault holds a magnificent star pattern with a large gilded central boss; the two flanking vaults have rosette patterns. The west most end of the chantry on the aisle side has a carved wooden door that gives access to the priests to say chantry prayers for his soul.

The Lady Chapel at Winchester shows a mixture of Gothic styles. The north and south walls retain the rich Early Gothic arcade and a rare, but faintly surviving, example of wall paintings of the era of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189–1204). Around 1500, the upper portions of the Lady Chapel were remodeled in the Perpendicular Style. Each of the three walls has a large seven-light Perpendicular window. The elaborate fan vaulting of the two-bay ceiling is studded with gilded and polychromed bosses, reminiscent of earlier examples at Norwich Cathedral. Perpendicular renovations at Winchester rank among England's richest and reflect the ingenuity of contemporary practices.

York Minster Cathedral

Not to be outdone by recent architectural projects at other cathedrals, in 1361, Archbishop Thoresby initiated the last phase of work at York Minster. Construction began in the flat eastern end by extending it to include a Lady Chapel. Although the Lady Chapel and the choir flow together seamlessly, a delicately carved low stone screen separates the Lady Chapel from the main body of the choir (Fig. 5.11). The network of ribs, which resembles those in the retrochoir at Gloucester, also displays a profusion of bosses at the joinings. The new eastern arm of the cathedral from the Lady Chapel to the crossing equals the length of the nave. A pair of aisles, each of which ends in a chapel surmounted by a large window, flanks the space.

In 1405, John Thornton of Coventry received a three-year contract to construct the east window, which, like Gloucester's, is one of the largest and most sophisticated stained glass windows in Europe. Based on the date at the top of the window, he apparently fulfilled the contract on time. The speed with which John Thornton finished indicates that he must have worked from prior drawings, or perhaps an illuminated manuscript. The fact that Thornton is summoned to York, which lies 130 miles (*c.* 210 km) north of his native Coventry, shows that artisans not only traveled great distances but also that art centers existed outside London.

The lower level of vertical panes forms a pattern that rests on multiples of threes: three sets of three across and upwards. An almost imperceptible stone framework, which repeats the pattern of the stone tracery, extends upward from the windowsill to the lowest panes of the upper set of lancets, joining the tracery of the window like a buttress to give extra support. At the top, a discreet horizontal catwalk provides access to the windows. Presumably John Thornton included this ingenious design in the original plan. The upper portion, finished in three lancet tops, extends upward to form a final inclusive lancet shape. Although more spare than the tracery of the "Heart of Yorkshire" window in the west, the upper curves appear to echo that heart-shaped design.

The style of the windows reflects the fashionable Northern European International Gothic Style, in which each pane represents a different segment of a story and is set within a fictive Gothic niche, which reflects current trends in architecture and manuscript illumination. The erudite iconography, which covers the history of human salvation from Creation to the Resurrected Christ and images of the heavenly hierarchies, appears to be site-specific. The complex compositions, painted on a generous amount of white glass, show overlapping figures and delicate detail. For clothing, background, and minimal landscape, the designs also incorporate jewel-like red, blue, yellow, and green glass – the same brilliant colors that predominate in contemporary International Gothic painting. The complex iconography and symbolic number relationships indicate that theologians, glaziers, and masons, collaborated closely with the patron.[19] A pane at the base of the great east window portrays Bishop Walter Skirlaw of Durham (1388–1406), who gave the funds for the enormous window that he did not live to see finished.

The second stage of construction in the eastern arm of the York Minster was the reconstruction of the western choir. The consistent architectural style indicates that Thornton and his workshop likely continued in the clerestory of the western choir. The collapse of the tower in 1407 briefly halted the project, but the disaster brought William Colchester, the royal mason, to the site. A new central tower, which rises to 234 ft (71 m), was added. Closed above the clerestory level, the ceiling of the tower has a net of gilded decorative vaulting similar to that of the choir.

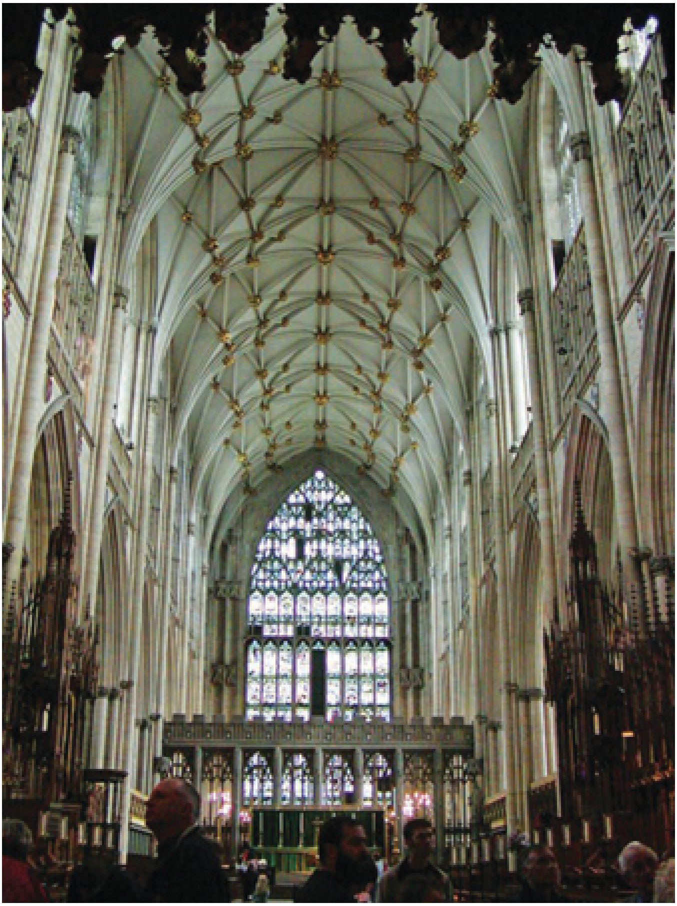


Fig. 5.11 York Minster Cathedral, Lady Chapel (c. 1361) North Yorkshire, John Thornton of Coventry, stained glass window depicting the History of Human Salvation, 1405–1408. Photograph: author

Another part of this building project included an unusual carved stone choir screen, or *pulpitum* screen, which separates the nave from the choir (Fig. 5.12). Originally planned during the reign of Henry V for the 14 kings, beginning with William the Conqueror, the design was altered on the right (south) following the death of Henry V in 1422 to include the youthful figure of Henry VI, leaving the final work slightly asymmetrical. Touches of paint indicate that these figures once displayed more color than just their gilded crowns.

Between 1433 and 1475, the twin western towers added the final Gothic touch. The towers reflect a less austere version of the design of the crossing tower. Whereas the crossing tower has a narrow pair of lancet openings on each side and simple crenellations, the towers on the façade each have a single wider and more elaborate arched opening, lacey crenellations and delicate pinnacles on each corner, lending an overall effect of sumptuousness.

Canterbury: Christ Church Cathedral

By 1370, with York Minster and other cathedrals under renovation, the priors and archbishops of Canterbury began to ponder rebuilding the nave of Christ Church Cathedral. The Romanesque nave of Archbishop Lanfranc still stood in place, dwarfed by the extraordinary Gothic renovations made two centuries before to the burned out choir. To bring the height of the walls and the roofline to the level of the quire, which stands sixteen steps above the nave, would give the cathedral a more uniform appearance.

Construction began in 1377, soon after Simon Sudbury was elected Archbishop of Canterbury (1375–1381) and John Fynch was elected prior (1377–1391); work continued under archbishops William Courtenay and Thomas Arundel, along with prior Thomas Chillenden, who was noted as an extraordinary builder. The uniformity of the nave at Canterbury indicates a single plan. The similarity of certain elements to recent works in London, along with scant documentary evidence, point to Henry Yeveley, the king's master mason, and his partner Stephen Lote as the designers and builders. In 1377, the now elderly Yeveley was the most innovative, versatile, productive, and successful master mason in England. He had worked successfully at Westminster Abbey, Westminster Hall, and had served as master mason to the Black Prince, who died in 1376. Yeveley appears to have designed the prince's tomb at Canterbury and therefore the cathedral authorities would have known him. By embracing a royal style and using royal builders for the primary cathedral in England, the authorities at Canterbury might have been acting in deference to the monarchy, but surely a competitive spirit was afoot with the splendid new churches in London, Westminster, Winchester, and York Minster, the other metropolitan see in England. In the end, works at Canterbury would give the most coherent and logical expression of any late Gothic interior (Fig. 5.13).[20]

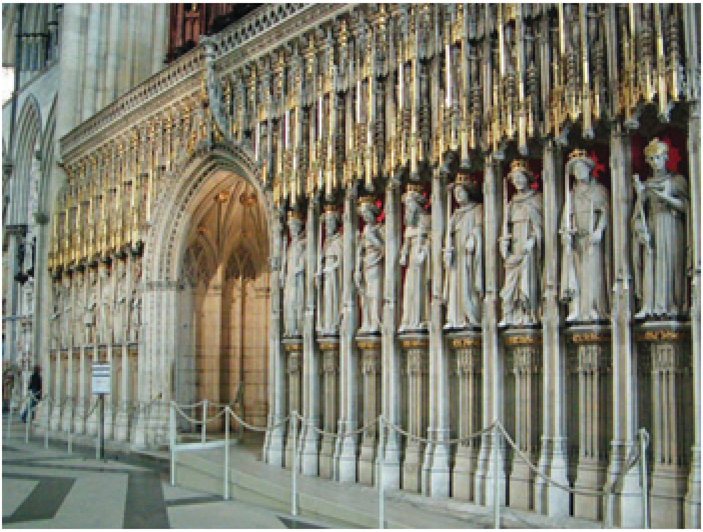


Fig. 5.12 York Minster Cathedral, North Yorkshire, choir screen with the Kings of England, detail of south side with Henry VI, polychromed stone sculpture, finished 1422. Photograph: author

Unlike Westminster Abbey, where Yeveley conformed to the style of the earlier architecture, Canterbury presented few restrictions. In a sense, he could start from the beginning. The footprint of the new nave was of approximately the same size as its Romanesque predecessor: nine bays, including the western towers. The brilliance and audacity, however, with greater height, larger windows, and more verticality would exceed anything previous. The clean lines of the architecture itself, less encumbered with sculpture, becomes almost a sculptural form. Like Westminster Abbey, the exterior porches have screens between the buttresses and splayed doors with Perpendicular tracery. Inside, the nave is high with tall, narrow side aisles and tall windows beyond. In both, the piers have attached shafts and the gallery is reduced – at Canterbury even more so than Westminster.

At Canterbury, for the first time in an English ecclesiastical interior, the emphasis is on the whole rather than individual parts, as well as on verticality and logical expression. With the knowledge that the piers and buttresses bore the weight of the building, the builders eliminated the heavy upper walls, the gallery, and oversailing in the clerestory. They heightened the nave arcade, substituted a decorative triforium, or small false arcade, for the gallery, and enlarged the clerestory windows to admit more light. Instead of the choppy effect of several stories divided horizontally by strong string courses, the builders presented a series of vertical compartments with an arch, clerestory, and light framework between. Responds that extend uninterrupted from floor to ceiling stress the vertical rather than the horizontal lines. The fan vaulting, moreover, is not submerged beneath a web of tiercerons, but is tied together by ribs laid in an open geometric pattern.

Western transepts were added where the new nave met the Early English choir. The southwest transept was complete by 1428 and bears in its bosses the coat-of-arms of Archbishop Chichele (1414–1443). The style followed that of the nave with some slight changes. The window commemorates the Battle of Agincourt. The southwest tower was rebuilt between 1424 and 1459. Unlike most of the earlier Gothic towers, the late Perpendicular ones have no spires.

Construction began in the northwest transept in 1448 and was completed in 1468. Some of the Romanesque walls and the tower were left in place, however, out of respect for the place of the martyrdom of Thomas á Becket. The "Royal Window" of 1485 is a poignant survivor of a once magnificent window, the rest of which Puritan iconoclasts destroyed in 1642. The remaining band features a seven panel wide composition of Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and their children with inscriptions on white glass below. They appear in the traditional kneeling posture of donors at prie-dieux, with the two sons, each in his own panel, behind Edward on the left and the six daughters, in two groups of three, on the right behind their mother. Originally the richly colored composition, with much red, several shades of blue, deep yellow, and white, also included the Trinity, with God the Father, Christ and the Holy Spirit, the seven appearances of the Virgin Mary, and saints, including Thomas á Becket.

To bridge the transition in the central nave, as well as to separate the nave from the choir, around 1455 Richard Beke built a splendid stone screen with kings, similar to that at Yorkminster, but not polychromed. Rich in surface decoration and ornamentation, it epitomizes the late Perpendicular style. Six kings stand in canopied niches: Richard II, Henry V, Ethelbert on the left side, and Edward the Confessor, Henry IV, and Henry VI stand on the right. Although Christ and the apostles have disappeared, the row of angels with shields that decorate the frieze above the kings, remain.

Yeveley and Lote also appear to have been responsible for the design and building of the cloister walk on the north side of the new nave at Christ Church (*c.* 1382–1400). The cloister consists of eight bays on each side, with the Chapter House occupying the traditional place on the center of the eastern side. Each bay consists of four open arches crowned by six smaller diamond-shaped lobed openings that are glazed, some with figures of saints. On the inner garth, or garden, side, the arches are separated by salient buttresses and outlined with tracery that encloses curved, triangular tympana. On the inside, the ribs of the magnificent fan vaulting reach toward a central rib and fretwork. Colorful bosses of shields, flowers, animals, and faces stand at the masonry joinings. Tradition holds that a boss on the east side near the Chapter House contains Yeveley's portrait. Yeveley, Lote, and their contemporaries changed the character of Canterbury from Norman and Early Gothic restraint to Perpendicular exuberance.

Fig. 5.13 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Henry Yeveley and Stephen Lote, master masons(?), nave, view to the east, 1377. Photograph: author

Finally, between 1490 and 1498, in the autumn years of the Perpendicular style, Prior William Selling hired builder John Wastell to replace the Norman tower, called the Angel Tower. The new Gothic tower, called “Bell Harry,” derives its name from Prior Henry of Eastry, the donor of the bell that hangs there, one of several that he gave to the cathedral in 1316. The weight of the tower is distributed through flamboyant fan-shaped vaulting to heavy piers below and on to the foundations. Four fretted stonework beams join the piers of the central crossing to give additional support.[21] On the exterior, the tower rises 235-feet and bears the distinctive characteristics of the Perpendicular style, including lantern pinnacles on each corner and tall fretted openings with ogival cresting. Unlike earlier Gothic towers, it has no spire. Outside and inside, the new majestic and unified nave and western transept tie logically to the Early English Gothic choir, sanctuary, and corona. Together they form perhaps the most sublime of all expressions of English Perpendicular architecture.

Norwich Cathedral

In 1463, lightning struck the wooden spire at Norwich Cathedral in East Anglia, which toppled into the nave, destroying the timber roof. This tragedy, like similar ones at Canterbury, Ely and York, resulted in a glorious rebuilding, this time producing a Perpendicular façade, west window, nave vaults, and ceiling bosses. Bishop Walter Lyhart (1446–1472) planned and largely financed new vaults of Yorkshire stone to cover the ceiling above 14 bays that rested on the Norman piers. The new roof not only had the advantage of being more fireproof, but the complex pattern of diagonal ribs in the vaults provided the ideal network for 1106 carved, painted, and gilded narrative bosses, continuing a tradition begun in the cloister that would reach its pinnacle here. Norwich boasts the richest and most extensive programs of bosses in England.

Lyhart and other theologians may have determined the programs for the bosses, which, like the great east window at York, encompass the entire history of Christian salvation. However, the subjects and arrangements of the bosses at Norwich reflect the content of regional mystery plays, or liturgical dramas, played at Corpus Christi. East Anglia, in fact, has more surviving such dramas than any other region in England. These bosses give a rare glimpse into medieval drama, medieval life, and into the craftsman’s world of artistry and faith. The craftsmen who made them may well have participated in the local dramas, which were enacted by guildsmen.

The bosses are arranged in clusters, usually with a large center boss with multiple figures displaying the primary scene and supporting scenes around it. All are designed to be viewed from below. Old Testament history, from the Creation to Solomon, fills the seven easternmost bays. The western bays display the New Testament from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment. Some of the groups pair in a typological fashion, in which the Old Testament prefigures events in the New Testament. The birds and fishes of Creation have interesting political associations. The hart, usually depicted among the first animals created, was also an emblem of Richard II. The swan is the device of Mary de Bohun, wife of Henry IV, which could reveal the strong Lancastrian leanings of the people of Norwich during the reign of Edward IV, a Yorkist king. An especially charming cluster depicts the story of Noah, with his family members and various animals, including birds, monkeys, and a unicorn, peering out of the windows. Supporting figures encircling the ark include a woman carrying birds tucked into a shawl on her head and Noah planting his vineyard. One grouping shows the Virgin Mary crowned as Queen of Heaven surrounded by roses with a host of angels filling the satellite bosses. The Lady Chapel, however, which was later destroyed, probably had an extensive Marian program. Around 1480, Bishop James Goldwell (1472–1499) commissioned a taller Perpendicular presbytery with 128 bosses arranged in a stellar pattern. However, the narrative character of the nave bosses gives way to the bishop's coat-of-arms, gilded wells (a *rebus* on the bishop's name), flowers, and foliage.[22]

Windsor: St George's Chapel

The Perpendicular Style begins and ends with the rebuilding and re-consecrating of St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. The parts of the chapel that survive from the first phase, begun by Edward III between 1357 and 1368 to house the religious and ceremonial headquarters for the Order of the Garter, influence the innovative elements of Perpendicular Gothic projects at various contemporary English cathedrals. Some scholars consider the two-story Aerary Porch to be the source and jewel of the Early Perpendicular Style. This structure, which stands on the northeast near the cloister, which Edward built in 1353–1354, once served as a sort of gatehouse into the College complex. The name derives from the Latin "aerarium," or treasury, which was located on the upper story. The two square bays of the vault consist of a kite-shaped, webbed pattern with rosettes and that completely hide from view any supporting ribs of the vault.

Over a century later, in 1475, Edward IV began to replace the relatively modest chapel with a grander structure (see Fig. 5.5). Besides serving as a royal chapel and the permanent seat of the Order of the Garter, he intended the new chapel to serve as his tomb. Although the Ste Chapelle rivaled its opulence, St George's Chapel was considerably larger. The cathedral-like scale may have been intended to evoke the glory of Camelot, the legendary prototype for chivalric societies. Perhaps the scale was also intended to achieve parity with the royal mausoleum at Westminster Abbey, where the most recent great tomb was that of the Lancastrian war hero, Henry V.[23]

When Henry Janyns of Oxford drew up the architectural plans in 1475, he clearly knew the other major examples of the mature Perpendicular Style. The innovations at the chapel, however, go beyond an assimilation of earlier ideas. The high six-bay nave arcade supports clerestory windows with no gallery between. Fan vaults reach across the space to form a geometric web punctuated by bosses at joinings. The support of the nave daringly relies heavily on the four-centered arch. The low arch, combined with audaciously slender piers and delicate surface decoration on the ceiling, gives the space a sense of unparalleled elegance.

Between 1477 and 1483, the choir and the aisles flanking it were built and roofed, but without the vault. In 1478, the remains of Henry VI, initially buried at Chertsey, were reinterred on the south side of the choir near the high altar, across from the tomb of Edward IV. Ongoing reports of miracles at the tomb made it a pilgrimage site. In the same year, William Berkeley began the magnificent, richly carved wooden choir stalls. Each Knight of the Garter placed an engraved, enameled brass stall plate in his stall. The oldest, that of Lord Bassett, dates to 1390. Further work on the chapel continued relatively unchanged by Henry VII and was brought to completion by Henry VIII in 1528.

Edward IV, who had spent the winter of 1470–1471 in Bruges at the court of his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, was deeply impressed by the magnificent art and architecture he saw there. Nowhere is the emulation of his Burgundian counterparts more apparent than on the north side of the presbytery in the king's closet, chantry chapel, and gates below. The projecting oriel, or bay window of the chantry above, bears a striking resemblance to the structure of his host in Bruges, Louis de Gruuthuse, a Knight of the Golden Fleece, in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges (1472). Although the chantry does not connect to the living quarters as it does in Bruges, it still could serve as a private royal observation place during services.

The elaborate iron gates, begun around 1477 and under construction at the time of Edward's death in 1483, are the crowning glory of late fifteenth century wrought ironwork. For the entrance to Edward's tomb, John Tresilian, the principal smith at Windsor, designed two outer half hexagonal towers topped by polygonal miniature lamps, which stand about half again as tall as the rectangular gates between. Canopies project over the rows of niches with tracery in between. To create a sense of depth in the gates, thin layers of wrought iron openwork riveted together in registers and pegged to light framework of iron bars overlay small plates of punched sheet iron. The overall delicate effect would be even more spectacular with their original gilding.[24] At the dawn of the next century, this pinnacle of the Perpendicular style will serve as the model for the last Perpendicular churches, such as the Cathedral at Bath and the Chapel of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey.

Perpendicular style in parish churches

Whereas building projects slowed during the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, neither plague nor war nor social unrest could restrain the building and rebuilding of parish churches. These parish churches, less complex in their architecture than the great cathedrals, almost without exception have timber roofs, the designs of which can be quite imaginative. Wooden roofs, lighter than the stone vaults more often found in cathedrals, allow for slighter walls, proportionately taller arcades, lower clerestories with broad bands of windows, and tall windows in the aisles, thus allowing more light into the building. Sometimes an elliptical four-centered arch supported the typically shallow pitched roofs. The greater widths and lower ceilings created distinctive, rather box-like spaces, with raised, square east ends. Particularly in East Anglia and the West Country, areas that benefitted from the bounty of the wool trade, wealthy merchants helped finance many lavishly decorated parish churches. The more interesting solutions include the West Country church of St Mary Redcliffe at Bristol and the East Anglian churches of Walpole St Peter's and St Peter Mancroft in Norwich and three churches at Bishop's (King's) Lynn. Although some survive better than others, all testify to parish churches serving as incubators for innovative ideas.

Bristol: Church of St Mary Redcliffe

One of the early and exceptionally fine examples of the Perpendicular Gothic parish church is the Church of St Mary Redcliffe at Bristol, a thriving western commercial port. This church, which is of cathedral proportions, is exceptional for its elaborate stone vaults throughout. Around 1300, a tall hexagonal outer porch was added to the small square Early Gothic porch on the north side near the west tower (Figs 5.14 and 5.15). The space originally functioned as a chapel to hold a statue of the Virgin Mary. After the Dissolution, it became an entrance. The exterior walls contain carved surface decoration and niches with sculpture. A larger central doorway with elaborate molding and two subordinate doors leads through the outer and inner porches into the church. The porch has a high vault that feels almost like a dome. The ribs form an elaborate star-pattern tied together by nineteen bosses (Figs 5.14 and 5.15). Clusters of three inverted teardrop-shaped windows surmounted by trefoil petals and diamond-shaped panes with shields in the center encircle the upper walls. A surveillance gallery concealed below the windows allowed priests to monitor pilgrims as they came to venerate relics.

In the early fifteenth century, William Canynges (d. 1474), a wealthy local merchant, razed most of the Norman church and financed a new majestic Perpendicular Gothic church with almost perfect symmetry and design that his descendants saw to completion. The nave reaches a height of 58 ft (17.7 m). Gilded ribs set in geometric patterns span outward from the fan vaults on either side of the nave. Elaborate carved and polychromed bosses, no two of which are exactly alike, join the intersections of the ribs. Subjects range from floral and foliage patterns to a labyrinth. Light floods the space through large clerestory windows and windows at the ends of nave, transepts, and choir. Six tall lancets form the windows on the lower level with upper panes in hexagonal and diamond shapes, diminishing in size as they ascend. The honeycomb pattern complements the designs of the ribs. The stained glass windows on the south side illustrate the ancient hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*; on the north side they hold saints.

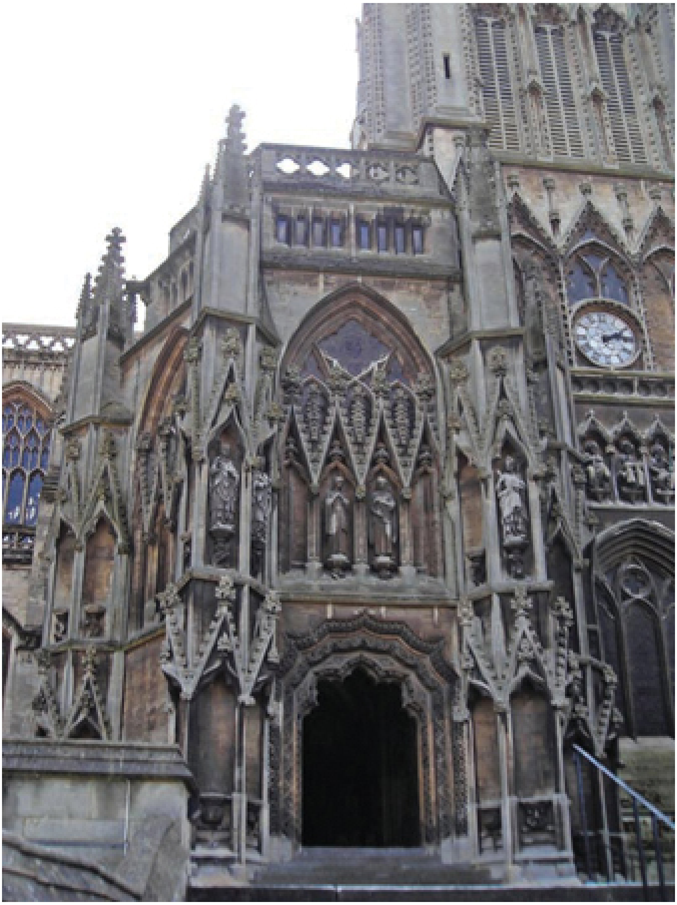


Fig. 5.14 Church of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, hexagonal porch, exterior, c. *1300. Photograph: author*

Bishop's Lynn: three churches

Bishop's Lynn in East Anglia (changed to King's Lynn in 1537 by Henry VIII), today a backwater port and market town, once prospered from the wool trade and boasts several remarkable Perpendicular parish churches. The largest of the churches is St Margaret's, which was rebuilt in the thirteenth century. The fine Perpendicular arcade of four-pier shafts survives, supporting a roof of wood truss. The church faces the checkerboard-patterned Perpendicular style hall of Trinity Guild, whose wealthy merchant members financed these renovations.

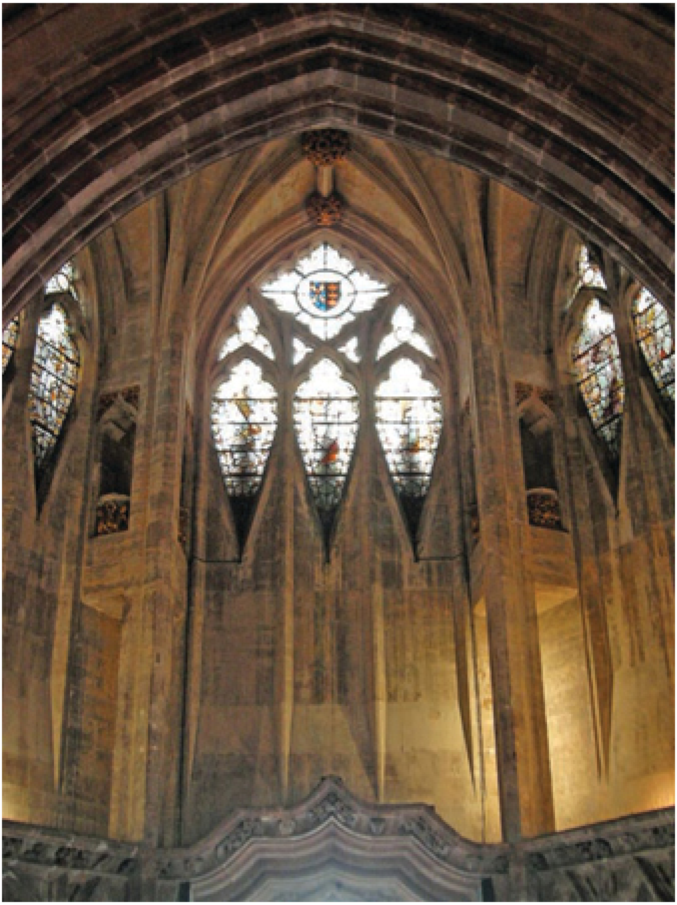


Fig. 5.15 Church of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, hexagonal porch interior with viewing gallery, c. *1300. Photograph: author*

In 1419, a bequest financed the rebuild of the imposing Church of St Nicholas, patron saint of sailors, as a large Perpendicular hall church. Westminster Hall may boast the first hammerbeams with angels, but quickly the motif appears in parish churches, especially ones in prosperous East Anglian cities. The wooden ceiling has trusses that alternate with clerestory windows. Above each window is a carved angel holding a musical instrument, with wings spread wide as if in flight. Unlike Westminster, where they are carved from the ends of hammerbeams, these extend from the wall between the braced beams; like Westminster, however, they are set parallel to the floor so that they appear to be in flight above the congregation.

Perhaps the most interesting of the churches at King's Lynn is the Church of All Saints, rebuilt between 1375 and 1450. This church appears in the Domesday Book, which indicates a Saxon foundation. The present building underwent rebuilding in the thirteenth century, when the transepts were added, and fourteenth century, when large Perpendicular windows were added. The exterior, built largely of brick and knapped flint in a checkerboard pattern on the clerestory level, shows signs of extensive alterations. The unadorned interior walls are whitewashed, which emphasizes the lines and details of the massive tie beams and queen posts of the nave. Colored shields decorate the beams and rafters.

The most unusual feature at All Saints Church is the anchorhold, which is on the south side of the chancel (rather than the usual north). This little Gothic room, or cell, has undergone several alterations, as is evident in the exterior brickwork (Figs 5.16 and 5.17). Intermittently, from the twelfth until the sixteenth century, it housed an anchorite. Anchorites or anchoresses lived in solitude in such a cell, spending their lives in prayer and contemplation. Their title comes from their pattern of prayer, described in the twelfth-century "Ancrene Riwle," which means Rule of Anchoresses. They perhaps also dispensed advice to people who called at the external window. The cell at All Saints has two windows and a door to the exterior. An internal window opens into the sanctuary of the church, through which the occupant would have received the sacraments and spoken with the priest. Over two hundred anchorites once lived in East Anglia but this anchorhold is one of the few to have survived. The most famous anchoress, fourteenth-century mystic writer Julian of Norwich, lived in such a cell in Norwich, but her original structure does not survive.

Norwich: St Peter Mancroft

Norwich, the second largest city in England in the fifteenth century, boasts the finest parish church of its time, the Church of St Peter Mancroft, built between 1430 and 1455 in the heart of the city, with its southern broadside facing the market (Figs 5.18 and 5.19). The church is a cruciform aisled structure with a single large tower at the entrance. It is built of stone and knapped flint, or flint that has been hammered and shaped flat to expose the shiny surface within. The nave consists of eight remarkably uniform bays of masonry. The whitewashed walls, like those at Westminster Hall and All Saints Church at Bishop's Lynn, frame the dark woodwork. Wooden wall posts extend upward from the stone arches between the windows and fan out as they reach the lowest ridge of the timber roof. Whereas the large Perpendicular windows in the aisles line up with the nave arcade, the clerestory has two windows per bay. Large Perpendicular windows also stand at the east and west ends of the church.

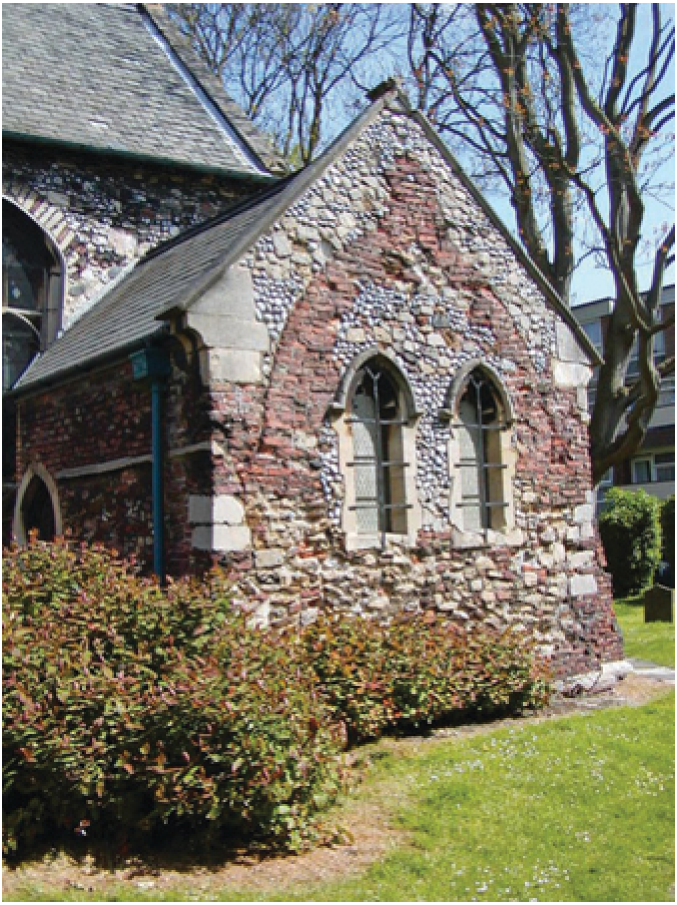


Fig. 5.16 Church of All Saints, King's Lynn, Norfolk, anchorhold, exterior, thirteenth–fourtennth century. Photograph: author

The most distinguishing feature is the highly decorated hammerbeam and arch-braced roof, finished in 1455, that extends continuously through the nave and chancel. A non-supporting ribbed covering hides the hammerbeam supports, an innovation that appears to occur first here. Along the upper wall, 40 waist-length carved wooden angels ornament the center of the rafters and align with the wall posts, which, in turn, align with the ends of the hidden hammerbeams. Each of the curly-haired angels spreads its wings. Ten angels fold their hands, while the others carry a device: 22 shields, two lutes, two mitres, three crowns, and one sword. Whereas the angels at Westminster Hall are parallel to the floor, these, who wear stand-up collars and narrow-sleeved robes like those at St Nicholas, King's Lynn, appear to be soaring upward. Brightly colored Tudor roses appear at the intersections of the primary beams. Nine red, blue, and gold circular suns, each with a dozen triangular spokes radiating from the head of Christ, adorn the central rib of the ceiling. The remaining carved bosses have no spokes or gilding, except in the chancel, where angels adorn the intersections.[25]

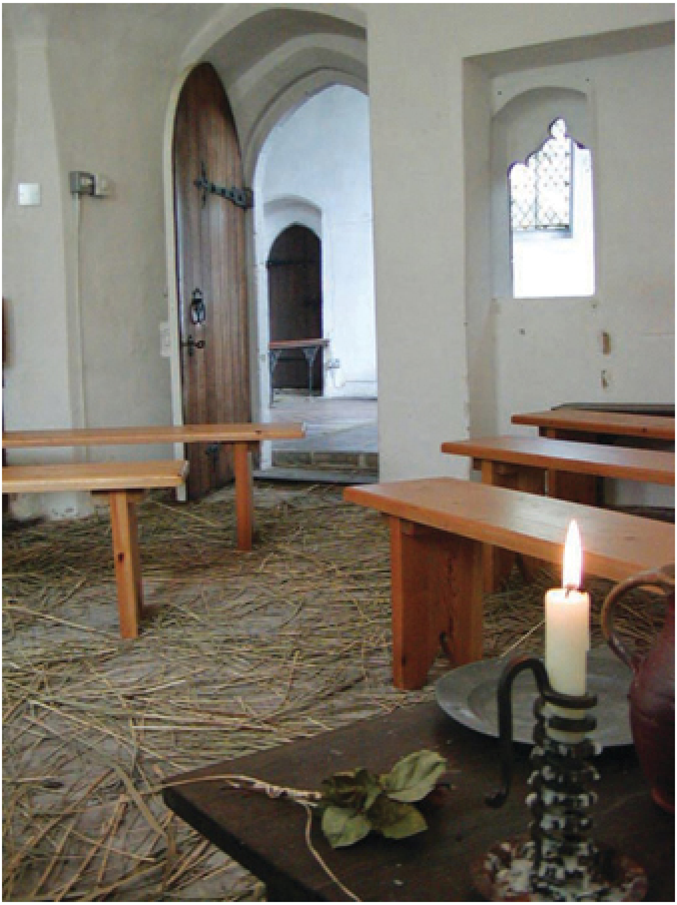


Fig. 5.17 Church of All Saints, King's Lynn, Norfolk, anchorhold, interior, thirteenth–fourteenth century. Photograph: author

In addition to the decorated roof, the church contains a considerable amount of fifteenth-century glass, probably done by Flemish workmen, some of whom immigrated to Norwich. The east window, which was reconstructed after a gun blast during the Civil War, contains the best surviving example of Norwich glass. The 42 panels contain narratives of Christ, the Virgin, and various saints. Foliate borders separate the rectangular panels. Compositions include suggestions of architecture with figures. Colors include cobalt blue, white, brilliant yellow, red-violet, and brown. Some of the reconstruction caused creative borrowing. For example, in the Nativity, a cherub's head from another panel was substituted for the original head of the Virgin Mary.[26] In spite of alterations and damage, these Perpendicular parish churches still give evidence of the opulence of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century parish churches in wealthy cities. Others contemporary churches, such as the St Dunstan's Church in Cranbrook, Kent and the Church of St Thomas in Salisbury basically follow a similar boxy form, but without the opulence.

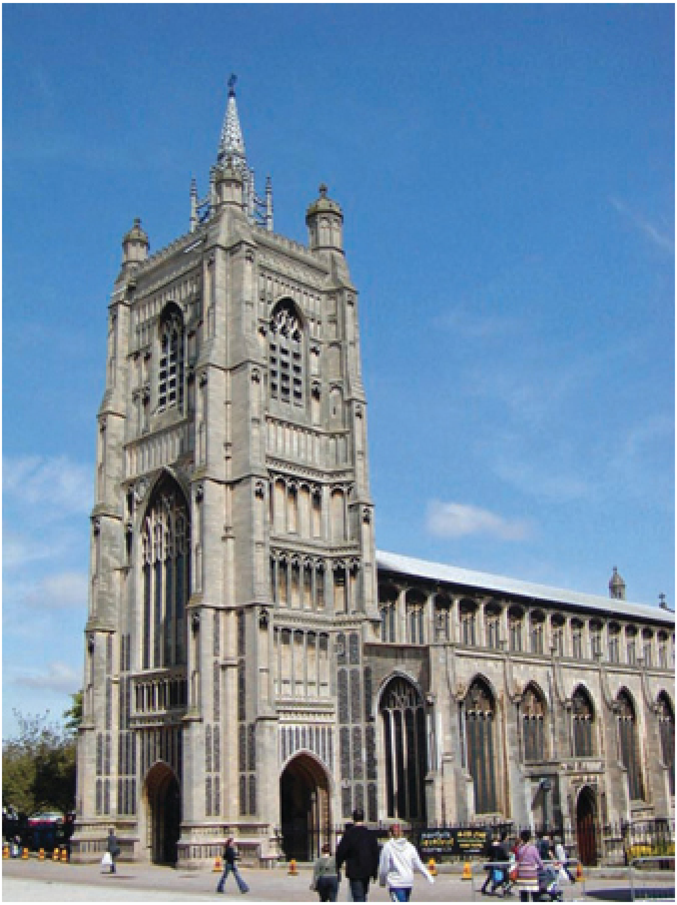


Fig. 5.18 Church of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk, exterior, west façade and south side, 1430–1455. Photograph: author

Remarkable works in timber: noble houses and great halls

By the fourteenth century, English governance was the strongest, most stable, and most centralized in Europe. Unlike the threats that power-seeking nobles posed to the security of the King of France and the Holy Roman Emperor, since the rule of King John, the nobles in England had no personal armies and therefore less clout. Thus, the castle and the fortified manor house gradually evolved into an unfortified rural residence for a landed noble family. Although defensive walls disappeared, the great hall remained an essential part of the manor house. These halls usually supported some type of a timber frame roof.

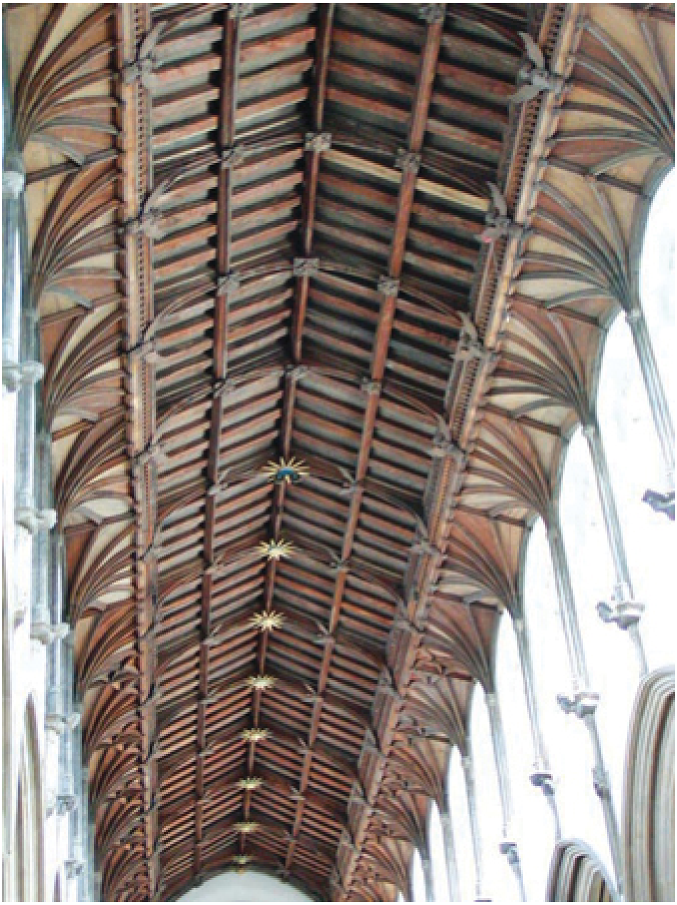


Fig. 5.19 Church of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk, interior with ceiling, 1430–1455. Photograph: author

The previous chapter noted the emergence of hammerbeam construction as a solution for covering a wide space without intervening supports. By the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps as early as the 1320s, carpenters in the West Midlands developed another means of supporting a roof, called the arch-braced collar-beam roof. The supports consist of a triangular foot, a collar, and a pair of timber arches, made of two curved timbers. These supports are placed at intervals along the top of the wall; two usually are embedded in the walls at either end. Surviving examples from noble residences around 1340 include halls at Ightham Mote and Penshurst Place, both in Kent, and Dartington Hall in Devon.27

Ightham Mote

Ightham Mote, Kent, is a rare extant example of the medieval manor house surrounded by a moat. It is accessed by two bridges, each with a gate tower. Around 1340, the first phases of construction began (Fig. 5.20). The complex is built of multiple types of building material: stone, brick, and half-timber with wattle and daub fill. The plan of Ightham Mote, like that of a castle, focuses decidedly inward, with the old chapel, the stone crypt, and the hall opening onto an inner courtyard, a more intimate space that replaced the bailey yard of a castle. The great hall is the most remarkable feature of the house, with a 37 ft (11.28 m) high braced timber roof. The supports consist of a triangular foot, collar, and arched braces at three intervals: two embedded into the wall at each end and a central one, reinforced by stone, which divides the space into two bays. Repairs in 2001 revealed that like Pilgrim's Hall in Winchester, the supporting corbels are false. Instead, the support rests on collar beams and braces. A ceiling louver probably vented the smoke from the central hearth. A fireplace was added later. The level floor has no dividing screens and no dais-step for the owner's "high table".

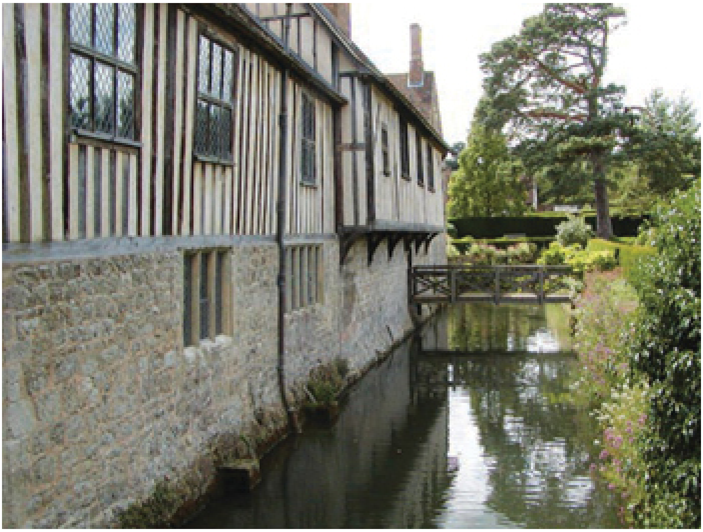


Fig. 5.20 Ightham Mote, Sevenoaks, Kent, exterior, fourteenth–sixteenth century. Photograph: author

Penshurst Place

Nearby, Sir John de Pulteney, a London merchant who served as the city's mayor, built Penshurst Place as a baron's hunting lodge. He purchased the property in 1338 and received a license to crenellate it in 1341. Unlike Ightham, Penshurt was never moated but was surrounded by crenellated walls, 375 × 280 ft (114.3 × 85.3 m) and towers, more ornamental than defensible, parts of which survive today. The exterior walls at Penshurst consist of irregular blocks of Kentish sandstone. The entrances into the halls at both Ightham Mote and Penshurst stand at the far right of the long side. However, at Penshurst, a square crenellated portico defines the entrance and gives shelter in inclement weather (Fig. 5.21). Two lancet windows light each long side of the Penshurst hall. Clusters of smaller lancets stand high above each end. To the left end stands a tower with a staircase and smaller double lancets to light the stairwell.

The interior of the hall at Penshurst measures 58 ft in length, 39 ft in width and soars to the unprecedented height of 60 ft (17.7 × 11.9 × 18.3 m). The magnificent chestnut ceiling has a triangular foot, collar, and arched braces at five intervals: two embedded into the end walls and three exposed beams that flank the windows, creating four equal bays. Life-size carved wooden figures, perhaps satirical representations of the manor's peasants, servants, and workers, serve as corbels beneath the great arches. The original louver over the central hearth is still in place. The floor is flagstone and the walls are plastered.

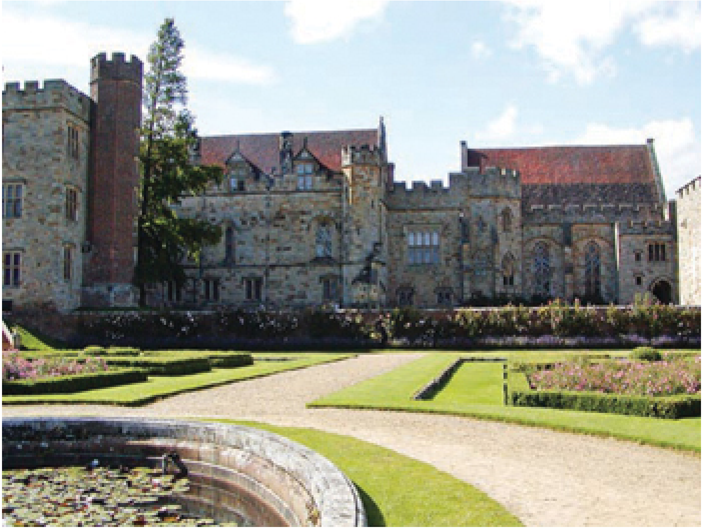


Fig. 5.21 Penshurst, Sevenoaks, Kent, Great Hall exterior, c. *1350. Photograph: author*

A sixteenth-century wooden screen with a minstrel gallery stretches across the right-hand end of the hall, the "low" end. This minstrel may replace a similar fourteenth-century one. Behind the screen, three doorways lead to the service facilities: the pantry, the kitchen, and the buttery, where beverages were stored. The facing end of the hall has a stepped dais for the "high table" of the master, his family, and his guests. Above the minstrel gallery and the master's table, double pairs of windows set above the collar beam and a quadruple lancet set just below add light to the hall.

In addition to the innovative structural engineering in the great hall, the architecture at Penshurst, like those at Stokesay Castle and Haddon Hall, exhibits the change of social structure. The spiral staircase in the tower leads one flight up to a solar, or private quarters, for the baron and his family. A hidden window, however, allowed the owner to see the activities in the hall below.[28] From this time forward, masters of manor houses, like the king, sought more privacy by living in separate quarters at an increasing distance from the household. Among the next generation of houses in England, Dartington Hall, and Great Dixter are pivotal in the shift from a fortified manor house to an unfortified one. In addition, the scale increases dramatically.

Dartington Hall

The first house in England to be conceived from the outset as an unfortified manor house appears to be Dartington Hall in Devon, built *c*. 1388–1400 by John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and half-brother to Richard II. Eventually the house came into the hands of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. Four ranges, or wings, of lodgings surround a large courtyard, much like the Upper Ward at Windsor or one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. The house itself, the largest house in England prior to the sixteenth century, fills the south range and has a two-story entrance block. Not only is this type of house important in the evolution of building types, but the support for the roof of the great hall, which had a span of 37.4 ft (11.4 m), is hammerbeam construction. These houses assert the local importance of the owner without the austerity of fortified walls and develop new methods of construction, including half-timber walls and open timber roofing, which others will follow.

Remarkable works in timber: ecclesiastical and royal great halls

By the late fourteenth century, the great hall still formed an essential component of the ecclesiastical and royal palace, but on a larger scale with open timber frame roofs. Several halls are known only through documents or ruins, such as that at York Palace in London, which served the archbishop of York. Lambeth Palace, also in the London area, contains the best extant example of the ecclesiastical hall. After the fifteenth century, however, living conditions changed. Great halls disappeared in favor of increasingly private living quarters and separate banqueting halls for entertaining. Great halls that served the king and his relatives at Windsor Castle, Kenilworth Castle, Westminster Palace, Eltham Palace, and Sudeley Castle show this evolution.

Windsor: St George's Hall

Although by the fourteenth century the royal family lived separately from the household, as in the case of Edward III's apartments of the 1360s in the Upper Ward at Windsor Castle, royal castles continued to need great halls to accommodate large numbers of dignitaries on state occasions. These halls also often served to display armor, shields, and accoutrements of power and wealth. Among the rooms of state in Edward's royal apartments, the most important were a two-story, 200 ft long (61 m) great hall for his newly founded Order of the Garter, named St George's Hall, and a royal chapel, built end-to-end overlooking the quadrangle. Both had timber frame roofs. Neither exists today. Documents are unclear about the carpenter, although William Wintringham, chief carpenter for John of Gaunt, may have been responsible. Wooden beams in arch-brace construction or in the truss-type construction that supports a flat paneled ceiling could have spanned the 30 ft (9.8 m) width of St George's Hall. In the 1670s, Wenceslas Hollar illustrated the hall and the roof for Elias Ashmole's *History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*. Even then, Hollar's engraving shows the hall after it was joined with the chapel. Archaeological evidence, made more sparse after the fire of 1992, concurs with Hollar's engraving. Both indicate the use of curved timbers for the beams, collar braces, and the apex of the ceiling, which, if so, represents cutting-edge engineering. Innovations at Windsor guide later carpenters as they embark upon broader spans, including the new wider halls at Kenilworth and Westminster.[29]

Kenilworth Castle

The variety of buildings and architectural styles at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire reflect its long association with the English monarchy. Its beginnings date to the 1120s, when Geoffrey de Clinton, treasurer to Henry I, constructed a massive Romanesque keep on the north side which connected to ranges of lodgings and a kitchen. In the late twelfth century, during the reign of Henry II, Kenilworth became a royal castle. Between 1210 and 1215, King John strengthened it by reinforcing the walls and enlarging the artificial lake around it, making it an island fortress. By 1347, when Henry, Earl of Lancaster, built a great hall there, it had become an important seat for the Midlands administration of the Lancaster nobility.

Beginning in 1364, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and fourth son of Edward III, followed his father's lead at Windsor and transformed Kenilworth, his primary residence, from a fortress to a palace (Fig. 5.22). On the northeast corner of the complex, he renovated the Norman keep and rebuilt the kitchen facilities, making three kitchens so he could accommodate a courtly gathering. The great hall formed the centerpiece of John of Gaunt's construction, built on the footprint of the one of 30 years earlier. It stood on a north–south axis on the west side of the complex, perpendicular to the kitchens and overlooking the lake. Magnificent for its size alone, it measured 45 ft wide by 90 ft long (13.7 × 27.4 m) – the largest and widest unaisled hall in England before Westminster Hall (Fig. 5.23). It resembled the hall at Lambeth Palace of the 1440s (93 × 38 ft; 28.6 × 11.8 m) in length but exceeded it by nearly half again in width. Unlike traditional English halls, which stood at ground level, this hall, like that of Edward III at Windsor Castle, stood over a vaulted undercroft of the same size, three bays wide and five bays long, with narrow, slit-like windows and a relatively low ceiling. The space accommodated domestics and others not entitled to sit at table with the duke.

The hall was entered from the inner court through vaulted entrances, one above the other, and a staircase in a tower-type porch on the north corner. Paired with the entrance tower was a multi-sided tower on the south end, inspired by the slightly projecting Rose Tower at Windsor Castle, with its squared corners, and the larger and more distinctive Chapter House at the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Warwick. On the exterior front of the building were a pair of square towers four stories high. The north-most tower connected to services; the south tower, which had larger windows, formed a pair of oriels, or bay windows, with the multi-sided tower on the inner face.

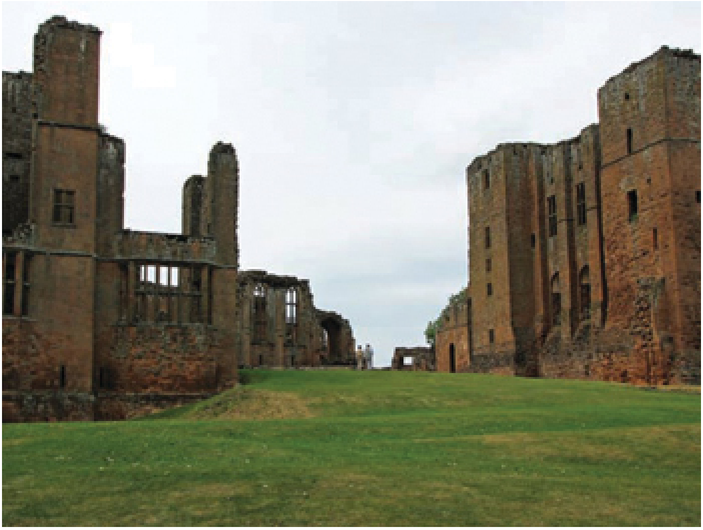


Fig. 5.22 Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, Norman Keep (right), 1120s; Great Hall (left background), fourteenth century; and Tudor addition (left foreground), sixteenth century. Photograph: author

The high table would have stood between the projecting pair of oriel windows, which provided extra light. Such windows, new here, soon became a standard feature, as seen on smaller great halls at Eltham Palace and Gainsborough Hall. John of Gaunt's table, however, appears not to have been raised but delineated by decorative tiles and three large fireplaces, as was the custom in France. To the southeast of the hall, incorporating some of the pre-existing Norman walls and two smaller towers, one with stairs, the duke rebuilt the staterooms and reception rooms in a grand style: the White Hall, the Presence Chamber, and the Privy Chamber.

As with any wide space – recall the crossing tower at Ely – to build a roof without intervening supports below presents the biggest challenge. William Wintringham, who had worked for Edward III at Windsor Castle, became John of Gaunt's chief carpenter in 1392. Surely he designed it, as certain features reflect royal works with which Wintringham was associated. Since the roof does not survive, the type of support it is debated. The builders could have used an arch-brace truss, but timbers 45 ft (13.7 m) long would have been more difficult to find than 30 ft (9.1 m) ones that the hall at Windsor would have required. No corbels or recesses appear on the walls to support the wall posts for arch beam construction. However, recent research shows that corbels at Ightham Mote and Penshurst were purely decorative rather than supportive, opening up the possibility for a hammerbeam truss support, much like roofs at Eltham and Lambeth Palaces. If so, this hall would have been the first hall built on such a grand scale with a hammerbeam ceiling.[30]

The enormous frames of the windows that remain in the duke's hall boast of his great wealth. Four stand on each side with a fireplace in the center bay of each wall – triple pane in height and two lancets wide – with beautifully detailed stone mullions. On the east side, the windows overlook the inner courtyard; on the west, the lake. Kenilworth continued to play an important role in the lives of the English royal family. By the reign of Henry VIII, for whom lodgings were built along the east front, the castle was still renowned for its elegance and its garden, which set the stage for another period of great fame, or infamy, during the reign of Elizabeth.

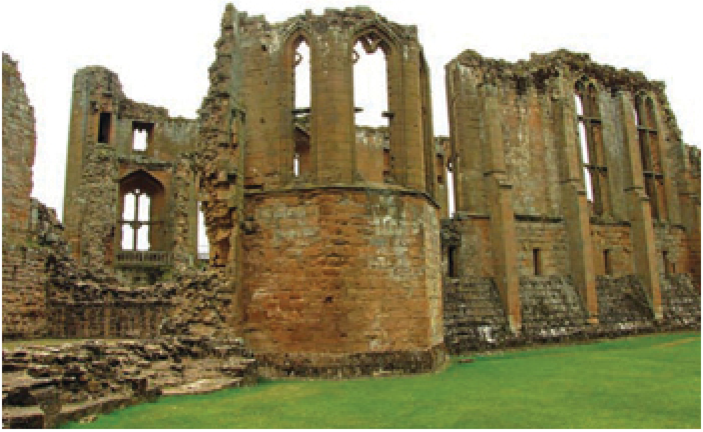


Fig. 5.23 Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, Great Hall, exterior, fourteenth century. Photograph: author

Westminster Hall

The hall at Kenilworth was exceeded only by the great hall at Westminster Palace (Fig. 5.24). From 1394 to 1399, Richard II embarked on a transformative renovation that produced perhaps the greatest engineering marvel of the century and the largest hall in Europe. Richard inherited an aisled space like Oakham, but more than double its size. Because of preexisting palace buildings, the north–south orientation the length of 240 ft (73.2 m) and width of 68.3 ft (20.7 m) remained basically the same. The exterior appearance, height and interior span, however, would change. Such building projects required two master builders: a stonemason and a carpenter. The king hired stonemason Henry Yeveley, who had worked at Canterbury Cathedral for the Black Prince and at other royal sites.

Yeveley commenced first, with masons Richard Washbourn and John Swallow (Swalwe), who assisted in raising the walls another 23.5 ft (7.2 m) to a total height of 92 ft (28 m) and inserting a course of 26 stone corbels along the stringcourse to support the roof. The stonework, although not embellished, was influential. The expanse of unembellished walls below the windows would provide the perfect place for exhibiting Flemish tapestries, which were coming into England in increasing numbers. On the exterior, Yeveley emphasized the north front, with its gabled roof, twin towers, and an entrance with a great perpendicular stained glass window above, all of which remain visible today. This longitudinal emphasis and entrance drew from contemporary church design, which, along with the twin towers, was new in English halls. Subsequent halls would follow this lead.

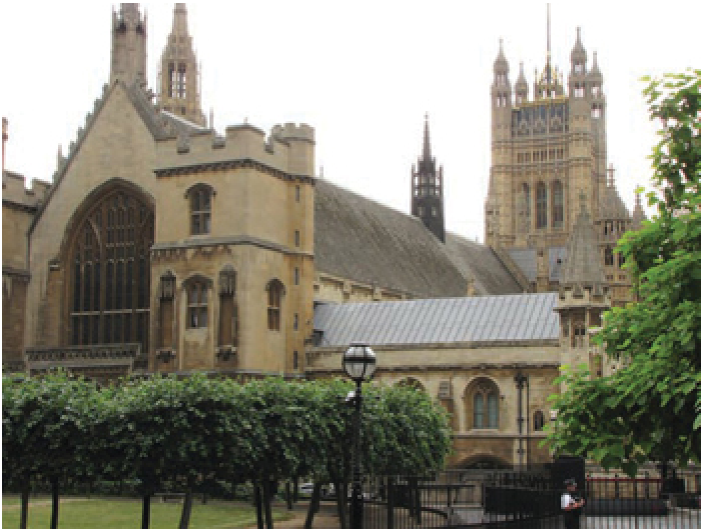


Fig. 5.24 Westminster Palace, London, Great Hall, exterior, 1397–1399 (now part of Houses of Parliament). Photograph: author

Whereas in England the stonework was usually the showpiece of a building, here the woodwork dominated. Master Carpenter Hugh Herland, who, like the masons, was of high renown, did the timber framing. He probably was the son of William Herland who had worked at Kenilworth and Windsor. Father and son often collaborated with Henry Yeveley. Hugh Herland had previously worked for Archbishop Wykeham at Winchester College and New College, Oxford. He may have done the timber framing at the great hall at Lambeth Palace while he was working at Westminster.

Herland's ingenious roofing solution for covering such a wide span without intervening supports (that is, the wooden columns and aisles disappeared), perhaps based on Kenilworth, was one of the great engineering feats of the Middle Ages. This system blended two existing truss types that had covered spans of considerably less width: the hammerbeam bracket, which is a braced cantilevered support, and the arch-brace collar roof. Herland transported beams – the longest being 40 ft (12.2 m) – from Hampshire, Hertfordshire, and Surrey to his “framing site” in Farnham, Surrey. There his team of carpenters, joiners, and carvers cut and assembled the roof, using mortise and tenon joints, later secured with wooden dowels (or pins). Once complete, they dismantled the roof and shipped it 45 miles (72 km) – overland by eight-team horse wagons to Hamme and down river by barge to Westminster. Scaffold was built in the hall in 1395–1396, from which they worked to reassemble the roof. The trusses at Westminster were in place by 1397, as the roof was temporarily covered for the coronation of Richard’s queen, Isabella of France. All work was completed by 1399. Westminster Hall has the earliest known “splendid roof,” boasting thirteen principal hammerbeam trusses of 45 ft (13.7 m) weighing some 660 tons (599 metric tonnes).

In addition to its structural ingenuity, the ceiling is beautifully ornamented. Twenty-six angels carved at the ends of the beams, brightly painted with gilded wings attached, appear to be flying in parallel formation across the 25.5 ft (7.7 m) opening between the ends of the hammerbeams. Although the magnificent decorative carpentry refers to the personal emblems of Richard II, the person who first had the idea to incorporate the angels remains anonymous. Richard had an obsession about his image and a love of angels, as the Wilton Diptych attests. Each angel at Westminster carries a shield with the coat-of-arms of the king. These flying angels at the ends of hammerbeams are the first instance of a decorative motif that would become widespread, especially in East Anglia.[31]

Eltham Palace

A second splendid, more intimate royal hall is found at Eltham Palace, a royal palace southeast of London (Figs 5.25 and 5.26). After 1479, Edward IV almost entirely rebuilt it, adding an enclosed passage called a “gallery” after the French *galerie*. Galleries began as communicating corridors, especially for protection from inclement weather, as seen in the corridor that Edward II built at Westminster Palace. Soon they served practical functions, such as places for exercise in bad weather or “socially neutral” locations between private apartments and public receptions rooms that were suitable for conversation.

Edward's most noteworthy and enduring contribution was the great hall, which measures 36 ×100 ft (11 × 30.5 m). The king's chief craftsmen at Westminster, Thomas Jurdan, master mason, and Edmund Graveley, chief carpenter, probably designed the hall and engineered the ceiling. The hall, similar to Archbishop Chichele's slightly earlier hall at Lambeth Palace, is generously lit by five pairs of large windows, a conspicuous sign of wealth. The last bay consists of facing oriel windows, which align with the platform for the high table. The six-bay hammerbeam ceiling has ornate wooden pendants extending down from the hammer posts.[32] This lavish but smaller design served as a model for subsequent noble residences.

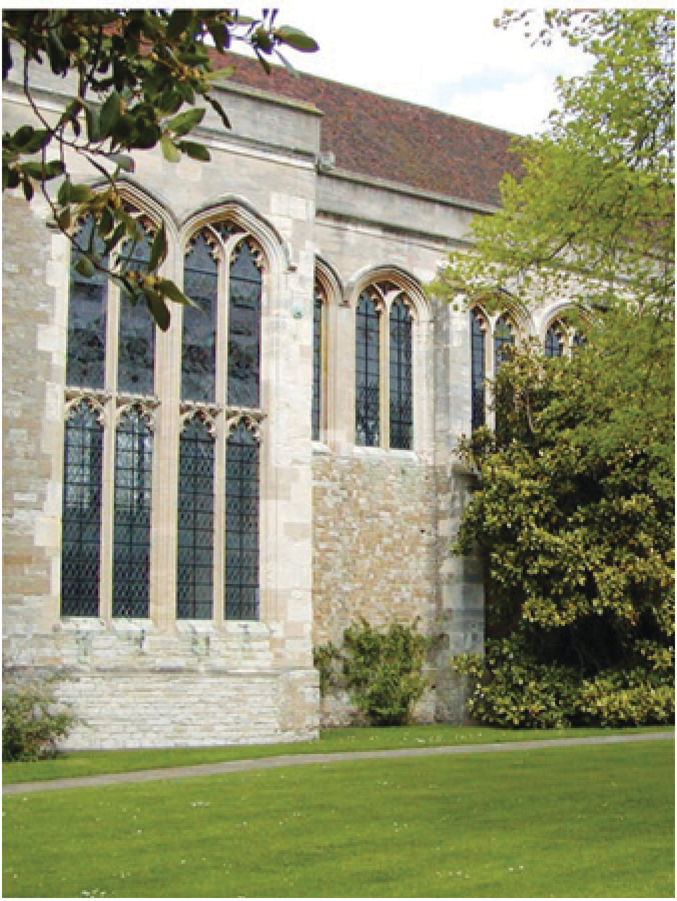


Fig. 5.25 Eltham Palace, Greenwich, Great Hall, exterior, 1470s. Photograph: author

Sudeley Castle

Among royal relatives, the Duke of Gloucester, later (briefly) King Richard III, especially sought to promote his status with magnificent architecture. After he acquired it in 1483, he transformed its austerity into a display of grandeur. He rebuilt the keep, the inner courtyard, and, most notably, the staterooms on the eastern range of the courtyard (Fig. 5.27). The remarkable presence chamber on first floor (one flight up), 26 × 49 ft (8 × 15 m) where the lord received visitors, even in its ruined state today, exudes wealth and splendor. The profusion of projecting oriel windows alone, glazed on three sides, conveyed a conspicuous sign of wealth. The east wall was almost continuous glass, with a fireplace between two large windows and beneath a higher window. Like his brother, Edward IV, Richard preferred housing designs that included a private residential tower with commodious lodgings, a design that would prove equally popular with the Tudor monarchs.

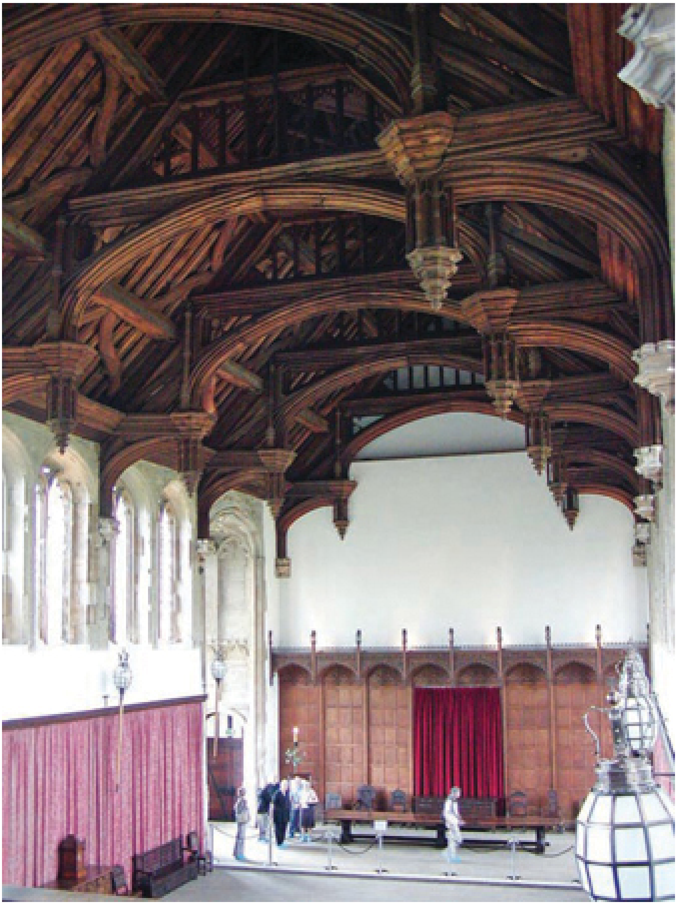


Fig. 5.26 Eltham Palace, Greenwich, Great Hall, interior, 1470s. Photograph: author

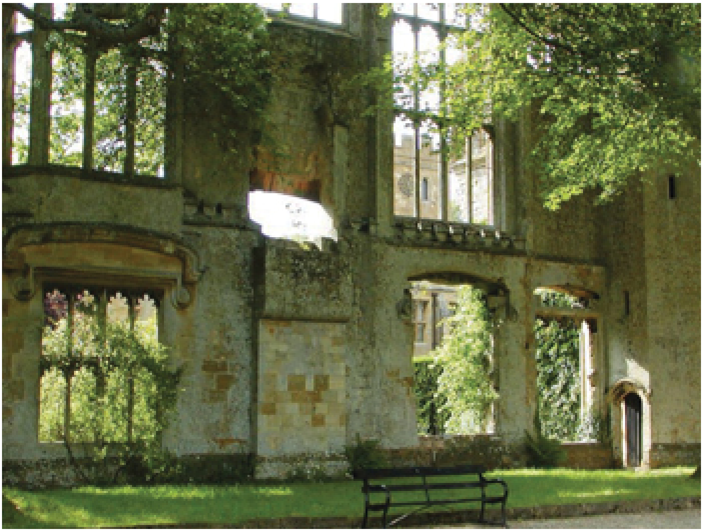


Fig. 5.27 Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, Great Presence Chamber, 1470s. Photograph: author

Bishops' Palaces in London

The impressive London palaces of England's two archbishops, along with the lesser, but still grand, residences of eighteen bishops, formed an ecclesiastical power base near Westminster. Each complex included a great hall, a courtyard, and a chapel. Begun in the thirteenth century, the residence of the bishop of Winchester stood near the old priory in Southwick, now known as Southwick Cathedral (Fig. 6.20). A shell of the great hall still remains showing a rose window in the west-facing end, confirming that window forms routinely used in churches transferred easily to residential buildings.[33] York Palace, which belonged to the Archbishop of York, is known through secondary sources. Lambeth Palace, which still remains, is home to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

York Palace

Archbishop of York Walter de Grey, who also served as Lord Chancellor to King John and advisor to Henry III, acquired York Palace in the 1240s. He first used it as a private residence and later gave it to the archdiocese of York. The location was the most convenient of any bishop's residence in the London area: the gatehouse stood on the fashionable Strand. In the opposite direction, an easy walk away, was Westminster. After 1300, when Westminster Palace was under renovation, the king used the York Place intermittently and contributed to renovation costs. Successive archbishops improved the property, especially John Kempe (1426–1452) and George Neville (1465–1470), the youngest son of the Earl of Salisbury, who built a great hall covered with a timber roof that appears to have been about 39 ft wide (11.9 m). Also within its walls were a courtyard, a chapel, support facilities, a kitchen, a privy chamber, and private residential apartments overlooking the Thames. The palace survived the Great Fire of 1666 only to succumb to another fire in 1698, so little information survives.[34] Already lavish, York Palace would be transformed by Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII.

Lambeth Palace

Lambeth Palace, situated diagonally across the Thames from Westminster Abbey, has been the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, since at least the twelfth century, although nothing other than the crypt under the chapel remains from that era. Two remarkable timber frame roofs were built at Lambeth: one survives unaltered, the other survives restored. The oldest and most authentic, the Great Chamber (later the Guard Room), like the rest of the older part of the palace, is built of a light colored stone. It probably dates from *c*. 1385–1395 and measures an impressive 28.8 × 56.1 ft (87.4 × 17.3 m) with a height of about 35–40 ft (10–12 m). This room, entered from the palace on the southeast corner, has an impressive hybrid arch-braced roof of four bays. It has short curved timber blades along the lower roof with arch-brace-collar frames across the central span. The four double lancet windows along the south side are topped with triple lobes and single rosettes above, more closely resembling earlier decorated Gothic window designs.

Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury (1414–1443), built the impressive ground-level Great Hall with two doors on the south side. The eastern door, the primary entrance, has a heavy porch. The long side of the hall, with five large windows, lies parallel to the River Thames. Finely built of brick and dressed with stone, the structure exhibits an early acceptance of brick as an appropriate material for a significant building (Fig. 5.28). The seven-bay interior, which measures 93 ft long, 38.8 ft wide, and about 50 ft high (28.6 × 11.8 × 15.2 m), is covered with a splendid oak hammerbeam roof. The short ends have a pointed window above the fireplaces. A lantern tower in the center gives additional light. The imposing size, the use of projecting oriel windows at the ends, the elaborate detail in the carving of the roof, and the massive hanging pendants reflect elements of the Great Hall at Eltham Palace. In 1648, during the English Civil War, Colonel Scott of Cromwell's troops ransacked Lambeth Hall.

Archbishop William Juxon (1660–1663), contributing considerable sums of his own money, rebuilt it, replicating the original medieval style as closely as possible.[35]

Medieval great halls changed in function over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the large ranges of residential rooms and separate spaces for the owners, these halls were no longer used for communal living. Rather than to become obsolete, they evolved into status symbols: settings for ceremony, exposés of architectural acumen, display spaces for armor, and places for hanging fine fabrics on the walls, most particularly narrative tapestries.

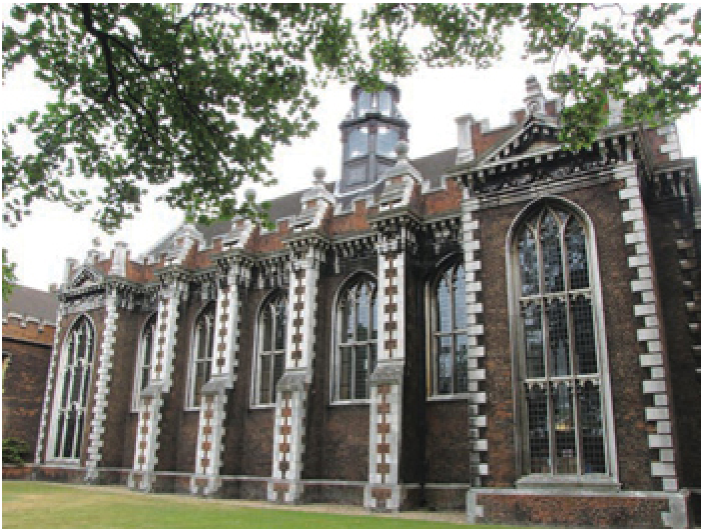


Fig. 5.28 Lambeth Palace, London, Great Hall, exterior, 1440s. Photograph: author

Fortifications and engineering works in the Perpendicular style

In addition to ecclesiastical and residential needs, the Perpendicular style of architecture and the engineering advances that came with it served fortifications and engineering works as well. Although in general the need for fortifications in England had ebbed by the late fourteenth century, intermittent raids by the French along the coast in Sussex and Kent roused the fear of a full scale invasion and motivated the building and strengthening of some of the English fortifications, as seen at Windsor Castle. Cities, such as Canterbury, in the south and southeast strengthened their fortifications and city walls. Although by the late fourteenth century, fortified castles were largely outmoded, a few were built, perhaps just for status and a grand appearance, such as Bodiam Castle.

Canterbury: Westgate

In 1377, Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Sudbury hired the versatile builder Henry Yeveley to build a gatehouse into the west face of the city walls at Canterbury as the entire defenses were being reorganized. Sudbury is said to have built this impressive fortification at his own expense. The massive gate majestically designates the entrance where the Pilgrim's Path, the main road toward London, crossed the River Stour into the city. Westgate was begun in 1381, the year of Wat Tyler's Rebellion, an off-shoot of the Peasant's Revolt that stormed Canterbury and in which Archbishop Sudbury met his death.

Faced in coursed ashlar blocks of Kentish ragstone, this imposing structure, 60 ft (18.3 m) tall, is the largest city gate remaining in England. The tall arched opening (tall enough for a modern double-decker bus to pass through) had a portcullis and wooden doors, for it commanded a timber drawbridge over the River Stour. The west façade, which faces the road from London, has twin towers reminiscent of Edward III's Norman Gate at Windsor. The north tower contained a spiral staircase for access to the upper two floors. The boxy inner face has no towers.

The Canterbury authorities were serious about fortifying their city: the austere gatehouse had twin rounded drum towers and wide crenellations. The ribbed vault inside the arch between the towers contained ring bosses that could be used as murder holes. Eighteen gunloops, among the first in Britain, were added by the early fifteenth century – a surprisingly large number for a gatehouse. The loops were carefully placed to provide the maximum field of fire. Hundreds of thousands of medieval pilgrims would have passed through this gate, en route to the shrine of Thomas á Becket. Such a fortification would have quelled peasant instincts for another rebellion.[36]

Bodiam Castle

Some nobles in the south, such as Sir Edward Dalyngrigge, also sought security within castle walls, or at least the appearance of it. In 1385, Dalyngrigge chose a site in the valley of the River Rother, near the wharves at Bodiam Bridge in Sussex, and applied for a license to crenellate (Fig. 5.29). In the waning years of castle construction, Dalyngrigge built Bodiam Castle, one of the most picturesque and symmetrical of British castles. The oversized man-made lake that serves as a moat surrounds the building and might prevent the French from using their skill at tunneling underneath. Cleverer, however, is that Dalyngrigge carefully devised the approach, as studies have proven, to give changing views of the castle and its shimmering full reflection in the still waters, which creates the illusion that the castle is taller and more formidable than it actually is.

Built around a courtyard, the almost square Bodiam Castle has handsome three-storyed rounded towers at each corner and massive twin towers of the same height at the entrances, which sit opposite each other at the center of the north and south walls. The towers, crowned with crenellations, could serve as lookouts and for defense. The vaulting of the gatehouse resembles Yeveley's work at Canterbury, including the murder holes cleverly incorporated into the vaulting. Although portcullises in the towers made the castle look all the more formidable, the walls are neither thick enough nor tall enough to withstand serious attack. Fortunately, the occasion never arose.[37]

A two-story tower, now ruined, and a short land bridge gave added protection to the pair of drawbridges on either side, which joined the castle to the little octagonal island on the north side. The island also provided a place wide enough to turn a wagon drawn by a team of oxen, which would expedite the transporting of military supplies. The bridges show the English facility with timber. An 11-span, 136 ft (41.4 m) bridge, supported by oak trestles and sill beams secured with mortise and tenon joinings, once joined the octagon island to a stone abutment on the western shore. The span closest to shore had a drawbridge. By positioning the bridge at a right angle to the western shore, the unshielded right flank of an approaching army was vulnerable to attack from the castle. For invited guests, the bridge would have provided an impressive ceremonial approach. The bridge that joined the posterior tower to a stone-faced retaining wall on the south shore sat on dry stone plinths.

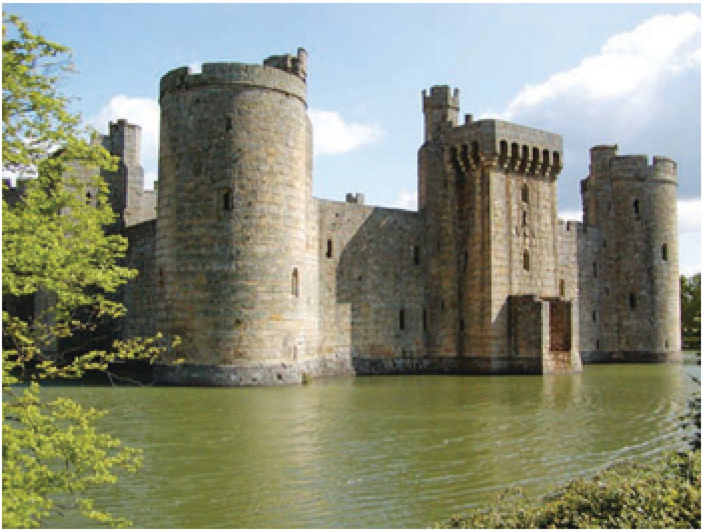


Fig. 5.29 Bodiam Castle, Robertsbridge, East Sussex, 1385. Photograph: author

Castles from this late period, unlike those of their predecessors, provided separate living quarters for the lord from his domestic staff and his garrison. Each wall of the interior had a series of rooms that opened onto the center courtyard. The towers contain spiral staircases that, in typically English fashion, wind clockwise from the bottom to give the occupant above the advantage of having his right side more defendable. The ground-level rooms appear to have served as support facilities: guard rooms, prison cells, stables, storage, and kitchen on the southwest corner adjacent to the well. A hall passage between the adjacent buttery and pantry connected the kitchen to the entrance hall, across which was the two-story great hall. A wooden screen separated the great hall from the entrance and tower beyond. Inside the great hall was a central hearth for heat, trestle tables for dining, and a timber frame ceiling. On the east side, the first floor, one flight up, had the principal living quarters; less grand quarters were on the second floor. The residential wing joined a two-story chapel in the northern corner. The function of the rooms on the north side is less certain, but the space is large enough to accommodate soldiers and horses. Remnants of Perpendicular ribs and other decoration are visible, showing that the castle once was richly embellished. Although the castle may, in the end, have served more as a status symbol for a flamboyant noble than a serious fortification, the worn stairs indicate that the castle was well-used. As with the gradual obsolescence of great halls, Bodiam stands at the cusp of change from defensive fortification to ceremonious ostentation.

Rochester Bridge

Advances in Perpendicular Architecture extend to civic structures and engineering projects. At Rochester, in Kent, to facilitate access between London and Dover, the Romans had built a bridge over the River Medway. It probably had a wooden deck on stone foundations, as the water was wide, tidal, and full of strong currents. In the tenth century, the bridge was rebuilt. In the winter of 1381, the combined power of melt water and ice swept away much of the old bridge. In February 1382, a royal commission, which included Henry Yeveley, examined the damage and decided to raze the old bridge and build a new one, a remarkable 560 ft long and 14 ft wide (171 × 4.3 m). First Yeveley constructed large platforms with pointed ends on either side to help deflect the current, called starlings. On top of the starlings he built twelve stone piers, with all but one of the spaces between spanned by stone arches. The remaining bay, had a wooden drawbridge. This remarkable stone bridge was so well built and carefully maintained that it survived until 1856, when it was razed and replaced with a cast iron structure. Thus engineering feats of the era extended beyond pretension to practical purpose.

Institutional architecture: universities

After the fall of Rome, with the fragmentation of the central government, monasteries and schools at cathedrals, such as the one Hadrian had established at Canterbury, took responsibility for education, primarily to educate the clergy. The first two great universities in England, first Oxford and then Cambridge, originated from such ecclesiastical beginnings. In the thirteenth century, however, secular colleges were established. The separation of the English universities from the church followed the format of universities on the continent, such as those at Bologna (by 1088), Padua (1222), where many Englishmen were educated, and Paris (by 1257). Another educational establishment that quickly followed the universities was Eton, a school to prepare boys for a university education. The architectural form of all of these British institutions derives from monastic architecture and later will be influential in the design of noble estates in the country. These institutions served a male population. Girls, if educated at all, received their schooling privately, usually at home with tutors or in convents with nuns.

Oxford: the earliest foundations

The dates for the founding of Oxford vary, although 1096 seems to be generally accepted as the establishment of the school of theology there. However, not until *c*. 1180, toward the end of the reign of Henry II, did Giraldus Cambrensis record that a large body of scholars was in residence at Oxford, although probably not yet living within any established organization. In 1249, William of Durham founded the first college, University College, although no buildings survive. In 1274, Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester and chancellor of England, endowed a college and established statutes for a self-governing body of independent lay scholars to live and study communally, in the manner of monks. This precedent loosened Oxford from the control of the church. As with the governance, the architecture of Merton College reflected monastic origins, as did the continental universities, with the library, dormitories, great hall, and chapel laid out in a quadrangle format.

William Wykeham, who, prior to his appointment as Bishop of Winchester, had supervised building at Windsor for Edward III, established New College, Oxford in 1380. Master carpenter Hugh Herland and master mason William Wynford, who also served at Windsor, worked at New College. This uniform building program, with crenellated stone structures set around a rectangular courtyard, was modeled after the upper quadrangle at Windsor Castle. The aisleless chapel, like the great halls of the era, was covered with a magnificent hammerbeam ceiling instead of stone vaulting. New College was not only one of the greatest architectural projects of the era, but it also set a precedent for collegiate architecture and helped solidify the Perpendicular style.

In 1448, William of Waynflete, who already had a hand in education, founded Magdalen College at Oxford. Construction did not begin, however, until 1467. Magdalen College also was built of stone around a quadrangle. From 1474 to 1480, William Orchard, Waynflete's master mason, supervised the building of the library and the great hall, all in the austere Perpendicular style.[38] Many of the low elliptical four-centered arches and corner spandrels are richly decorated, sometimes with perforated ornamentation. The buildings not only exemplify the Perpendicular style in academic architecture, but Magdalen College also had the first humanist-inspired curriculum in England, with Richard Foxe and Thomas Wolsey among the early students.

Cambridge: the early foundations

Among the early records at Cambridge University is a letter of 1290 from Pope Nicholas IV in which he described a *studium generale*, or theological seminary, that offered advanced degrees. In 1284, Hugh

Balsham, Bishop of Ely, founded Peterhouse College, the first at Cambridge; nothing of it survives. Four more institutions followed and still exist: Clare College (1326), Pembroke College (1347), Trinity Hall (1350), and Corpus Christi College (1352), which has the distinction of having been founded by the citizens of Cambridge.

Unlike the other colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, King's College of Our Lady and St Nicholas in Cambridge was a royal institution, founded by Henry VI, who laid the cornerstone on Passion Sunday, 1441. Left unfinished at his death, the project was finished by the Tudor kings. King's College was to have a provost in charge of seventy poor scholars, drawn exclusively from Eton College, Henry's other foundation. The chapel on the north side (see Fig. 6.12), built on an east–west axis, is the most remarkable feature of the complex. Henry VI laid the foundation stone on the feast of St James, 25 July 1446; his arms surmount the doorway. From the beginning, Henry VI intended the buildings to give a magnificent display of the power of royal patronage and strove to ensure that the chapel would be without equal in size and beauty.

Eton College

In 1440 Henry VI founded Eton College, a school for younger boys (Fig. 5.30). The architecture at Eton, along with Sheen Palace, presents an early example of evenly laid courses of brick, over two million bricks, in fact. The builders incorporated glazed brick to create design patterns. Because of the overlap of courses necessary for strong masonry bond, these geometric patterns were laid diagonally, usually in diamond-shapes, called diaper patterning. These patterns became a distinguishing feature of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English brickwork. The unprecedented number of artisans pressed into service building the college, including refugees from Flanders, who were already skilled in bricklaying, took their bricklaying expertise to other parts of England.

From 1443 to 1450, the king's master masons William Vertue and Henry Redman built the school on a plan of two courtyards. Around 1480, William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, and former provost of Eton, took charge of the project with Humphrey Coke, a master-carpenter, who worked on the cloisters through the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The north range of the Great Court held a classroom, a large dormitory (Long Chamber), and a refectory. Richly carved brick chimneys punctuate the silhouette, perhaps adapted from Sheen Palace. The inner Cloister Court, which served as the residential quarters for priests and fellows, is entered through the five-story double-towered Lupton's Tower. As at Hampton Court, this imposing brick gate is finished with stone, both in quoins and trims around the windows and has elaborate fan vaulting with crests in the bosses in the ceiling of the arch. The second and third stories have large oriel windows, a hallmark of Perpendicular architecture.

In 1448, the partially constructed chapel was razed to accommodate a much larger stone structure, which was completed at the turn of the sixteenth century (Figs 5.31 and 5.32). Located on the south side of the outer quadrangle, it measures approximately 175 ft long (53.3 m) and is accessed through a stairway on the northwest. The eight-bay aisleless interior with semi-circular fan vaults resemble the chapel at King's College, but the more conservative vaults at Eton are less three-dimensional. Vertue probably designed the more flamboyant three-dimensional fan vaulting in the richly decorated antechapel on the western end and on the north side in Lupton's Chantry Chapel (1515).[39]

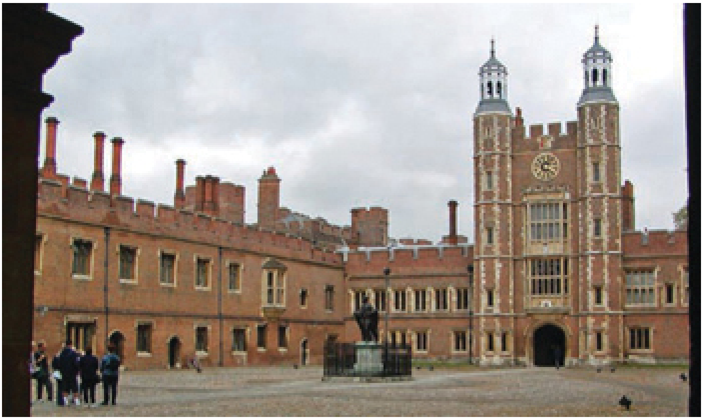


Fig. 5.30 Eton College, Windsor, Berkshire, William Vertue and Henry Redman, master masons, Great Court with Lupton's Tower, 1440 ff. Photograph: author

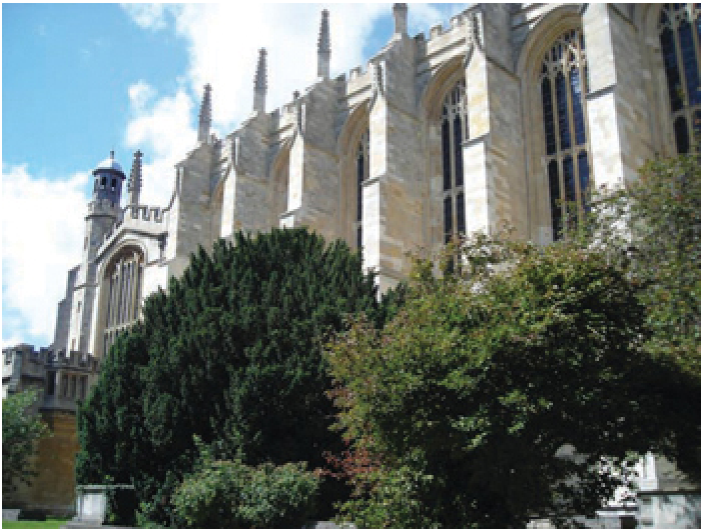


Fig. 5.31 William Vertue and Henry Redman, master masons, Eton College Chapel, exterior, 1448 ff., Eton, Windsor. Photograph: author. 31–32 pair

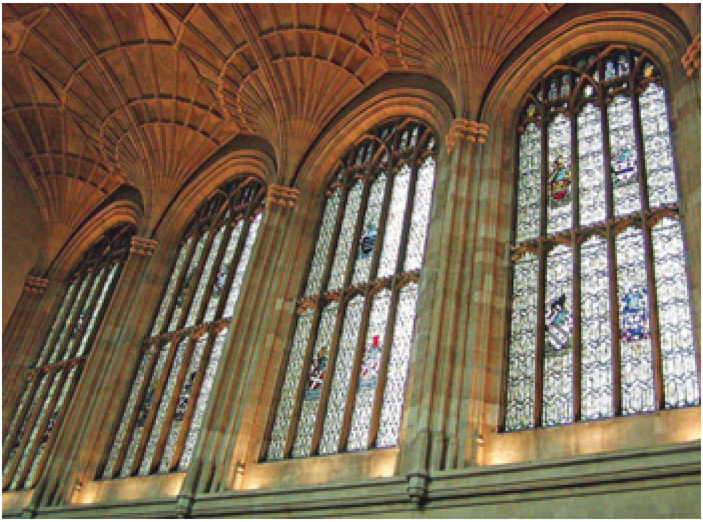


Fig. 5.32 Eton College, Windsor, Berkshire, William Vertue and Henry Redman, master masons, Eton College Chapel, interior, north wall, 1448 ff. Photograph: author

Perpendicular Gothic sculpture

As in the earlier period of Decorated Gothic, the finest surviving sculptural works center on ecclesiastical and funerary needs. Zealous reformers demolished many beautifully carved stone reredos, or altar screens, in the Dissolution, such as those at Norwich and Winchester, but they were less apt to desecrate tombs. As the emphasis on magnificence increased in royal and ecclesiastical courts, tombs and funerary chapels, important reminders to posterity of one's earthly position, increased exponentially in lavishness. The royal and noble tombs made during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries share the general characteristics of earlier ones at Westminster and Gloucester Abbeys. Most are richly carved, often with recumbent effigies on a tomb chest, such as those of Henry IV and the Black Prince at Canterbury, and Edward III, John of Eltham, and Richard II at Westminster Abbey. Finally, the Beauchamp family at Warwick built a funerary chapel in a collegiate parish church, but the ostentation and expense prevent it from setting a precedent.

Canterbury: royal tombs

At Canterbury, the only royal tombs are those of the Edward the Black Prince, the Prince of Wales (d. 1376) and King Henry IV (d. 1413). As with the royal tombs at Saint-Denis and Westminster Abbey, the tomb chests lie between two pillars in the apse, surmounted by high carved canopies and surrounded by iron grates. Although these effigies draw from royal prototypes, new forms appear.

The Black Prince: Edward of Woodstock

The tomb of the Black Prince, who predeceased his father Edward III, lies along the south aisle of the apse near the shrine of martyr Thomas à Becket (Fig. 5.33). Scholars speculate that Henry Yeveley designed the tomb, as he is documented as being on site designing other tombs. Scholars credit John Orchard, a bronze-worker from London who moved in royal circles, with the recumbent effigy. The effigy depicts the prince with hands clasped in prayer, wearing full armor with helmet and chainmail. It is cast in latten, an alloy of copper, zinc, lead, and tin, and gilded, even though the prince allegedly received his nickname from his suit of black armor. The effigy armor bears the insignia of England, with three lions in the center with a border of fleur-de-lys. The belt consists of enameled roundels. Orchard gave detailed attention to the armor, but idealized the calm face, thereby presenting the hero of the Battles of Crécy and Poitiers as the ideal warrior in magnificent repose.

Henry IV and Joan of Navarre

In 1399, Henry IV (1367–1413), the eldest surviving son of John of Gaunt, usurped the throne from his cousin Richard II, precipitating the Wars of the Roses and making him the first king of the House of Lancaster. He was the only king interred at Canterbury rather than at Westminster, perhaps because he represented a new royal house, or perhaps because he was devoted to the cult of Becket, which was at its height. The workmanship of this double tomb, which includes the effigy of his second wife, Joan of Navarre, is attributed to Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton (Fig. 5.34). It lies on the north side of the Trinity Chapel, as close as possible to Becket's shrine, and opposite the tomb of his uncle, the Black Prince. Unlike the earlier gilded bronze effigies at Westminster, this pair, carved of costly alabaster with polychrome and gilding, follows the example set in the 1330s by the tomb of Edward II at Gloucester. The royal couple lie crowned in full robes of state, with their heads beneath canopies, much like those for standing figures on the exteriors of churches. Although the monarchs appear mature rather than youthful, they are idealized, for the portrait of the king gives no evidence of his known facial disfigurement, which was probably the result of leprosy.

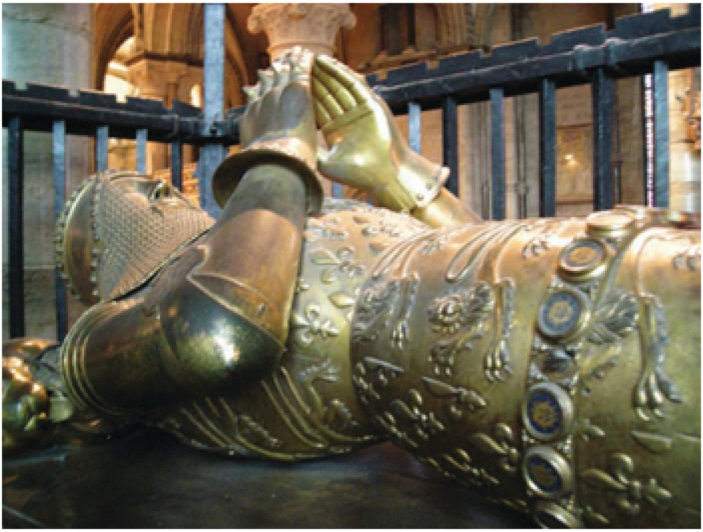


Fig. 5.33 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Henry Yeveley, tomb of the Black Prince, gilded latten, 1377 ff. Photograph: author

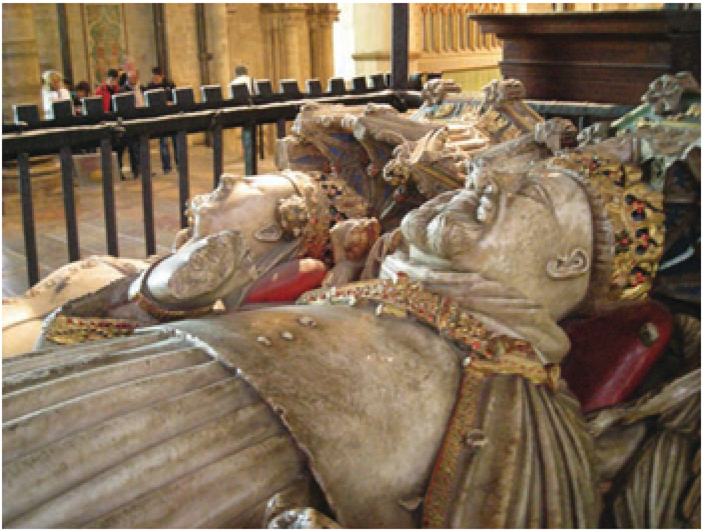


Fig. 5.34 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton (attributed), effigies and tomb of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre, alabaster, polychrome, and gilding, 1413 ff. Photograph: author

Westminster Abbey: royal tombs of kinship

At Westminster Abbey, the style of royal tombs from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a recumbent figure on a stone chest and figures of mourners or family members along the chest, recall the earlier examples of Aveline de Forz (d. 1274) and her husband Edmund (Crouchback) Plantagenet (d. 1296), son of Edward I. The use of alabaster, however, follows Edward II at Gloucester. Edward III sponsored several tomb projects at Westminster, beginning with that for his brother, John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall. Edward III also probably commissioned his own tomb, as did his wife, Philippa of Hainault, who predeceased him.

John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall

John of Eltham died in Scotland in 1336 and was buried in St Edmund's Chapel at Westminster in 1337. Designed by the king's mason, William Ramsay III, the exquisite white alabaster tomb of kinship clearly shows the influence the tomb chests and effigies of Edward II at Gloucester and Henry IV at Canterbury. The recumbent effigy, shown as a soldier, is dressed in mixed mail and plate armor with a sword and a shield bearing his coat-of-arms: three lions of England with a border of fleur-de-lys. With legs crossed, the feet rest against a lion, a symbol of strength and loyalty. As with earlier kinship tombs at Westminster, just below the bier holding the effigy, Gothic niches encircle the chest, each of which once held small figures of royal mourners. The best preserved of these figures are on the north side.[40]

Philippa of Hainault

In the mid-1360s, Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369), wife of Edward III, commissioned her tomb. She sought a sculptor outside England, hiring Jean de Liège from Brabant in her native Flanders. This tomb, which stands between piers in the southeast of the sanctuary, appears to be his first extant work; he later worked for the French king Charles V. By hiring a sculptor that moved in royal French circles and choosing a design of royal kinship similar to tombs of the Dukes of Hainault and King John II Le Bon of France, she made a strong political statement, aligning England with revered European powers. Unlike the English royal effigies, mostly made of bronze, Philippa's fashionably clothed figure, of painted and gilded alabaster and resting on a tomb chest of black Tournai marble, resembles contemporary royal tombs at Saint-Denis. Different also is the portrait-quality effigy, which is shown with an unidealized pudgy face, indicating that it could have been carved from life. This naturalism represents a new direction in effigy sculpture in England. The contract states that John Orchard cast 70 bronze mourner figures for niches along the sides of the tomb. The choice of mourners, which includes her husband, her relatives, the King of France, and the Holy Roman Emperor, and the allies of her husband during the Hundred Years War, has political and dynastic overtones. The design of this tomb inspires the design of subsequent royal tombs, including those of the adjacent monuments of Edward III and Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. The more sumptuous polychromed marble tombs for the Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, Dukes of Burgundy, at Champmol (near Dijon and Beaune) also follow the pleurant model.[41]

Edward III

Edward III's (d. 1377) monument also stands on the south side of the sanctuary. The iconography and effigy suggest that Edward commissioned his tomb in his lifetime and had a hand in the design, but his grandson, Richard II, saw it to completion in the 1380s. It follows the new kinship form and English tradition of collaborative artisanship. Henry Yeveley likely carved the Purbeck marble tomb chest, while royal carpenter Hugh Herland probably carved the magnificent wooden canopy. The recumbent effigy, like that of his wife, though of gilt bronze rather than stone, shows a sufficiently sensitive treatment of the aging face to suggest a portrait made from life. The resemblance to the effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury and the quality of the artisanship support an attribution to John Orchard. The niches on the outer side once contained little bronze weeper images, also by Orchard, but in this instance, his progeny: 12 of his 14 children. Only the six on the south side remain intact, with four retaining their shields. The program, though incomplete, is sufficiently intact to establish that weepers were meant to be read from head to foot in descending order in which they stood to inherit the throne. This lavish royal model tomb also clearly inspires the subsequent funerary monument of Richard Beauchamp in Warwick.

The noble tomb of kinship and the funerary chapel: Richard Beauchamp

Funerary chapels for noble families are not unprecedented, but the large, richly decorated chapel that Richard Beauchamp, the First Earl of Warwick, endowed for himself is in a class of its own. His lavishness, presumably excused by his power and prominence, comes dangerously close to defying rules of social decorum, for his is the only chapel of this size and magnificence and the only surviving gilded latten tomb in England for someone not of royal blood. The only successor to this magnificent mortuary chapel would be a royal one.

Richard Beauchamp's father and grandfather, both named Thomas, provided the illustrious legacy upon which Richard built. His grandfather served at Crécy and Poitiers; his father, Earl of Warwick, served as tutor to Richard II. In 1387, the younger Thomas began reconstruction of the chancel of the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Warwick. The early Perpendicular architecture, inspired by works from Gloucester and Bristol, has two levels of stone paneling with miniature battlements on the lower level and large windows above. The ribbed vaulting contains ring bosses, with angels, rather than the more common removable lions. The center of the chancel holds the tombs and alabaster effigies of the earl, dressed in armor, and his wife, Catherine Mortimer, both of whom died in 1369. The faces indicate an aging couple. Rather than having hands raised in prayer, she places her right hand in his. The tomb chest has iconography that signifies their royal allegiance, and in kinship fashion, displays carved stone figures in niches.[42]

Richard Beauchamp, like his father and grandfather, had a distinguished career. Besides having inherited the title and landholdings, Richard served three Lancastrian kings – Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI. He served as Captain at Calais and Custodian of Rouen Castle during the imprisonment of Joan of Arc. His considerable role in the dispute with France lies at the heart of Shakespeare's play, *Henry V*. In fact, upon his deathbed in 1422, Henry V gave Richard charge of his infant son, Henry VI. Beauchamp later presided at the 7-year-old king's coronation. Richard died in 1439 in Rouen. His body was returned to Warwick for burial.

Rather than to be entombed along the wall of the chancel near his parents and grandparents, who occupied the positions of honor, in 1437, Richard Beauchamp received permission to endow the church with additional priests and to place his tomb in the center of a new chapel adjacent to the south side of the chancel. His magnificent, three-bay Perpendicular Gothic chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, was built between 1443 and 1446 (Figs 5.35 and 5.36). The gabled roof has a carved frieze around the south roofline. Elaborately carved buttresses with pinnacles embedded into the walls extend above the roofline like decorative chimney pots. Delicate blind arcades with ogee arches on the lower walls complement the stone tracery in the three six-lancet windows.

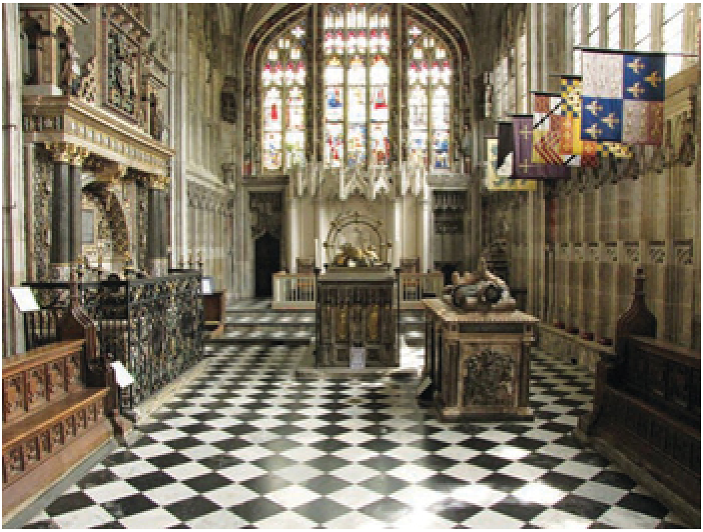


Fig. 5.35 Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire, Beauchamp Chapel, interior with tombs, facing east, 1437 ff. Photograph: author

To create a magnificent setting for the tomb, the raison d'être for the chapel, the interior was richly embellished with colored stained glass windows, elaborate ribbed vaulting with sculpted bosses, liturgical furnishings, and rare surviving polychromed sculptures of the Virgin Mary, saints, and singing choirs of angels along the window jambs (Fig. 5.37). A team of master craftsmen, as was the late medieval custom, worked together on Beauchamp's tomb chest and effigy in London, finishing the work around 1460: John Massingham, the sculptor; William Austen, the metal founder; Bartholomew Lambespringe, a Dutchman, the goldsmith; and Thomas Stevyns, the coppersmith. The splendid recumbent figure of gilded latten (an alloy of copper and zinc resembling bronze), which resembles that of the Black Prince, lies beneath a gilded hearse cover. Documents specify a full suit of gilded Milanese armor in the latest fashion, with dagger, sword, and garter, and that his feet should rest against a bear and a griffin. His head rests on pillows and his folded hands point upwards in prayer. The overriding theme of salvation through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary reverberates throughout the chapel. With his face oriented toward the altar, Beauchamp's eyes meet the intercessory Virgin Mary in a large gilded and polychromed boss overhead.

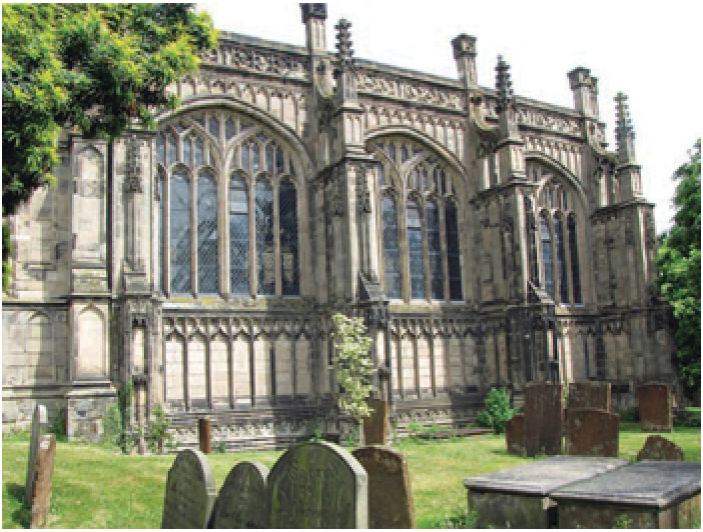


Fig. 5.36 Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire, Beauchamp Chapel, exterior, south side, 1437 ff. Photograph: author

John Bourde of Dorset not only made the steps and laid the marble floor of the chapel, but he also carved the completely free-standing tomb chest of Purbeck marble in the tradition of tombs of kinship, echoing the chest designs of his father and grandparents in the adjacent chancel. Unlike their tomb chests, where the mourners are carved of stone, Richard Beauchamp's mourners, like those of Edward III, are of gilded latten. Each mourner stands in a deep, highly decorated Gothic niche, with lords in their parliamentary robes on the south, their elegantly gowned ladies on the north side, and couples at the east and west ends.[43] Beauchamp's final resting place gives no hint of the ravages of death, but rather reflects the splendor of the late flowering of Perpendicular Gothic style and personal wealth, position, power, and magnificence of the earl, couched in the guise of heavenly splendor.

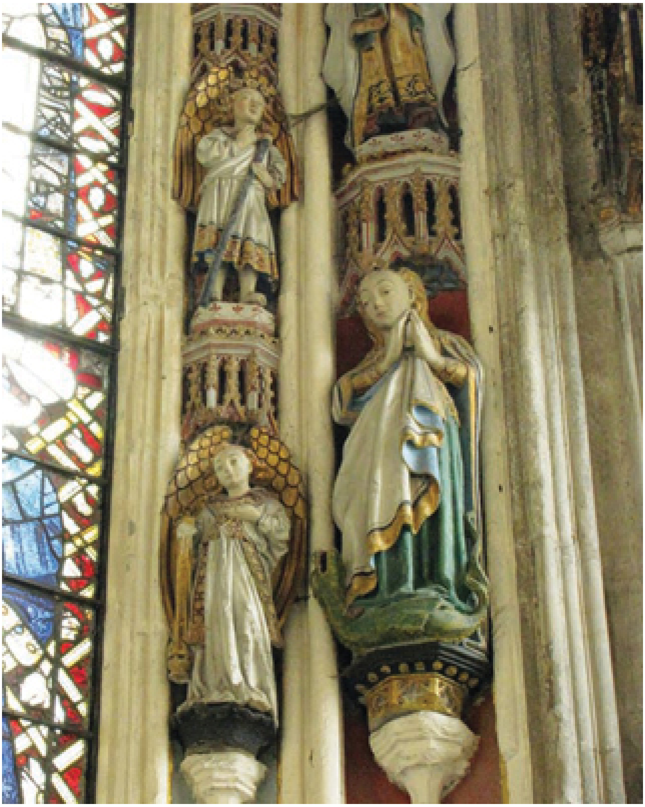


Fig. 5.37 Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire, Beauchamp Chapel, detail of angels and saints around the east window, interior, 1437ff. Photograph: author

Cadaver tombs

In addition to tombs of kinship, another new type of tomb, almost a polar opposite, developed in England: the cadaver tomb, or transi tomb. This type of tomb, usually a table tomb, or a two-tier monument, features a recumbent portrait effigy (or gisant) laid on a table top and underneath, the cadaver, or *transi,* which literally means "stiff." The cadaver appears as an emaciated corpse, sometimes skeletal, sometimes decaying, usually partially or totally exposed from its shroud. Sometimes the cadaver has verminous creatures gnawing on the remains, such as worms, snails, lizards, snakes, mice, and frogs. Cadaver tombs remind the viewer of the inevitability of death and decay, a *memento mori*. Sometimes an inscription states something to the effect of: "What you are, I once was; what I am you will become." One of the earliest to survive is the wall-tomb of Cardinal Jean de La

Grange, who died in 1402 in Avignon. The convention also appears among the French royal tombs at Saint-Denis. About 150 examples survive in England, where they appear mainly between 1420 and 1480 and were especially popular among high-ranking Englishmen churchmen. Although occasionally they were designed for nobles, the cadaver tomb was never used for English royalty. The earliest English cadaver tombs appear at Canterbury, Lincoln, and Wells.

Henry Chichele: Canterbury

Along with royals and nobles, magnificence manifests in ecclesiastical circles, including the cadaver tomb. The first in England appears in Canterbury Cathedral for Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele (d. 1443). He supervised his own tomb, which was finished and consecrated in 1425, nearly twenty years before he died (Fig. 5.38). The inscription reads, "I was a pauper born, then to primate here raised, now I am cut down and served up for worms ... Whoever who may be who will pass by, I ask for your remembrance." For all the modesty posed by the epitaph, the resplendent tomb strategically stands between two heavily decorated columns in the north aisle near the entrance to the presbytery, clearly visible from the northeast transept, which leads into the passage from the water tower through which the monks would have entered the cathedral. As with many medieval tombs, it is surrounded by a protective iron grate. On the top level, the polychromed stone effigy figure lies as if in life, blue eyes open and focused heavenward, hands clasped in prayer. Chichele wears the full regalia of his office: brilliantly colored robes, predominantly red, and on his head, a bishop's mitre. Polychromed angels stand guard in niches in the piers just above his head; other figures fill niches stacked around the piers. Angels kneel at his head and his feet. Beneath this bier-like structure, behind three narrow posts almost at ground level, he appears again, this time as a colorless, naked corpse lying on a shroud that partially covers his emaciated body. This tomb sets a precedent for the use of cadaver tombs among English churchmen.

Richard Fleming: Lincoln

Around 1425, the dean of the cathedral of Lincoln, Robert Fleming (1452–1483), commissioned the Chantry Chapel of the Holy Trinity for himself and his uncle, Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Fleming (1420–1431). Bishop Fleming's double-tiered stone monument lies along the north wall in a niche with a three-bay canopy. On the upper ledge, the bishop appears as a sleeping figure; below, visible behind an elaborate triple-arched screen, he appears as an emaciated corpse, back arched, as if he has thrashed open his shroud, which lies underneath him, knotted at the crown of his head. Although no vermin appear on the corpse, in the top left hand corner of the entry door to the chantry chapel, located to the left of the tomb, a few carved snails appear in the foliate decoration.

Thomas Bekynton: Wells

The tomb of Bishop Thomas Bekynton (d. 1465), located in a chantry chapel enclosed by an iron grate between two piers in the south aisle of the choir in Wells Cathedral (Fig. 5.39), bears a striking resemblance to that of Archbishop Chichele. The east end of the chapel has an altar attached to a pier with an ornate carved stone canopy, once polychromed. The effigy, made of alabaster with remnants of rich polychrome decoration, lies on a bier over the cadaver and rests its head on two crossed pillows. Bekynton wears the mitre and robes of his office. Below the table top lies a withered cadaver, which literally consists of skin and bones. The ribcage shows through the distended chest; the head tilts back with a dropped jaw. The loose shroud upon which the corpse lies folds over the lower torso and limbs, presenting an even grimmer reminder of death than the tomb of Chichele.

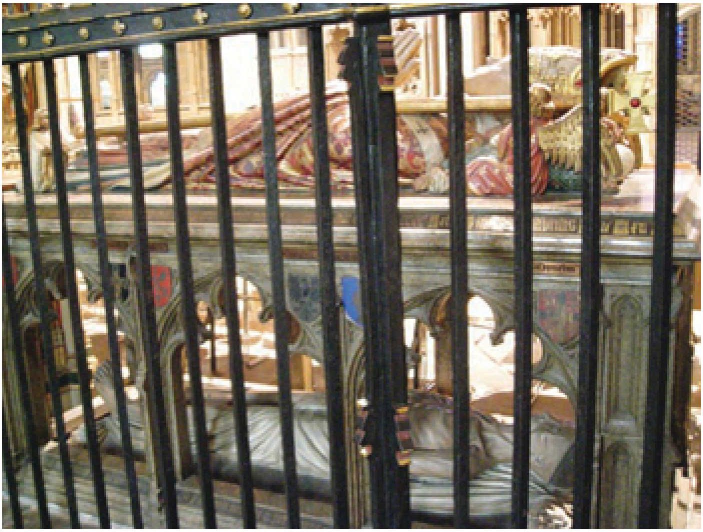


Fig. 5.38 Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, choir, tomb of Henry Chichele, 1425. Photograph: author

These medieval tombs expressed the social or political status of the medieval aristocracy, be it secular or ecclesiastical. At the same time, they express relationships to ecclesiastical, chivalric, or familial communities. They also exhibit the growing awareness of the importance not only of the individual, but also of those who defined themselves by their personal relationships. Finally, the naturalistic portrayal of people moves the English fascination with faces into new realms. Such an interest in status, magnificence, relationships, and honest faces will grow over the next century and a half and carry over into the English enthrallment with portraiture.

Painting in England: later Gothic books

As with English politics and artistic traditions, the style of English book illumination reflects concurrent European movements. At the close of the fourteenth century, a fresh infusion of energy, apparently from a foreign, perhaps Bohemian, source boosts English book illumination. As in International Gothic panel painting throughout Europe, manuscript illumination, with its brilliant but delicate colors, elaborate gilding, rich patterns, and careful modeling of figures marks a brilliant and sumptuous, but brief, period in English art, including several large-scale books. The most lavish and interesting to survive include the *Bible of Thomas of Woodstock*, the *Sherborne Missal,* and the *Lovell Lectionary*. Several vernacular works of importance also appear during this period. *The Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer, *The Life of Richard II*, and *The Book of Margery Kempe* all show the English love of storytelling and chronicling, whether fictional or historical. This age is also marked by two revolutionary figures: John Wycliffe (d. 1384), who promoted the translation of scripture into English, making scripture accessible to a larger audience, and William Caxton (d. 1491), who first introduced printing to England.

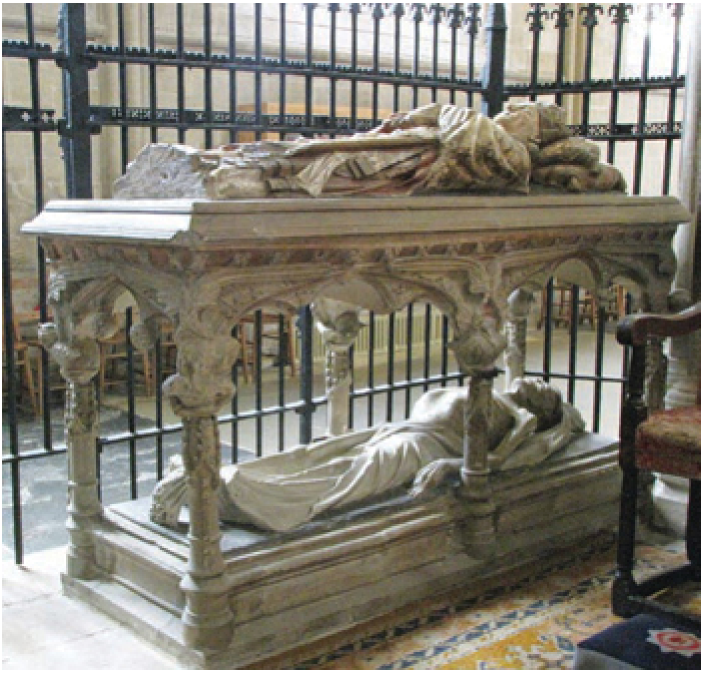


Fig. 5.39 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, choir, tomb of Thomas Bekynton, 1465 ff. Photograph: author

Bible of Thomas of Woodstock

The *Bible of Thomas of Woodstock*, probably made in London, dates from before 1397, and represents an early version of John Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, the first complete translation of the Bible into English that can be dated. The patron, Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397), was the youngest son of Edward III. The book centers on text and not illustration, but the borders are elaborate with many decorated initials.

Sherborne Missal

By the late fourteenth century, named artists associated with the books and donor portraits appear more frequently. John Siferwas, a Dominican friar, illuminated two of the most extravagant books of the era. The largest, most lavishly decorated medieval service book to survive the Reformation is the *Sherborne Missal*, which dates from *c*. 1395–1407, when the Sarum liturgy (or liturgy from Salisbury) was the most often used liturgy in England. John Whas, chief scribe, and John Siferwas, chief illuminator and others made the book for St Mary's Abbey at Sherborne in Dorset. A feast for the eyes and a masterpiece of the International Gothic Style, the book contains 347 parchment folios, or sheets (694 pages). Most illustrations are small, but profuse, tucked into the linear borders or surrounding and inside initial letters, although some full page illustrations appear. Most illustrations relates to the feasts, texts for the daily office, and liturgical calendar, but some drolleries show angels, anonymous heads, exotic animals, shields, and the coat of arms for Sherborne Abbey, for which it was made. Portraits include Bishop Richard Mitford of Salisbury, Abbot Robert Browning, abbot of Sherborne Abbey, who must have been a driving force in the commission, for he appears about a hundred times, often in marginal illustrations, and a self-portrait of Siferwas. Some present well-observed details of daily life, such as Abbot Browning (identified by a scroll with the inscription "brunyg"), who dedicates the church, kneeling before the building accompanied by three sleek hunting dogs (p. 492). In another instance, the initial O for the Mass for the sick encloses a sick monk tucked beneath rich red bed clothing while a monk physician outside the letter looks up at a urine flask to diagnose the illnesses.[44] Thus, in addition to its religious function, the *Sherborne Missal* also offers a glimpse into customs of the time and some of the most charming portraits of the era.

Lovell Lectionary

Although chiefly celebrated for his work in the *Sherborne Missal*, Siferwas also illustrated the now incomplete *Lovell Lectionary*. Only 17 large sheets, 18.5 × 12 in (47 × 31 cm), executed mainly in black ink with red highlights, survive from what must have been 40–50. John, Lord Lovell of Tichmarsh, who died in 1408 commissioned the book, which he gave to Salisbury Cathedral as a memorial to himself and his wife, Maude Holland. In a large life-like double portrait of the patron and the artist that takes up most of the page, Siferwas, on the left, hands the book to Lovell on the right, who reaches to receive it through an arched window (Fig. 5.40). Other sheets contain the Lovell and Holland coats of arms and little portraits of the donors in the margins.

Antiquités judaïques et la guerre des Juifs

Among Flemish books belonging to Edward IV was a copy of the *Antiquités judaïques et la guerre des Juifs* by Flavius Josèphe, written in French. Not only did Edward's coat-of-arms decorate several of the borders, but also that of his host in Bruges during his exile, Louis de Gruuthuse. In addition, the wide, intricate floral border is set against gold leaf. The illustrations are more typically miniature and not quite as refined, with small figures, landscape, and an atmospheric background. The Murder of Aristobulus (f.11) shows several episodes in one composition. The background includes a castle with people who are slightly too large for the architecture, a winding stream with people swimming, and a blue landscape silhouette on the horizon with reasonably well understood handling of water and atmospheric perspective.[45]

After the mid-fifteenth century, uniquely English drollieries, genre scenes, and heavy borders disappear in favor of elegant foreign art imported from France and Burgundy, partly as a result of the political turmoil caused by the Wars of the Roses, partly due to the preferences of the king, who follows the patronage preferences of his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Louis de Gruuthuse. The English court would follow the king's lead. Thus, the English tradition of book illumination and panel painting slips into a backwater as continental artists and style overtake the English market. In this international market, the question arises: is art imported by the English considered Flemish because of its origin or can it be considered part of the English tradition because it reflects English taste?

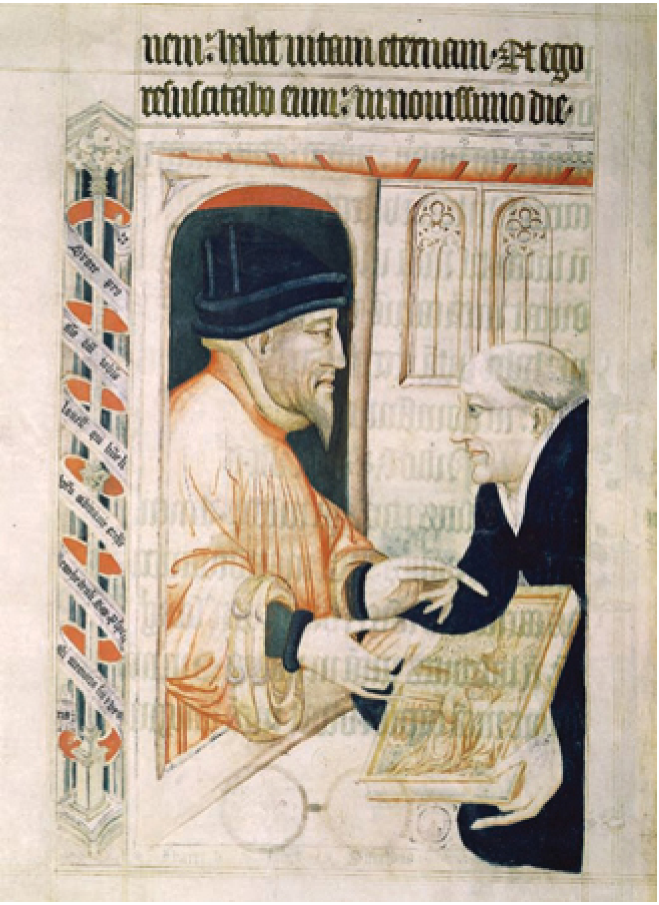

ucm: habet uitam eternam. Et ego
resuscitabo eum: in nouissimo die

Fig. 5.40 John Siferwas, chief illuminator and others, Lord Lovell with Friar John Siferwas, Lovel Lectionary, c. *1408 (vellum). Harley 7026. f.4v., British Library, London/© Bridgeman Images*

Vernacular books

Literature in the vernacular language emerged first on the continent and appealed not only to the nobility but also to the rising middle class. In Italy, between 1308 and his death in 1321, Dante published his famous theological allegory, *The Divine Comedy*, in Italian verse. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Boccaccio and Petrarch published vernacular literature. In England, vernacular books began appearing around 1400, accompanied by a less refined style of decoration and illumination than books produced for the court, which were written in courtly French or erudite Latin. One of the best illustrated, most authoritative, and most influential texts is the Ellesmere manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.* 1343–1400). The text is surrounded by a rectangular border of twigs with clusters of delicate foliage. The book opens with an historiated initial illustration containing the an image of the poet. He stands on a light brown tile floor holding an open book. A green embroidered cloth is behind. Chaucer is the first English writer to have accurate portraits made of him, although few exist.

Late Gothic vernacular books in England include two biographies. *The Life of Richard II* was made in France in the early fifteenth century. *The Book of Margery Kempe* (*c*. 1373–*c*. 1439), discovered in 1934, is the earliest surviving English autobiography. The manuscript is written in small black script with red initial letters and no illustrations (London, British Library, Add. MS 61823). Kempe, an eccentric Norfolk woman of common stock, dictates her account of her astonishingly adventurous life to a scribe.

Another interesting author of the period is Julian of Norwich (1342–1416), the great English mystical writer who may be the first woman to write in English. Julian was an anchoress at the Church of St Julian in Norwich. Margery Kempe mentioned going to Norwich to speak with her. Little else is known of her other than her writings, which are preserved in several manuscripts that date from her lifetime. In the several surviving manuscripts of these prose works, some fairly complete, some containing only selections, elements of visual interest are many and various but the dates and ultimate provenance of these features, as of the manuscripts themselves, remain problematic. The earliest surviving text, dated 1413 while the anchoress was still alive, and originating in Grantham, Lincolnshire, has black lettering embellished with delicate line borders on the left in red and initial letters in blue and red. Another early fourteenth-century version, the Norwich Castle MS, is somewhat more embellished. The text opens with the initial T in gold leaf set into a purple square (f.1) and delicate foliate embellishments.[46]

In the mid-fifteenth century, the printed book appears in Germany, which will change book production and promote the increase of literacy. Entrepreneur William Caxton studied printing abroad, especially in Burgundy, where his first major patron was Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. In 1476, he set up a press at Westminster, where his first issue is believed to have been an edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Some books had illustrations, usually also in printed media, first woodcut, then engraving, sometimes hand colored, as is the case with the portrait of the author. Initially crude, the form of these illustrations became increasingly refined. Printing created a revolution in the dissemination of information to all classes. The church and the wealthy nobles no longer held proprietary rights to theology, literature, and knowledge; others now could afford books.

The faster process and cheaper materials reduced the cost and increased availability of texts. Printing also reduced the demand for lavishly illustrated books. Caxton did much of his own translating and is credited with helping to standardize the English language. In fact, his edition of Jacobus Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which recounted the lives of the saints and was illustrated with woodcut prints, was frequently reprinted and until the 1990s, was the only English translation.[47]

Panel painting: the International Gothic style

Panel painting in England, like manuscript illumination, declines during the cataclysmic late fourteenth century. By 1400, painting begins to rejuvenate, especially on the continent. A fairly uniform style develops, especially in France, Flanders, and Bohemia, but with regional characteristics. As with the delicate, detailed style of manuscript illumination, the International style in painting is an anti-monumental art of detail, with small figures and carefully observed touches of naturalism in the depiction of landscape, gestures, and expressions. Mannered to the point of being artificial, the love of the arabesque line, brilliant colors, textures, and infinite symbols prevails, with a distinct feeling for luxury and studied elegance. Such works appealed to the members of the royal courts and nobility to boost their self-conscious magnificence.

Although mostly religious in the subject matter, secular works began to appear, especially the portrait, introduced by Richard II, which had a lasting impact in England. The English royalty and nobility especially gravitated to the Northern style, especially for altarpieces, such as the highly unusual Wilton Diptych and the Norwich Retable They commissioned works from continental artists and imported artists into England, such as the Donne Altarpiece. After the Reformation in England, when religious works ceased to be commissioned and existing works all but disappear, portraiture became increasingly important. Much art in England was lost, though some are known through documents.

Richard II

One of the earliest European portraits since the Romans and the earliest known portrait of an English monarch is that of Richard II at Westminster Abbey. The authorship is debated, but generally is credited to the French artist Andre Beauneveu of Valenciennes, who painted for the English court. Richard appears as a boy king soon after his accession to the throne in England in 1377. Perhaps the portrait was painted for his state visit to Westminster Abbey on 13 October 1390, a date that commemorated the translation of the bones of St Edward the Confessor. Richard appears seated on a throne in coronation robes, set against a gold background. He faces frontally, holding an orb and a scepter, much like a Christ in Judgment.[48] Surely the portrait intended the reference to images of Christ as a manner of promoting the divine ordination of kingship. The portrait form and its pose established a tradition of long standing in England.

Wilton Diptych

A second portrait to survive of Richard II, executed around 1395, appears in the Wilton Diptych, which is more accurately known as *Richard II presented to the Virgin and Child by his Patron Saint John the Baptist and Saints Edward and Edmund.* This painting is the finest surviving English work in the International Gothic style. It also appears to be among the first surviving altarpieces to exhibit several new and highly influential elements that appear subsequently in Flemish painting (Fig. 5.41). Nothing is documented concerning the artist nor is stylistic analysis conclusive. This hinged, two-panel painting was probably made as a portable altarpiece for the private devotion of the king. The luxuriant materials, with ultramarine blue and gold, are of the finest quality, which signifies a finely trained artist and a royal patron. Although the painting technique, egg tempera with green earth underpaint beneath the faces, is typically Italian, the rich, sweet style, most closely resembles work in France by court artists such as Jacquemart de Hesdin and Andre Beauneveu. Painted on oak with a chalk ground, the support materials are characteristic of Flemish works. It is also among the first examples of a painting to incorporate a donor into a religious setting, a tradition that becomes especially popular in Flanders in the first quarter of the fifteenth century with such artists as Jan van Eyck. In the end, with characteristics of so many styles so successfully synthesized and with so much English art of the era destroyed later and thus so little known about it, perhaps the artist was English! The argument of authorship remains open.

The Wilton Diptych is also unusual in that it combines the purely secular image of kingship with religious imagery. The overall iconography is highly personal to Richard II. The closed wings display the king's coat-of-arms and the personal emblem that he adopted in 1390, a chained white hart, which here lies among flowers wearing a crown around its neck. The interior reflects both religious iconography and the image of royal kingship. Each of the two panels represents a different space: earth, with the king set before a wooded forest on the left and the blossoming garden of heaven, with the Virgin Mary in radiant ultramarine blue holding the infant Jesus on the right. Richard kneels and faces the Virgin and Child and a company of 11 angels, each wearing the white hart badge of the king, which also designates them as members of the royal household. One angel holds the banner of St George, England's patron saint, the same banner that the resurrected Christ often holds. The Christ Child, wrapped loosely in a golden cloth, leaps from his mother's arms toward Richard. His gilded halo is inset with a border of the crown of thorns, a symbol of his passion. Richard kneels beside his patron saint, John the Baptist, who introduces him to the Virgin. Behind them stand two other Saxon kings, both venerated as saints: St Edward the Confessor, the older king, and St Edmund, who is middle-aged. Richard, portrayed in this company as the youthful king, also makes reference to the magi being presented to the Virgin and Child as well as to the three ages of man. Although for a patron, especially a royal one, to have himself portrayed as one of the magi was not uncommon, for Richard there was additional significance, as the Feast of the Magi, 6 January, was his birthday. The shimmering cloth of gold of Richard's mantle contains both his hart and the French insignia of the seed pods of the broom plant, Genista, from which the Plantagenet kings derive their name. As with the youthful portrait in Westminster Abbey, the occasion for the commission remains uncertain. Suggestions include the king's quest for the hand of his second queen, Isabella, a daughter of Charles IV of France, which would date it to *c.* 1395. It also could be his quest for divine endorsement for a crusade in the mid-1390s, or a meeting with the king of France in 1396. Altarpieces, such as the Wilton Diptych, frequently appeared among church furnishings in fifteenth and sixteenth England. As with their subsequent counterparts in France, Flanders, and Italy, such altarpieces served as devotional aids for both public and private audiences. Wealthy nobles and royalty regularly commissioned religious altarpieces, often for funerary chapels in churches or for private chapels in their palaces, as a way of gaining immortality.

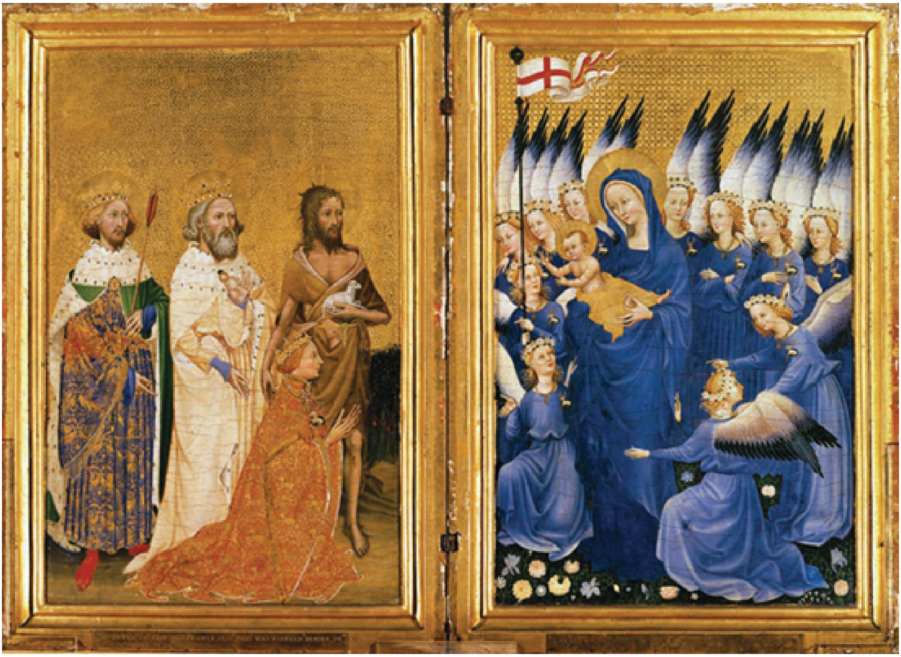


Fig. 5.41 Master of the Wilton Diptych, Wilton Diptych (Richard II Presented to the Virgin and Child by his Patron Saint John the Baptist and Saints Edward and Edmund), egg tempera on oak panel, c. *1395–1399. National Gallery, London. © Bridgeman Images*

Norwich Retable

One of the few English-made altarpieces to survive from this period is the Norwich Retable, or the Despencer Retable (or reredos) – so called after Bishop Despencer of Norwich who may have commissioned it (Fig. 5.42). It dates roughly to *c.* 1381–1390 and may commemorate the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. Ten heraldic plaques on the border can be identified, including that of Bishop Despencer, but those that are missing might have clarified both the date and the patron. The clergy removed it in 1643 and disguised it as a table. It was returned to the cathedral as an altarpiece in 1847.

This small altarpiece, measuring 35.4 × 71 in (180 × 90 cm), suggests the intimate setting of a chapel rather than the high altar. The five panels from left to right represent: the Flagellation, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion in the center, the Resurrection and the Ascension. Two scenes carry particular importance for Norwich. The Flagellation denigrates the peasants who scourge Christ as he carries the cross. The Resurrection, which happens under a two-section canopy, invokes the place of the 'Easter Sepulcher' in Norwich Cathedral, which was in the last bay of the north ambulatory.[49]

The altarpiece has a tenderness and delicacy reminiscent of the Wilton Diptych, the *Sherborne Missal*, and the *Lovell Lectionary*, but neither the richness of materials nor the refinement of style measure up. Like the Wilton Diptych, the brilliant colors, albeit with far less of the expensive ultramarine blue, stands out against the gold background. The figures fill the shallow picture plane, which intensifies the action. Unlike the reserve of the figures in the Wilton Diptych, the body language, gestures, and faces of the elongated figures are unusually expressive, complemented by the intense palette, which has a predominance of red. The style, though unrefined, appeals to the viewer in its expressiveness and intensity. Apparently thoroughly English, it bears no resemblance to any known contemporary on the continent. Such rare works give a window into art produced in England in the fourteenth century.

Donne altarpiece

Some members of the nobility, like the king, commission works of Flemish artists, for, as we see, these are the courts with which the English royalty maintain closest ties and with whom they compete for power and magnificence. Sir John Donne, a Welsh nobleman living in Calais, commissions this altarpiece (1475–1478) from the most outstanding Flemish painter of his day, Hans Memling of Bruges (Fig. 5.43). The painting is a triptych, or three panels hinged together with the center panel double the size of the wings so that the wings can fold in to cover it. Typical of fifteenth-century Flemish altarpieces, this composition is set against a detailed pastoral landscape background. The center panel shows the donors being presented to the enthroned Virgin and Child, flanked by angels playing a violin and a portative organ – a small portable pipe organ used in processions. In the foreground, to the Virgin's right, donor Sir John Donne kneels before the Virgin with St Catherine, who touches the hilt of a sword with her right hand. Lady Donne and daughter with St Barbara kneel on her left. The landscape background features a triple-arched stone bridge and a mill on the left and a tower, a symbol associated with St Barbara, on the right. The wing panels contain St John the Baptist beside Donne and St John the Evangelist beside the women. A peacock, a symbol of eternity, sits on a wall behind the Evangelist. As is often the case with Flemish altarpieces, the reverse sides of the wing panels are painted in tones of grey to resemble stone sculptures. These wings portray St Christopher, left, and St Anthony Abbot, right.

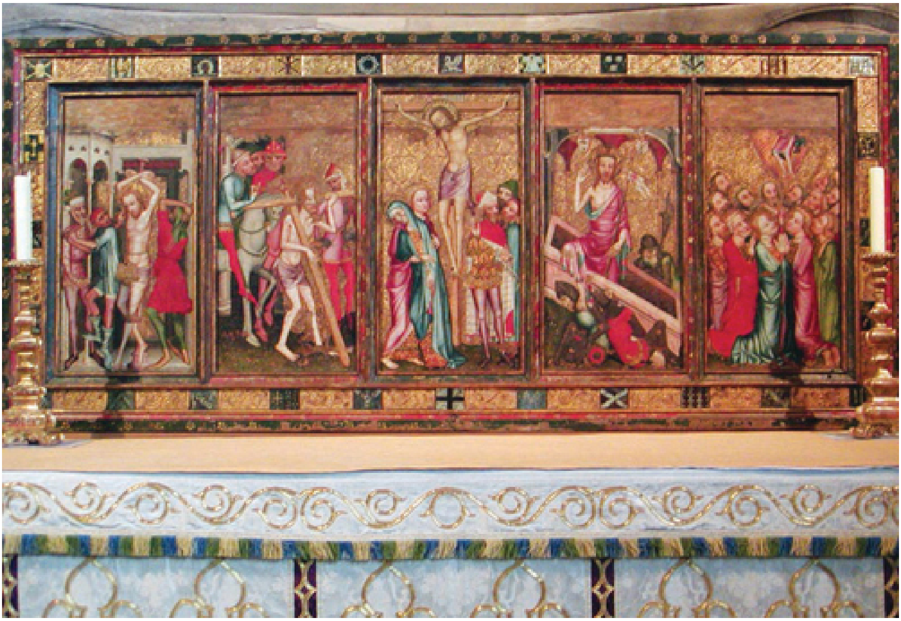


Fig. 5.42 Despenser (Norwich) Retable, c. *1381–1390, colored glass, gesso pastiglia, gold and silver leaf, egg and glue-based tempera on wood panel, Norwich Cathedral, Norwich, Norfolk. Photograph: author*

Altarpieces often served more than a religious function. Donne, part of the Yorkist faction, seized the opportunity to patronize a Flemish artist closely associated with the court of Burgundy, which, in turn, had close ties to the English royal family. To show loyalty, Donne and his wife wear matching gold Yorkist collars that feature alternating roses and suns and a central pendant of Edward IV’s Lion of March. The occasion for commissioning the altarpiece may have been in 1468 when Sir John went to Bruges for the marriage of Margaret of York, Edward’s sister, to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, or possibly during a later trip to Ghent. As with manuscript illumination, English panel painting, whether made at home by an English artist or commissioned of a foreign artist, increasingly reflects the style from Northern Europe.

Mural painting in England

A few murals survive in England; however, due to the damp climate in Northern Europe, mural painting never gained the acceptance it enjoyed in Italy. The relatively warm, dry season in which damp plaster could be painted in fresco (which allowed the water soluble colors to soak into the plaster) was shorter in the north. Moreover, the chief enemy of plaster is moisture, of which England has more than its fair share. Most English murals, therefore, were done a secco – that is on dry plaster, usually in oil. The style of most of the surviving murals shows less refinement than panel paintings and tends to be more closely related to the shallow depth and limited palette of manuscript illuminations. Murals tend to appear more often in parish churches and institutional chapels than in cathedrals. The surviving murals follow themes also popular on the continent. The concern with final judgment, the most frequent mural theme, is seen in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey and some parish churches, such as the Church of St Thomas in Salisbury. The cult of the Virgin Mary appears in paintings in Salisbury and Eton College.

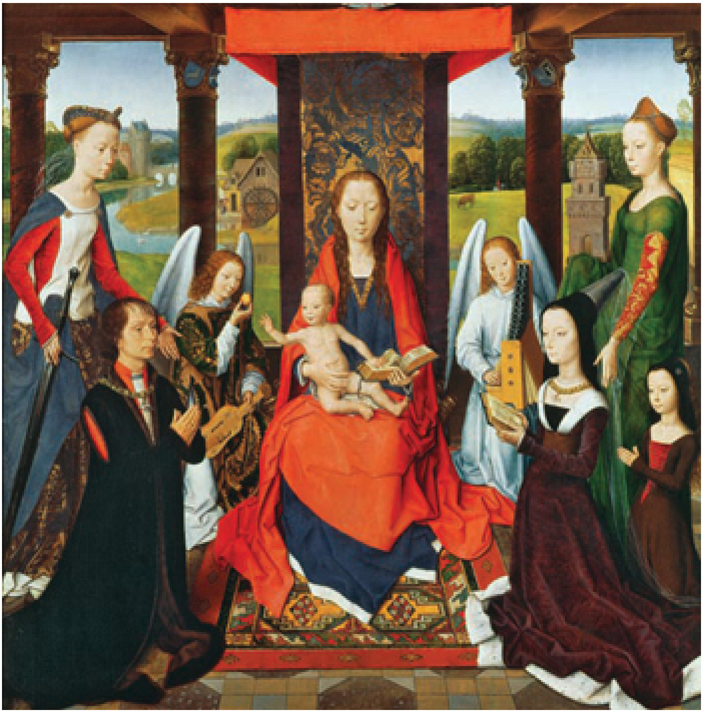


Fig. 5.43 Hans Memling, The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donors, central panel from the Donne Triptych, c. *1478, oil on oak panel, National Gallery, London.* © *Bridgeman Images*

Chapter House at Westminster Abbey

Murals once covered the walls beneath the windows of the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey, a gift of John of Northampton, a monk who served at Westminster from *c.* 1372 to 1404. Ninety-six scenes survive in partially ruined condition, the most extensive apocalypse mural program from the period in all of Europe. The narrative reads left to right, beginning on the north walls (left of the entrance). Each section of the wall has four scenes from the book of Revelation, framed in borders of red and decorated with small dogs or roses, with text below. Also included are several of Christ's posthumous miracles. Usually each section is divided into three pairs of stacked panels with angels playing musical instruments in the center trefoil at the top. In the eastern bays, directly across from the entrance and behind the seat of the prior, a Last Judgment divides the apocalypse narrative. In the manner of an altarpiece, the scene fits into six squares with a central Christ in Majesty in a mandorla (an almond shape) in the vertical double panel. Robed in crimson with a golden halo, he sits on the arc of heaven with a globe under his feet holding a book in his left hand and a blessing with his right. The corners above and below contain the four beasts of the Apocalypse: a Winged Man, an Ox, a Bull, and an Eagle, which also represent the four Evangelists. Two pairs of smaller panels showing crowned musicians flank this central panel. Crowds of portrait quality figures fill two more arcades above are. These murals, like many in England, draw from identifiable manuscript illuminations. Several frames reflect a manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. In addition, the birds and beasts that appear below the apocalyptic scenes draw from English bestiaries. The artist focuses upon narrating rather than on craftsmanship or elegance. For clarification, boxes of text appear below each scene.[50]

St Thomas's Church, Salisbury

As at Coventry, a large mural of the Last Judgment at St Thomas's Church in Salisbury fills the arch above the chancel (Fig. 5.44). Pre-restoration drawings verify that this mural dates to 1475. As in other Last Judgments, or Domesday murals as the English call them, this one portrays the judging Christ in the upper center, seated on a double rainbow with his feet resting on a smaller rainbow below. Christ raises both hands and exposes the wounds of the crucifixion. Behind him, against a backdrop of the cityscape of Heavenly Jerusalem, angels hold the signs of his Passion: on his right, the cross bearing the crown of thorns, on his left, the column of scourging, a sponge, a spear, and nails. The apostles led by John the Baptist, rendered in a smaller scale, flank Christ on his left and the Virgin Mary on his right. In the lower part of the arch and descending to the spandrels, the blessed, rising from their graves, fill the space to his right; the damned writhe on his left. A devil stands before the damned, a terrifying composite creature of fantasy, and points them to their eternal torture. The damned are a diverse crowd, ranging from an ale-wife to a bishop, showing that no one escapes the judgment of Christ. A hell-mouth in the form of the mouth of a large fish, which resembles contemporary stage sets for Corpus Christi dramas, appears on the far right side. The niches at the bottom hold figures: on the north is St James, the patron saint of pilgrims, who wears the traditional cockle shell on his hat; to the south is St Osmund, canonized in 1457, with his bishop's mitre and crosier.

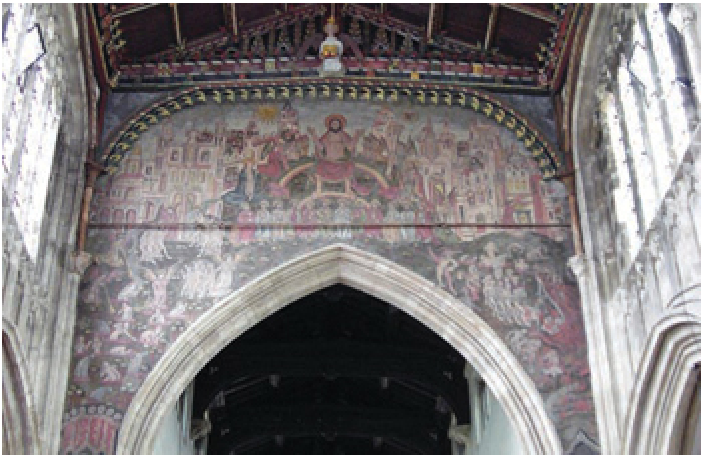


Fig. 5.44 St Thomas's Church, Salisbury, Wiltshire, Last Judgment, mural, 1480. Photograph: author

The chapel in the south aisle, parallel to the chancel, built by William Swayne around 1450, contains a series of monochrome scenes of the Virgin on its north wall. The paintings resemble contemporary woodcut illustrations in their flattened, decorative form. The scenes include the Annunciation and the Visitation. Fragments of medieval stained glass in the windows in a style related to the murals include an image of the Virgin tending a garden of lilies.

Eton College

Between 1479 and 1488, William Baker painted a series of wall paintings depicting the Miracles of the Virgin (*c.* 1480–1488) in a side chapel of the Eton College Chapel. Baker probably trained in Flanders, as the simple grace and dignity of his style indicates that he knew intimately the styles of Flemish masters Rogier van der Weyden, Petrus Christus and Dieric Bouts. Rendered in oil on dry plaster, mostly in grisaille (grey monochrome) enhanced with flashes of color, it represents one of the more refined artistic achievements and the most ambitious murals series in Northern Europe to survive from the late fifteenth century. The paintings extend over 65 ft (19.81 m) across two registers. An architectural border with canopied niches containing standing figures of saints vertically divides the primary subjects. Portraits of various sovereigns enrich the royal association. Around 1560, during Elizabeth's reign, the murals were whitewashed. Baker may also have painted the now badly damaged murals of the same era in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral and in the Chantry Chapel at Westminster Abbey.[51]

Magnificence in tapestry

Whereas in Italy, panel painting and fresco served as primary vehicles for displaying narrative, in Northern Europe and England tapestry served that purpose. The popularity of tapestry over mural probably related to the damp, cool climate. Tapestries, moreover, cost more than murals, which surely increased their importance for displaying magnificence, which had, by the fourteenth century, become increasingly important to European royalty. Added bonuses of tapestries included portability – they could be moved from place to place in the service of the king or noble – and insulation, reducing drafts and dampness, in the winter.

Although large figurative textiles made in the woven or knotted tapestry techniques begin to appear on the continent in the late twelfth century, more detailed documentation survives from the fourteenth century forward. Often great halls and other spaces in grand homes had permanent wall hooks to hold tapestries, which could be changed out depending on the occasion or the season. Tapestries lined the walls of rooms in which people waited for an audience with the king or noble. In such a setting, where a wait could last hours, the supplicants had time to contemplate the magnificence of the ruler as well as the allegorical meanings. In addition to wall hangings, woven tapestry fabric served as bed draperies, which also added warmth, as dorsers, or hangings to go above and behind a throne, and for royal and ecclesiastical robes.

The designs, whether made to order or purchased from a vendor's stock, could be as individualized as those of altarpieces and illuminated manuscripts. Especially popular in England were decorative tapestries with fields of detailed floral and plant designs, called millefleurs tapestries; others included religious figures or heraldry. Often a group of tapestries form a sequential series narrating a story or showing a line of kings, apostles, or Old Testament heroes. Above all, tapestries magnificently announce the wealth, taste, and station of the owner. Not only do tapestries depict scenes from courtly life – banquet scenes, visits of important people, and histories, but some manuscript illuminations give glimpse into tapestry display. Froissart's *Chronicles* is especially informative. Illustrations include images of Richard II within settings that included rich costumes (royal and ecclesiastic) and hanging tapestries, one of which shows heraldry and a battle. Flanders had the main centers of production for tapestries, specifically Brussels and Arras; in fact, “arras” became a synonym for tapestry. The web of political connections joining England, France, and Flanders, brought courts to the same tapestry producers and merchants; thus stylistically, the tapestries remain the same regardless of patron.

The process of making tapestries differed from embroidery work. Weavers usually began with full-scale designs painted by an artist. Using a loom that was threaded lengthwise with undyed linen threads, called the warp, weavers would pull the colored cross threads, or weft, through and push them tightly into place until the entire warp was obscured. Even when several weavers worked shoulder to shoulder, which was the usual method, and with a single set being worked simultaneously on separate looms, the manufacture would take several years. These heavy, tightly and thickly woven textiles consisted mainly of wool, sometimes mixed with silk and metallic threads.

In England, by the reign of Edward III, lists of textiles are more complete. Edward III begins the practice of building special warehouses, or wardrobes, for the storage of tapestries. He also initiated the position of Master of the Wardrobe, who was a member of the court appointed to take responsibility for the care and inventory of tapestries. This position continued into the eighteenth century. Some tapestries were intended for specific locations; others were part of the “Removing Wardrobe,” which traveled with the king by cart or by boat. By the late fourteenth century, tapestry production had increased, as had the use of narrative subjects to display ancestors, military feats, or historical, biblical, or mythological subjects with which the owner chose to associate. For example, accounts from the Great Wardrobe record a tapestry depicting St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, which verifies the king’s interest in the cult of the Virgin. St Anne, whose saint’s day was first celebrated in England in 1378, was also the namesake of Richard II’s first wife.

Contemporary tapestries that survive show monumental figures against a patterned background, most often of blue, deep burgundy red, or green. The stylistic emphasis on line and pattern rather than on spatial depth and volume reflects the style of contemporary manuscript illuminations. The medium itself, which would require painstaking gradations of color to show volume and space, worked best if figures appeared in profile or flat, and if just suggestions of landscape and architecture appear. The viewpoint tends to be high, surveying a large panorama, and background space tends to be either tightly packed or closed. Some large tapestries measure four meters in length and over six meters wide.

Nine Worthies

Inventories made during the reign of Henry VI give greater detail, noting some tapestries measured an astounding 60 ft (18.3 m) in length. The remaining tapestries depicting Hebrew kings Joshua and David and King Arthur from a set of the Nine Worthies may approximate the appearance of the English royal set documented in a 1422 inventory. The royal set represented the traditional group of Nine Worthies: three rulers from classical antiquity, three from the Old Testament, and three from the New Testament. Each ruler appears over-life-size, enthroned in an elaborate architectural niche, flanked by attendants in pairs of niches half the height of the royal niche. A row of crenellations and smaller niches of courtiers lines the top border in the Joshua and David tapestry; King Arthur is flanked by pairs of churchmen, with three cardinals in ornate pinnacle-like niches at the top. The tapestry is woven primarily of wool, sometimes with golden threads. The architectural structure in each tapestry resembles limestone. Reds and blues predominate in the colors of clothing and architectural backgrounds. The series served as an allegory of good government and sets up a typological alliance between these kings and the present ruler, showing him as wise, brave, and on equal footing with illustrious rulers of the past. Such a program of tapestries could accompany the owner as he moved from one residence to another to announce his position and magnificence.

Story of Brutus

Similarly, Edward IV, to whom Fortescue had directed his remarks on kingship, understood the importance of magnificence. During his exile in Bruges, Edward took the opportunity to internalize Burgundian practices of patronage and view their tapestry collections. After regaining the crown in 1471, and especially after 1478, his patronage of manuscripts and tapestries increased, as he went about refurbishing royal apartments and great halls. His accounts suggest that he preferred the theme of classical heroes above other images. One such series of four tapestries gave Geoffrey of Monmouth’s twelfth-century legendary history of the founding of Britain by Brutus the Trojan, great-grandson of Aeneas, who became king and established London as the new Troy. A set of tapestries of the *Story of Brutus* may have been made for Edward IV. Certainly the story of an exile-turned-hero would have been appropriate to his situation. The tapestry depicting the Invasion of England follows the form of several contemporary series of histories. A legend telling the story runs across the top set in several scroll-like segments. The high horizon gives the viewer a bird’s-eye view into a tightly packed panorama of intense action that extends from the foreground toward the distant sky. Overlapping forms and diminishing size give a sense of spatial depth. On the right, the knights charge into battle. On the left, ships depart Greece in the presence of King Pandrasus, whose name appears.

The perpetuation of Perpendicular Gothic art

Remaining evidence indicates that the Lancastrian kings used tapestry, along with gold and silver plate and other fine accoutrements of wealth, primarily for projecting an image of royal magnificence. Gabriel Tetzel, who served in the entourage of the Bohemian ambassador, who had just called at the Burgundian court, declared that the English court was “… the most splendid Court that could be found in all of Christendom”, verifying that Edward IV was successful in his display of magnificence.[52] The period surrounding the Perpendicular Gothic in England was one of the most calamitous of the Middle Ages, beset with difficulties from war to plague, famine, economic downturn, revolts, and dynastic struggle, yet throughout, however intermittently, those with wealth and position initiate an era of unprecedented conspicuous consumption that continues through the Tudor reign. Whereas architecture develops in an increasingly distinctive English direction, even fighting against the tide of emerging continental classicism, painting, both in panel works and manuscripts, along with the increasingly popular tapestries, reflected the taste for the perennial elegant and rich International Gothic Style of northern Europe, especially Flanders. The practice of importing art and artists into England increases dramatically and set a trend that continued. By the end of the period, art and architecture developed in an increasingly secular direction, as art in the service of magnificence overtook art in the service of religion – although sometimes the two worked together. This trend was especially evident after 1470, when John Fortescue published his influential book, *The Governance of England*. Their Tudor successors would bridge the transition to the classicism inspired by the Italian Renaissance and would take the rhetoric of magnificence to its greatest heights.

Notes

[1] Norbert T. Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1983),

2–18, 39–48, 81–91; W. Sombert, *Der moderne Kapitalismus,* vols 1–2, 5 ed. (Munich, 1922), 720–1; Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), 1, 29–31, 49. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 4; Anon. "A Model of a Mediaeval Banqueting Hall". *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* 11(4) (1916): 90–2; Jane Oliphant, *Penshurst Place and Gardens: Ancestral Home of the Sydney Family for 450 Years* (Derby, 2001), 1–9. No contemporary document shows this display more clearly than the illustrations of courtly and peasant life in the illuminated manuscript, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, made around 1412–1416 for the brother of the king of France.

2 Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 52; John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. Shelley Lockwood (New York, 1997), chap, 5, 92–3 and chap 7, 97–9; Elias, *Court Society* 2, 18, 51–65; Roy Strong, *The Spirit of Britain* (New York, 2000), 111–20; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance: 1485–1649* (Berkeley, 1997), 11.

3 David Morgan, "The Banner-bearer of Christ and Our Lady's Knight: How God became an Englishman Revisited", in *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 63–96.

4 In 1674, during repairs to the White Tower, skeletal remains of two children, assumed to be the bodies of the two princes were found beneath a staircase leading to the chapel. Charles II ordered that the remains be reinterred in Westminster Abbey. In 1933, the remains were exhumed and studied, but ages and genders could not be conclusively determined.

5 The friary was destroyed after 1536. Richard's skeletal remains were discovered in 2012 under a carpark in Leicester. The findings confirm his scoliosis. His death resulted from blows to the skull from a halberd and a sword. He was reburied in Leicester Cathedral in 2015. "Richard III" obituary in *The Economist*, 9 February 2013, 63, on line at http://www.economist.com/news/obituary/21571379-richard-plantagenet-englands-most-controversial-king-was-officially-rediscovered-february; Sarah Griffiths, "Richard III will receive a burial fit for a king," MailOnline (accessed 22 September 2013) http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2425609/Richard-III-receive-burial-fit-king--raised-tomb-York-stone-positioned-large-white-rose.html#ixzz2ffyHVBjH.

6 Henry Tudor's mother, Margaret Beaufort, was the granddaughter of John Beaufort (d. 1410), the eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (a son of Edward III) and his mistress Katherine Swynford, whom he later married.

7 John Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 198–9; 281–3.

8 Goodall, *Castle*, 198–9, 281–2; John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire*, rev. ed. (London, 1993), 81–3; David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History*, rev. ed. (London, 2001), 65; Edward S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (Wakefield, 1974), 365, 416, 421; Geoffrey F. Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages, The Pelican History of Art,* ed. Nicholas Pevsner (Baltimore, MD, 1956), 133; John H. Harvey, "St Stephen's Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style". *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (August 1946): 192–9; Tim Ayers and David Bindman, eds, *The History of British Art:* 600–1600 (London, 2008), vol. 1, 155–6.

9 Rosalys Coope, "The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration". *Architectural History* 29 (1986): 44; Peter Fergusson, *Canterbury*

Priory in the Age of Becket. (New Haven, CT and London, 2012), 62–63.

10 Goodall, *Castle*, 284–5 and fig. 213.

11 Julian Munby, "Carpentry Works for Edward III at Windsor Castle", in *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Fourteenth Chapel*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 233–4; Goodall, *Castle*, 285.

12 Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 8; Christopher Wilson, "'Excellent, New, and Uniforme': Perpendicular Architecture *c.* 1400–1547", in *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547*, Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds (New York, 2003), 105; Phillip Lindley, "The Artist: Institutions, Training and Status", in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, Tim Ayers and David Bindman, eds (New Haven, CT, 2008), 155–7.

13 Goodall, *Castle*, 289–90 and fig. 220, 319–20; Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300–1500,* Vol. 3, *Southern England* (Cambridge, 2006), 202–4. The original great hall at Windsor was remodeled and doubled in length when Wyatville removed the wall and incorporated the chapel into the hall. The hall burned in 1992 and has been rebuilt.

14 John Goodall, "The Aerary Porch and its Influence on Late Medieval English Vaulting", in *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 167–8; Goodall, *Castle,* 287–90 and figs 218–19.

15 Goodall, *Castle*, 350; Emery, *Medieval Houses,* 247–8; J. Broadway, "The Probate Inventory of Phillip Greene, a Restoration Brickmaker in Gloucester, 1685". *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 121 (2003): 233–41, especially 233, on line at http://www2.glos.ac.uk/bgas/tbgas/v121/bg121233.pdf (accessed 15 February 2014).

16 Goodall, *Castle*, 348–50; Emery, *Medieval Houses*, 247–8, 155; Broadway, "The Probate Inventory of Phillip Greene"; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 8–9; David Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens, GA, 1990), 11; Linda Clark, *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 43–5.

17 Goodall, *Castle*, 281–3; Dereck Pearsall, *Gothic Europe: 1200–1440* (Harlow, 2001), 94; Geoffrey Fairbank Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages*. Vol 1. The Pelican History of Art, ed. Nicholas Pevsner (Baltimore, MD, 1956), 130–43; Wilson, "'Excellent, New, and Uniforme'", 98–106.

18 Philip W. Sergeant, *The Cathedral Church of Winchester: A Description of Its Fabric and A Brief History of The Episcopal See* (London, 1899), 49; Peter Draper, "The Retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral". *Architectural History* 21 (1978): 1–103; Phillip Lindley, A. Brodrick and J. Darrah, "The Great Screen of Winchester Cathedral I." *Burlington Magazine* (September 1989): 604–17; Phillip Lindley "The 'Great Screen' of Winchester Cathedral Part II: Style and Date". *Burlington Magazine* (December 1993): 797–807.

19 Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London, 1999), 64–70.

20 Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass*, 70; Arthur Oswald, "Canterbury Cathedral: The Nave and its Designer". *Burlington Magazine* (December 1939): 221–2.Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History*, 70; Webb, *Architecture*, 144–5.

21 Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England: 1170–1300* (London, 2004), *ad passim*; Oswald, "Canterbury Cathedral: The Nave and its Designer", 221–8; Webb, *Architecture*, 144–6.

22 Martial Rose and Julia Hedgecoe, *Stories in Stone: The Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich Cathedral* (London, 1997), 11–14, 70–1, 123–39; Eric Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993), 45–86.

23 Marks and Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England: 1450–1547* (London,

2003), 105, 109, and 166; Goodall, *Castle*, 165–80.

24 Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 16–18, discusses the strong relationship between the oratories at Bruges and Windsor. Jane Geddes, "The Search for John Tresilian, Master Smith to Edward IV". *History Today* (April 2002): 40–6; Maxwell Ayrton and Arnold Silcock. *Wrought Iron and Its Decorative Use* (Mineola, NY, 2003), 35–40; Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, 26.

25 Wilson, "'Excellent, New, and Uniforme'", 104, 113 and cat. 120, p. 259.

26 David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (Oxford, 2006), *ad passim*.

27 J. T. Smith, "Medieval Roofs: A Classification". *Archaeological Journal* 115 (1958): 111–49; John Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (New York, 1967), 131–2, has diagrams.

28 Goodall, *Castle*, 319 and fig. 240; "Mediaeval Banqueting Hall", "A Model of a Mediaeval Banqueting Hall," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* 11, no. 4 (1916), 90–2. Oliphant, *Penshurst Place and Gardens*.

29 Wintringham had served as William Herland's warden at Windsor in the early 1360s and worked under Herland (1367–1370) at the king's manor in Surrey. Munby, "Carpentry Works for Edward III at Windsor Castle", 234–7.

30 Lynn T. Courtenay, "The Westminster Hall Roof and Its 14th-Century Sources". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43(4) (1984): 295–309, especially 302–3; Webb, *Architecture*, 159–60; Goodall, *Castle*, 293–5; E. Toby Morris, R. Gary Black and Stephen O. Tobriner, "Report on the Application of Finite Element Analysis to Historic Structures: Westminster Hall, London". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54(3) (1995): 343–5.

31 The height from the floor of the hall to the hammerbeam is 40 ft (12.2 m); to the underside of the collar-beam is 63.5 ft (19.4 m), Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind K. Marshall, *Roof Angels of the East Anglian Churches: A Visitor's Handbook and Guide* (2005), 3–5. http://www.roof-angels.org.uk (accessed 3 March 2015). Goodall, *Castle*, 306 and fig. 229; John Walker, "Late Twelfth & Early Thirteenth-Century Aisled Buildings: A Comparison". *Vernacular Architecture* 30 (1999): 21–53; Courtenay, "The Westminster Hall Roof and Its 14th-Century Sources", 295–309; Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, 14.

32 Jonathan Foyle "A Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace". *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 135; Webb, *Architecture*, 190; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 19–23, 44 and fig. 23; Schofield, *Buildings of London*, 126; fig. 102. Jurdan also probably worked at Eton College and at London Bridge.

33 Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 4.

34 Thurley, *Whitehall*, *ad passim*.

35 Schofield, *Buildings of London*, fig. 103; Tim Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses* (London, 2000), 161–71. In his diary of 1665 Samuel Pepys described a visit to see "Bishop Juxon's new old-fashioned hall."

36 Oswald, "Canterbury Cathedral: The Nave and its Designer", 227; Goodall, *Castle*, 307–8 and fig. 230.

37 Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven, CT, 2005), 129; Goodall, *Castle*, 26, 314–17.

38 John Goodall, "Magdalen College, Oxford", in *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547,* eds Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (New Haven, CT, 2003), 366, cat.

245.

[39] Emery, *Medieval Houses*, 88–93; Goodall, *Castle*, 352–54; Jonathan Foyle. "Étude de Façades Peintes de Palais Anglais, entre 1500 et 1650. [Some Examples of External Colouration on English Brick Buildings, *c.* 1500–1650]". http://crcv.revues.org/125 (accessed 1 May 2011).

[40] Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship* (University Park, PA, 2000), 90–4.

[41] Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Rochester, NY, 2002), 116–20; Morganstern, Gothic Tombs, 94–100, 156; Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculpture from the Courts of Burgundy* (New Haven, CT, 2010), 37–52.

[42] Morgenstern, *Gothic Tombs*, 103–5, 117–23, 156; Goodall, *Castle*, 287–8.

[43] Alec Reginald Myers and David Charles Douglas, *English Historical Documents 1327–1485* (London, 1969), 1161–3; Ann Payne, "The Beauchamps and the Nevilles", in *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547,* eds Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (New Haven, CT, 2003), 219–22; Linda Monckton, cat. #86, "The Beauchamp Chapel, St Mary's Church, Warwick", in *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547*, eds Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (New Haven, CT, 2003), 223; Philip Lindley, "Effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick", in *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547,* eds Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (New Haven, CT, 2003), cat.# 87, 224–5.

[44] The *Sherborne Missal*, Add. MS 74236, British Library (London); Janet Backhouse, *The Sherborne Missal* (Toronto, 1999), *ad passim*; Julian Luxford, "The Patronage of the Church and its Purposes". in *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547,* eds Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (New Haven, CT, 2003), 95.

[45] Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of the Flemish Manuscript* (London, 2003), 4, 290–303 and fig. 81. Master of the Soane, Josephus, lavius Josèphe, Les Antiquités Judaïques and La Guerre des Juifs, Murder of Aristobulus (Bruges, 1478–1480), Ms. I. fol. II. Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

[46] London, British Library, Add. 37,790, f. 97 and Norwich Castle Library, 158.926/4g.5. "Julian Of Norwich, Her Showing Of Love And Its Contexts," Umilta Website, http://www.umilta.net/amherst.html (Accessed 30 April 2011).

[47] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, as Englished by William Caxton* (London, 1900) and *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ, 1993).

[48] W. R. Lethaby, "English Primitives – III. The Master of the Westminster Altar-Piece". *Burlington Magazine* (December 1916), 351–3, 355–7.

[49] Sarah Stanbury, *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), 76–80.

[50] J. G. Noppen, "The Westminster Apocalypse and Its Source". *Burlington Magazine* (October 1932): 146–59; Miriam Gill and Richard K. Morris, "A Wall Painting of the Apocalypse in Coventry Rediscovered". *Burlington Magazine* (August 2001): 467–73; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation Of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, CT, 1995), *ad passim.*

[51] Roger Rosewell, *The Eton College Chapel Wall Paintings: England's Forgotten Medieval Masterpieces* (Woodbridge, 2009), *ad passim.*

[52] Tetzel cited in Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, 64.

Chapter 6

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF MAGNIFICENCE: THE TUDOR ASCENDANCY. HENRY VII, 1485–1509

The triple devastation of the intermittent Hundred Years War, Wars of the Roses, and the Black Death took its toll on every class of English people, from nobles and knights slaughtered in battle to deposed kings murdered in dynastic strife, to peasants, priests, and proprietors capriciously swept away in the clutches of the virulent plague. Economic and class systems changed, as did the royal house. The stronger, more stable government brought about by the Tudor monarchs helped rectify the lingering aftermath of the aforementioned problems, reshaping the government and the church, which was the largest landowner and wealthiest entity in England. Under the early Tudor monarchs, the growing awareness of Italian classicism and humanism fostered new ideas and the interest in art from beyond the confines of Northern Europe. Highly educated ministers, some Italian, entered the court circles. An increasing number of women controlled wealth and artistic patronage. The English continued to emulate practices at the Northern European and Italian courts by hiring foreign artists and artisans and importing art. This trend continued throughout the Tudor period and could account for the dearth of native born English artists. However, England continued to excel in book production, especially after 1476, when William Caxton introduced the printing press to England. Printed books, often with illustrations, cost less than illuminated ones and circulated among a more diverse group of patrons.

The Burgundian concept of underpinning social standing, or the perception of it, through art and the display of courtly magnificence that evolved during the late years of Lancastrian and Yorkist rule, as recently codified for Edward IV by John Fortescue in *The Governance of England* (1470) was inherited, internalized, and exploited by the Tudors. Not only did custom encourage Henry Tudor in this practice, but also the insecurity of being a distant relative who seized the throne through force. Although scholars note the extravagant patronage of the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings, Henry VII receives less recognition – perhaps undeservedly so. However, even though the

English public understood the power of visual culture, the war-impoverished nobles hesitated to promote themselves until Henry VII stabilized the monarchy.

As Henry VII ascended the throne, English patrons had already begun to shift their focus to more secular art forms, notably residences and portraits. Writers mention art only in the most general terms, so literary works and documents offer little help in reconstructing what vanished in the Dissolution of the Monasteries.[1] The art that remains, whether made by the English or by foreigners, mirrors the ascendancy of the Tudor dynasty and reflects their ambitions, their nationalism, their power, their wealth, and their vanity.

The character of the monarch: Henry VII and the victory at Bosworth Field

Henry Tudor won a sweeping victory at Bosworth Field in 1485, which ended forever the struggle among the nobility for the crown of England. As with his crown, much of his wealth came through his Lancastrian mother, Margaret Beaufort, who was a 13-year-old widow when he was born.[2] Henry spent his youth largely in the care of his paternal uncle, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and half-brother to Henry VI, in exile at Ragland Castle in Wales and in Brittany. He lived most of his youth in castles with keeps and stacked lodgings. His experiences formed his ideas about courtly life, art, and architecture. Henry quickly asserted his claim to the throne as Henry VII and instituted a period of peace, stability, and prosperity. To further cement his tenuous claim, he immediately released Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, from the Tower and married her, filling the pledge he had made to her on Christmas Day of 1483 and joining the warring houses of Lancaster and York. As a symbol of the unity, Henry combined the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York to form his emblem, the Tudor rose, with alternating pedals of white and red. Shakespeare gloriously described the union:

> We will unite the white rose and the red:
> Smile, heaven, upon this fair conjunction,
> That long hath frowned upon their enemy! ...
> Now civil wars are stopped, peace may live again:
> That she may long live here, God say Amen!
> (*Richard III*. V.iv. 32–4; 53–4)

Henry VII took the reins of kingship in an underdeveloped, geographically isolated country where sheep outnumbered people. English sheep, however, formed the foundation of trade with the continent: cloth woven from English wool. Henry's first order of business was to consolidate royal power, eliminate internal strife among the nobility and subdue their power, and bring England to the notice of the fifteenth-century European political arena as a powerful, sophisticated nation. To promote his authority, he continued the patronage of magnificence begun by his Lancastrian predecessors, especially his maternal grandfather, Edward IV.

Key to the display of rank was one's residence: its size, its location, outward appearance, arrangement of space within, and rich furnishings. Henry VII renovated and enlarged several royal residences to display the magnificence of kingship. In addition to the living grandly, Henry orchestrated strategic marriages. In 1501, he arranged the marriage of his son and heir, Prince Arthur, 15, to Princess Katherine of Aragon, 16, a daughter of the most powerful monarchs in Europe, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The king modeled the marriage feast, held in the magnificent Great Hall of Richmond Palace, after the most lavish wedding of the late Lancastrian era: that of Margaret of York, sister of two English kings, Edward IV and Richard III, to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy in 1468. The pageantry revolved around a theme of chivalry. Above the celebrants stood a chronological series of life-size portraits of English kings, which included, as the culmination point, that of King Henry VII himself. In addition to understanding the importance of royal magnificence and dynastic security, Henry understood the value of art, architecture, and verbal and visual allegory in the service of the monarchy to announce, justify, and aggrandize his position. Contemporary chroniclers described the exotic gardens, sculpture, and tapestries, most notably a series depicting the Trojan War.[3] The high ranking clergymen and nobles in England would emulate the lead of their king but at a descending level according to their rank.

By the early sixteenth century, with a more stable economy in England, social orders redefined, and the nobility increased, significant new building began to occur, much of which was secular. The reign of this first Tudor king witnessed the greatest achievements of the late Perpendicular Gothic style, swimming against a strong tide of increasing classicism on the continent. Whereas visiting Italians might (and did) view England as a barbarian backwater, the English feats of engineering in wood under the supervision of the king's carpenters excelled, in their own way, as spectacularly as the remarkable classicism and masonry domes of the Italians. This building movement in the autumn years of the Perpendicular style reflects the strength of the monarchy, the rise in royal and noble patronage, and the increasing secularity of society, and cements an enduring legacy of the style as a hallmark of the English nation.

Early Tudor architecture

In fifteenth-century England, for the first time, residential architecture upstaged ecclesiastical building projects, and the construction of new parish churches vastly outnumbered new cathedrals and abbey churches. Concurrently in Italy, Filippo Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti, and others had instigated a revival of interest in classical forms. Although classical ideas rippled north of the Alps, throughout the reign of Henry VII, England remained an outpost of the Perpendicular Gothic style. From its inception the English had consciously and tenaciously embraced the Gothic, which had developed out of English roots at Durham Cathedral, the Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire, and Canterbury. The style evolved through endless innovative reinventions. Rather than appearing repetitive, stale, or burned out, the autumn years of Perpendicular architecture, like the season whose name it bears, shines with intense brilliance. Perhaps a deliberate reference to the past, this late variety of Perpendicular often incorporates an odd mix of the Perpendicular and Decorated Gothic details. Larger windows, often arranged in undulating bay form, along with increased surface decoration on the interior, separates these buildings from earlier forms of the Perpendicular style. The classically based movements in Italy that filtered into France could not have been farther from most English minds.

Early Tudor royal residences

In some circles, Henry VII has a reputation for being miserly, but several expenditures contradict this image, including his luxury items and his domestic building works. In London, renovations carried out at Westminster Palace by Henry III and Edward III gave Henry VII a splendid royal palace that boasted the largest hall and most magnificent hammerbeam ceiling in Europe. As with his French counterparts, his palace incorporated an elaborate two-story chapel within the complex, dedicated to St Stephen. Therefore, he could turn his attention to royal residences elsewhere.

Henry VII had spent considerable time in France before winning the English crown at the Battle of Bosworth Field. He actually knew continental royal and noble buildings better than English ones. Although the English preference for the late Perpendicular Gothic may have been a deliberate anachronistic reference to nationalism and the glorious days of the past, the inward focus of Tudor palaces, with tiltyards, courtyards, gardens, and galleries from which to view them, emulated ducal buildings in Burgundy. Under the Tudors, brick – the innovative building material that Henry V had first used in 1413 at Sheen Palace – gained favor in England. Also reflecting northern European models were the embellishments of sculpture, especially terracotta, and stained glass filled with secular figures, heraldry, and symbolic meaning. Finally, with the declining need for royal defensive protection and the increasing emphasis on the display of magnificence, large windows and protruding bay windows, or oriels, glazed with clear glass on three or more sides, presented a distinctively English display of luxury.

In the fourteenth century, the head of household and his family had begun to live in more private quarters farther from the remainder of the household. In the mid-1490s, dictated by the desire to appear more elevated and more magnificent, Henry VII reorganized the domestic departments of his household. Heretofore men of high rank staffed the king's hall and, even more prestigiously, his chamber. To this staff Henry added the Privy Chamber, which consisted of grooms and pages who served the king's private life, servants with low social standing, but high trust. Additional staff required additions and creative alterations to the living space. Royal building works – albeit often rebuildings – included Baynard's Castle, the Tower of London, Windsor Castle, Richmond (Sheen) Palace, and Greenwich Palace – hardly a miserly showing.

Baynard's Castle

In 1501, Henry began to rebuild and enlarge Baynard's Castle, a large riverside complex on the outskirts of London, not far from the Blackfriars priory and St Paul's Cathedral. The name derives from a Norman Castle formerly on the site that was destroyed in 1275 and replaced with another residence. The castle had a rich royal history. Shakespeare later used it as a setting in his play, *Richard III*. In the play, Gloucester, speaking to Buckingham states:

> If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's Castle;
> Where you shall find me well accompanied
> With reverend fathers and well-learned bishops.
> (*Richard III* Act 3, scene V).[4]

In 1461 Edward IV assumed the title of king and summoned a council in the hall of Baynard's Castle. Henry VII continued both the royal association and the display of magnificence by transforming the complex from a fortified castle into an unfortified palace. The building that Henry inherited incorporated a stone wharf, which he filled in to make a formal walled garden in the manner of contemporary buildings on the continent. With more luxurious living quarters than Westminster, Henry made Baynard's Castle his primary residence in London.

Tower of London

In 1501, Henry VII began the last permanent royal residential buildings at the Tower. Edward II had moved royal quarters from the White Tower to the Lanthorn Tower in the southeast corner. In the mid-fourteenth century, Edward III had added the Cradle Tower as a private Watergate. Henry VII extended the earlier royal lodgings around the Lanthorn Tower by adding a roughly square tower to the southwest (called the King's Tower in the sixteenth century) to house a personal library/study and a private chamber. In 1506, he began a new king's gallery (later called the queen's gallery), which extended atop Henry III's southeast facing curtain wall, across a gateway to the Salt Tower and a privy garden in the southeast corner below, accessed by a stair. A colored drawing of 1597 by Haiward and Gascoyne depicts such plaster and timber frame structures, which Henry VIII later extended.[5]

Windsor Castle

The existing royal living quarters in the Upper Ward at Windsor Castle, like those at the Tower, dated from the reign of Edward III nearly a century and a half earlier. Again, the public rooms proved adequate, but private quarters needed expansion and renovation. He built a private gallery and a tower with a secluded personal library and an oratory (closet) connected to his sleeping quarters, improvements nearly identical in both the form and function to his new structures at the Tower. The tower at Windsor, known primarily through nineteenth-century engravings by Mackenzie, was built of a fine quality limestone rather than the grey hearthstone of the earlier additions and glistened with an unprecedented number and variety of ornate oriel and bay windows. The oriel windows, developed but used sparingly in the previous century, initiated a new trend in architectural decoration that quickly spread to other royal and noble residences.[6]

Richmond Palace

The Tudor royal residence that most strongly stated magnificence was

Sheen (Shene) Palace, which Henry VII renamed "Richmond" in honor of the earldom in Yorkshire that he held when he won the crown at Bosworth Field. The Lancastrian stone keep, with its stacked royal living quarters, stood apart as the heart of the complex. On 21 December 1498, as the royal family gathered for Christmas, a fire broke out that destroyed many of the buildings, along with untold valuable possessions. Henry VII's construction, modeled after Burgundian models and employing many Burgundian artisans, followed the inward focus of medieval castles, with towers, turrets, and crenellations, and a leaden roof. A magnificent great hall with an ornate hammerbeam ceiling – finished by 1501 and measuring 40 × 100 ft: 4000 sq. ft (12.2 × 30.5 m or 1219 sq. m) – formed the centerpiece of the complex.

The palace also followed Burgundian models in the building: brick, which Henry V had initiated. Brick had many advantages. Besides cost and convenience, it was versatile: it could be mass produced in standard shapes, molded, rubbed, and/or glazed. The expediency of brick construction and the standardization that Henry VII imposed on its production enabled him to rebuild the palace in two years. Brick manufacturers and masons developed complex shapes and forms, with patterning, twists, and crenellations, especially evident in chimneys. Distinguishing the new construction from medieval buildings, however, was not only the brick, with moldings and patterns created with glazed bricks, but also the profusion of large oriel windows filled with leaded glass panes – a highly visible sign of wealth.[7] Richmond was the last such royal palace. Only a fraction of it now stands, including a brick gate emblazoned with Henry VII's coat-of arms of and some of the wardrobe buildings (Fig. 6.1). A better understanding of the size and magnificence of this turreted complex can be gained through a sketch of Richmond done in 1555 by Anthony van den Wyngaerde. Although Richmond now represents the end of an era, the palace boasted all of the most up-to-date conveniences and contained innovations that carried forward.

The most innovative and influential features of the palace included a stone structure described by the Commissioners Survey of 1649 as a two-story passageway, one above stairs and one below, that linked the hall and the chapel.[8] A few other galleries already existed. In the 1460s, Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bourchier built a fenestrated gallery at Knole in nearby Kent; after 1479, Edward IV built one at Eltham Palace (Chapter 5). However, the enclosed two-story fenestrated gallery at Richmond, which appears in the Wyngaerd sketch, extended 200 ft long (24.4 m) and successfully combined utilitarian and recreational uses with magnificence. From the north side, guests watched jousts and other events. On the south side they enjoyed a fine view of the river. It also provided a pleasant place for exercise in inclement weather. Further confirmation of its exceptional magnificence exists from a guest at the wedding of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur, who described "commodious" galleries with many windows on each side of the court, which had a garden and a fountain.[9] He and his son Henry VIII would use double-story, multi-purpose galleries at other residences, such as Bridewell, Hampton Court, and Nonsuch. Churchmen William Warham and Thomas Wolsey and various courtiers would copy it. However, over the next thirty years, the old-fashioned living arrangements would cause Richmond to lose popularity with the royal family.

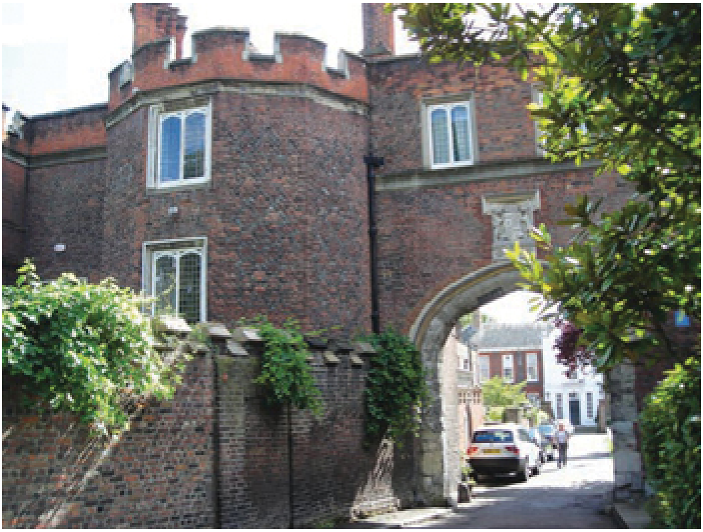


Fig. 6.1 Richmond Palace, London Borough of Richmond upon Thames, gate, 1497–1501. Photograph: author

Greenwich Palace

Even more innovative than Richmond Palace was Greenwich Palace, which Henry VII acquired early in his reign from his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville, the widowed queen of Edward IV. Unfortunately the palace no longer stands. Turmoil during the reign of Charles I and the ensuing Commonwealth damaged it; Charles II attempted unsuccessfully to repair it. The site lay derelict until *c.* 1695, when it was razed for a naval hospital, which still stands (later the Royal Naval College and now the University of Greenwich and Trinity Laban Conservatoire). Henry's VII's innovative building complex, however, nevertheless deserves notice.

Between 1501 and 1504, Henry built a new brick complex that, more than any other early Tudor project set the standard for future royal projects. He spent over £3000 and used more than 600,000 bricks. The builder/master mason appears to have been Robert Vertue, who apparently worked under the direction of Henry's queen, Elizabeth of York, from whom he received payment.[10] Henry razed all previous buildings on the site. From the outset, he planned a brick courtyard house without a moat. The elevation of the riverside façade at Greenwich bore a striking resemblance to the walled Prinsenhof at Bruges. Unlike prior courtly residences in England, France, and Burgundy, the keep at Greenwich, which remained a prominent feature, did not stand apart, but merged into the out-facing riverfront range without the slightest vestige of its original defensive function. The brick towers glittered with oriel windows. The purpose of the keep, however, remained the same: to house the king's living quarters. Moreover, eliminating the moat and incorporating the walls and keep changed the façade from a stark fortress to a magnificent outwardly focused palace. Henry continued the Yorkist changes in royal lodgings, driven by the desire for greater separation and privacy. The primary lodgings stood one flight up, with his more private areas, including his study and library, on the second and third levels, accessed through staircases in the turrets. The organization of the king's household and staff quarters also changed. The increased prominence of larger and more elaborate windows, galleries to connect the various parts, exquisite brickwork, and orchards and gardens within the courtyard and around the palace walls seem to come first with Henry VII. These innovations caused Greenwich to supersede Richmond as the favorite royal residence in the greater London area. By the end of his reign, Henry VII had forever transformed royal living quarters.

Early Tudor ecclesiastical residences in London

Leaders in the ecclesiastical hierarchy remained among the greatest patrons of art and architecture. Although Canterbury served as the primary cathedral in England, the power base converged at Westminster Abbey, near the seat of government. English bishops and archbishops held houses in London as well as along the road between ecclesiastical venues, particularly between their cathedral seat and London, to serve them when they held court away from their home base. These walled ecclesiastical complexes conformed to a general plan, with a great hall, a cloister, a chapel, a library, and residential apartments. Since the years in Avignon, Roman liturgy and ceremony and those who officiated over them, had evolved in an increasingly ritualistic, sumptuous, and imposing direction. The humanists promoted the ancient imperialistic aspects of these trappings, emphasizing the "mythic past and supernal destiny" of the church.[11] By the late fifteenth century, to accommodate the ceremonies, processions, and assemblies that accompanied religious services and ecclesiastical court proceedings, bishops began to enlarge their episcopal houses with suitable support facilities, including additional halls, robing rooms and libraries.[12]

By 1480, England's two archbishops at York and Canterbury, along with eighteen other English bishops, owned palaces near Westminster. The residence of the bishop of Winchester, begun in the thirteenth century, stood near London Bridge and the old priory in Southwark (Fig. 6.2). A shell of the great hall the still remains. The bishop of Ely resided in the Camden area of London. The residences of the bishops of Bath, Wells, and Exeter stood off the Strand near Temple Hall. Durham House, built about 1345 by Bishop Thomas de Hatfield, had a gatehouse on the Strand that opened into a large courtyard, with the hall and chapel facing the gate, and the private apartments overlooking the river. The most imposing of these residences belonged to the two archbishops: York Palace, of which only archaeological evidence remains, and Lambeth Palace, which still serves the Archbishop of Canterbury.[13]

By the fifteenth century, Lambeth Palace consisted of an irregular conglomeration of buildings of every architectural style since the Normans, with at least a dozen sets of chambers and garderobes. Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bourchier updated, extended, and aggrandized the complex, as did Archbishop John Morton, who, in 1495, added the imposing, boxy, double-towered, five-story brick gatehouse that still stands at the entrance (Fig. 6.3). The two towers are joined with a setback section containing a four lancet double-height window centered above two arched entrances. The height and width of larger entrance accommodated wagons (and today, motor vehicles); the smaller one on the right served foot traffic. The brickwork features diaper patterns with contrasting grey stone for the short and long quoins of the mullions of its broad arch-window. This gatehouse shows the growing acceptance for using brick for important buildings.

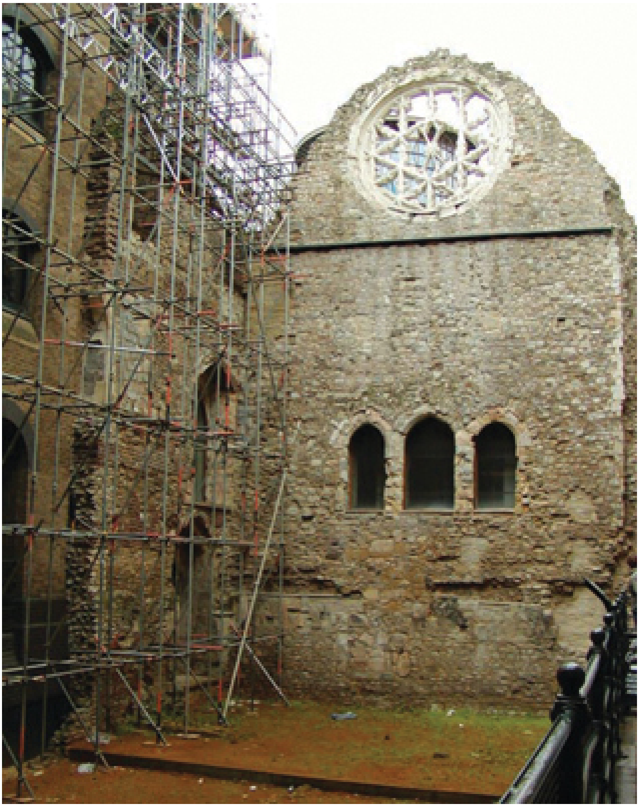


Fig. 6.2 Winchester Palace, Southwark, London, interior of Great Hall, twelfth and thirteenth century. Photograph: author

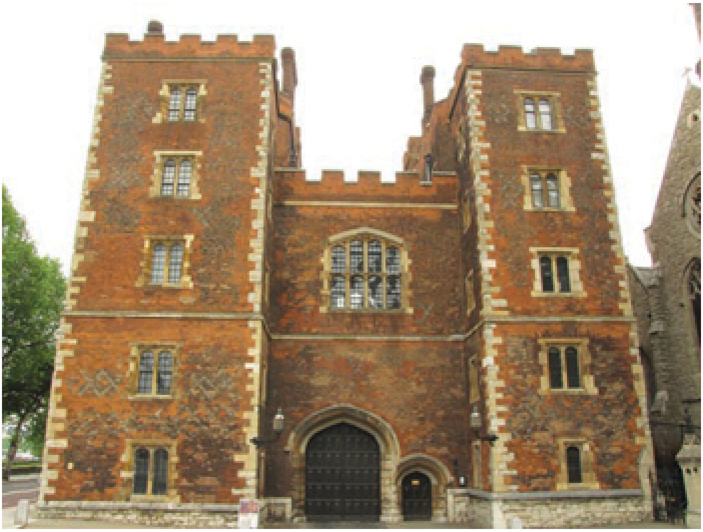


Fig. 6.3 Lambeth Palace, London, Morton's Gate, 1490–1495. Photograph: author

Early Tudor ecclesiastical residences outside

London

In addition to residences at their respective cathedrals and in London, English bishops and archbishops maintained residences as stopping points between their ecclesiastical venues. In so doing, these churchmen conformed to the practices of their continental counterparts. High ranking churchmen were expected to entertain grandly, and their magnificence would bring honor to the king as well as to the church. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the wealthiest landowner in Kent, owning seventeen estates in and around the county, each with a design much like Oakham, including houses at Mayfield, Charing, Maidstone, Faversham, and Saltwood Castle, each within one day's ride of the next. Otford, near Sevenoaks in Kent, and Croydon in Surrey, along with Lambeth Palace in London, were damaged by rebellious insurgents in 1381; by the mid-fifteenth century, all had undergone repair. By the late fifteenth century, the newly acquired Knole, also near Sevenoaks, and Hatfield, property of the bishop of Ely, were the grandest ecclesiastical country residences, both refurbished in a manner the churchmen felt suited their station. These residences would pass into royal hands after the Dissolution.

Charing Palace

The archepiscopal palace at Charing in the North Downs of Kent, a staging post along the Pilgrims' Path between Canterbury and Maidstone, gives one of the few surviving examples of the outlying episcopal estate in the early fifteenth century (Fig. 6.4). Sometimes the archbishop of Canterbury entertained large groups of dignitaries or royalty, including, on multiple occasions, both Henry VII and Henry VIII. The earliest buildings have disappeared. Parts of those from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries remain inside a walled courtyard. The south gateway is flanked by a range of cottages and a porter's lodge constructed of irregularly shaped local flint and mortar. The episcopal residence stands on the north range with part of the chapel imbedded in the northwest corner. The Great Hall, situated on the east side of the courtyard, is entered through a handsome porch. Originally a great timber roof spanned overhead and fine traceried windows admitted light. Only one of these windows survives. Beyond the hall stood a second smaller court that housed the kitchens and other service rooms. After the Dissolution, these buildings were turned into a working farm. They have been little altered since.[14]

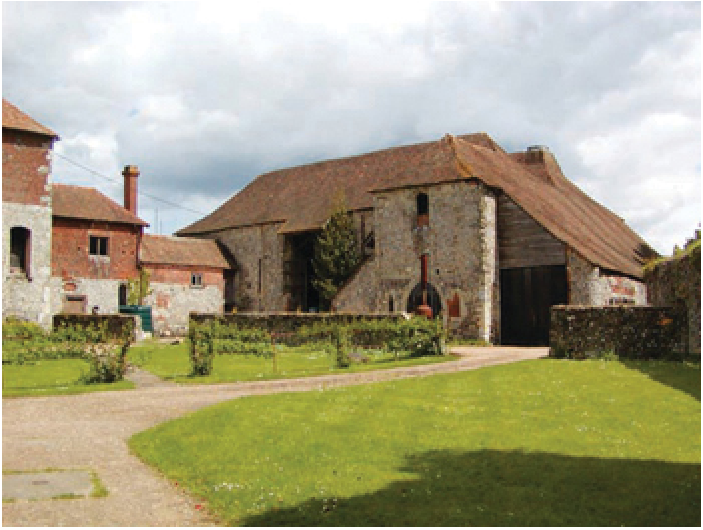


Fig. 6.4 Charing Palace, Maidstone, Kent, fourteenth–early fifteenth century. Photograph: author

Knole Palace

The archepiscopal estate that raised the rural episcopal house to a grand scale and set the pattern for subsequent residences was Knole, near Sevenoaks in Kent (Fig. 6.5). In 1456, Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, purchased the property and spent 30 years transforming it; his successors also spent money there. In 1460, he built the wood paneled great hall with a minstrel gallery. As he continued construction, he introduced to England one of the first examples of Renaissance symmetry in architecture, a feature that had long dominated Italian palace design. Whereas the main blocks at Knole had followed a rambling medieval form, Bourchier brought the lodgings in the wings forward and joined them across the front with an imposing range and gatehouse, which formed a quadrangle. Bourchier also introduced the two-story gallery around three sides of the Stone Court, a feature that would soon be a prominent feature of English manor houses. Bourchier's galleries were probably constructed of timber. The existing stone galleries appear to come from the era of Thomas Sackville, who received the property from Elizabeth I in 1566.[15] Galleries, which began as communicating corridors, soon evolved into places for exercise and "socially neutral" locations for conversations between private apartments and public receptions rooms. They also developed into places for displaying collections of portraits, which, with permission, could include royal portraits. This practice quickly developed as an integral part of the display of rank and magnificence. The Brown Gallery at Knole and the long gallery at

Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire are the earliest surviving examples of picture galleries in Britain. Both the overall symmetrical design of the palace and the functions of galleries at Knole would influence the later designs used by Henry VII, Wolsey, and then Henry VIII at Hampton Court and Nonsuch Palace.

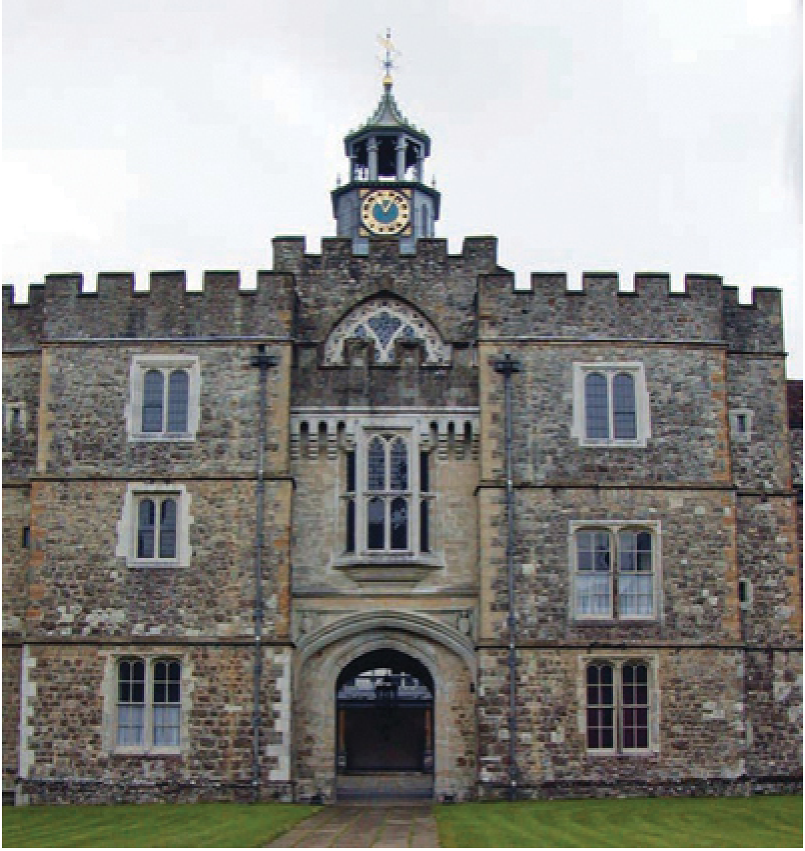


Fig. 6.5 Knole Palace, Sevenoaks, Kent, Bourchier's Tower, c. *1460. Photograph: author*

Old Palace at Hatfield

Since the days of King Edgar, this monastic land had belonged to the bishops of Ely. John Morton, Bishop of Ely, built the Old Palace at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, 20 miles (32 km) north of London, which was about a day's ride from London toward Ely. Construction began around 1485, with four wings in a square surrounding a central courtyard and a parallel service range on the north (Figs 6.6 and 6.7). The primary entrance stood on the east, directly across the courtyard from the hall. The west range, which faces the town, still stands just east of St Etheldreda's Church. This range holds the large ground-level great hall. On the exterior, the brickwork, with its solid diamond and open diaper patterns, is among the finest of the era to survive. Boxy towered entrances, located at the center of the range on each side, stand at the northern end of the hall. Each tower has corner buttresses and an arched doorway with two windows above. Five solid buttresses separate the bays on each side of the towers, and the ends of the ranges have a forward gable with windows on three levels. Inside, the high windows allow for the display of tapestries on the walls. A handsome arch-brace timber roof of dark oak springs from corbels and arches high overhead. Large, curved, thinly cut beams, two per bay, laid over the rafters give additional support. Henry VIII liked the residence, and used it intermittently from about 1518. During the Dissolution it came into royal hands and served as a residence for the king's children. In fact, at Hatfield, on 17 November 1558, Lady Elizabeth Tudor received the news that she had ascended the throne.[16]

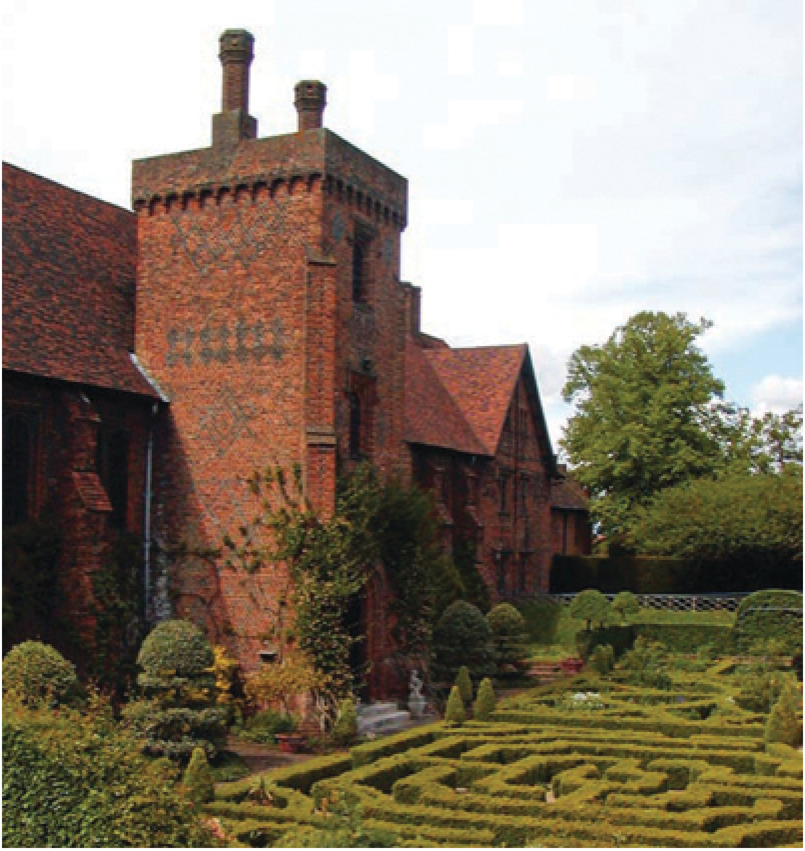


Fig. 6.6 Old Hatfield Palace, Hertfordshire, exterior of west face of the range facing inner courtyard, c. *1485. Photograph: author*

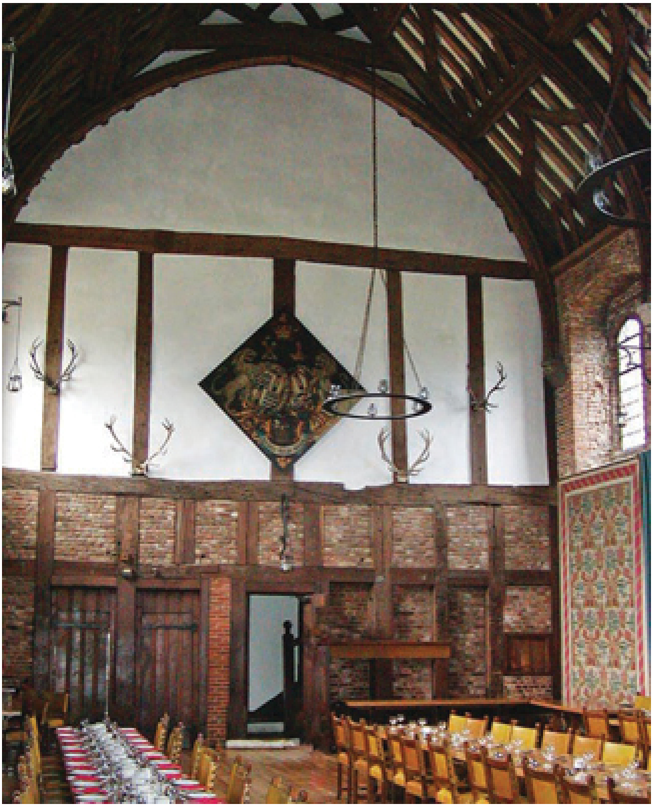


Fig. 6.7 Hatfield Palace, Hertfordshire, Old Hall, interior, c. *1485. Photograph: author*

Vernacular architecture: black and white Tudor buildings

In the early Tudor years, the vast majority of the English people lived in humble dwellings, often in squalid surroundings. By the sixteenth century, building techniques for modest dwellings had changed little, so appearances remained similar. The average size of a house was three rooms. By the early years of Elizabeth's reign, the average size increased to four or five rooms. Living conditions, even for the nobility, were more primitive than those of their continental counterparts. Erasmus, a Dutchman, spoke of filth in the rushes of the floor coverings in English residences, and Italians who came to England spoke disparagingly of the baseness of the English.

The simplest houses had a cruck frame; that is, a frame made from a tree with a strong outgrowing forked branch, split in half. The angle between the trunk and branch formed the roof peak. The matching inverted 'V'-shaped forms were set at either end of the house, with a ridge rafter beam joining them together. The foundation usually consisted of irregular stone or rubble or later, brick, secured with daub, or a clay mud. For larger houses, a box frame was used with a triangular frame for the attic and roof. Often these houses were constructed of half-timber. Builders sometimes filled empty spaces between the studs with stone or brick, but more often with wattle and daub, as discussed at length in Chapter 3. Thatch, tile, or slate covered the roof. Typical features included a steeply pitched roof, prominent cross gables, tall, narrow windows with small window panes, and tall chimneys, sometimes topped with decorative chimney pots. In larger urban buildings, especially ones with shops beneath, the upper floors and attics might jut out beyond the boundary of the foundation, giving extra square footage upstairs, as tax assessments were based on the footprint of the building. Fifteenth-century buildings in Rye, Sussex, notably the Mermaid Inn and Old St Anthony's House (Fig. 6.8), offer good examples.

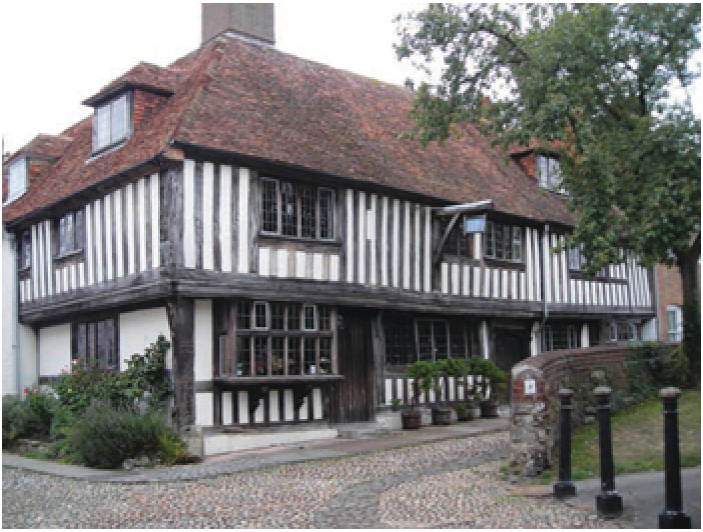


Fig. 6.8 St Anthony's House, Rye, East Sussex, c. *1420. Photograph: author*

Function dictated form in late medieval domestic architecture: use determined the arrangement of space. Symmetry was not a priority nor was the entrance necessarily aligned or centered. The hall continued to be the largest room and the ceremonial center. The kitchen was often attached to one side of the hall or even stood apart. In larger homes, a separate room (or rooms) at the other end of the hall accommodated the owner and his family. Larger windows admitted more light. Those who could afford it might have the exposed beams elaborately carved or shaped. Others might have ceilings attached to the cross-beams and covered with plaster, which occasionally was decorative. Wood paneled interior walls sometimes had decorative patterns. Initially fire pits stood in the center of the room with a louver in the roof above; by the sixteenth century, wall fireplaces encased in brick or stone chimneys were more common. The new Tudor government and the accompanying changes in society would change the way people lived, especially the nobility.

Architecture of the nobility following the Wars of the Roses: prodigy houses

At the end of the Wars of the Roses, the necessity for defensive houses ceased to exist. Thus, from the mid-fifteenth century onward, interesting innovations occurred in residential architecture for England's landowners and nobility. Their country residences shifted from inwardly focused structures, built with living necessities and basic conveniences in mind, often defensively walled and irregularly laid-out, to consolidated, outwardly facing, symmetrical structures, houses that the architectural historian Sir John Summerson called "prodigy houses."[17] The new residential design reflected the vast new secular wealth of a small number of English families, many of whom gained their position through the benevolence of the Tudor monarchs. Although the fortress gradually slipped into obsolescence, aspects of the castle remained symbols of prestige. The arrangement of interior space continued to offer a greater separation of the family. Henry VII's immense new palace at Richmond, completed in 1501, initiated the fashion for these prodigy houses; his courtiers would follow his lead. The trend accelerated under Henry VIII and, due in part to the Dissolution of the Monasteries of the 1540s, reached its zenith under Elizabeth.[18] The earliest of the noble houses, such as Little Moreton Hall and Oxburgh Hall, retained the inward focus. Although they never served as serious fortifications, they project an imposing grandeur.

Little Moreton Hall

Little Moreton Hall, near Congleton, Cheshire offers a superb example of England's half-timbered, moated manor houses. Sir Richard de Moreton, a prosperous landowner, began the house around 1450. The architecture exemplifies medieval Cheshire in concept, but the various additions into the sixteenth century track architectural changes, visible in the large windows, the carving of the beams, and in some of the plaster decoration in the ceilings and around the fireplaces. Unlike earlier black and white architecture, such as Ightham Mote, with its simple half-timbered rooms situated around a courtyard, the various façades at Little Moreton Hall contain a rich variety of chevron and lozenge patterns created by diagonal black oak beams alternating with wattle and daub painted white and large multi-paned windows.[19] This form of timber building, even at its most lavish, soon disappeared in favor of brick or stone.

Oxburgh Hall

Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, a moated complex measuring about 256 ft square (75 m), romantically looks back to castle forms (Fig. 6.9). Begun around 1482 by Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, who acquired a license to crenellate, it was originally enclosed on all sides. The battlements, adequate at best for low-level uprisings, projected wealth and power. The gatehouse, reached by a triple-arched brick bridge on the north side, marks the entry. The massive square twin towers are divided by seven corbelled stringcourses and are pierced at every other level by narrow windows. Unlike Little Moreton Hall or Ightham Mote, the refined brick masonry at Oxburgh Hall, with diaper patterns and rows of paneling separated by arched corbels, gives the complex a uniform appearance. The mortar of the interior brickwork is lined in white, a finishing begun in the 1440s, which makes the courses of brickwork appear perfectly laid.[20]

Symmetrical wings extend to either side, but in an unusual twist, rather than form following function, the wings disclose nothing about internal arrangements; instead function follows form. In a typical arrangement, the hall, flanked by a buttery and pantry on one end and a private parlor on the other, stands directly across the courtyard from the entrance. In addition to bedrooms, the upstairs in the house offered an unusual feature, a priest hole, a secret hiding place reached through a trapdoor – useful for the Catholic Bedingfeld family during the years following the Dissolution.[21] The complex as a whole exhibits the acceptance of brick as a medium through which the nobility could express magnificence. The angles and curves of the circular brick staircase in the turret, which ascends clockwise, demonstrate how adept the brick masons had become by the late fifteenth century. During the later Tudor era, as the function of noble houses moved more decidedly away from fortification, the inward orientation shifted outward. The approach became increasingly imposing, yet also more welcoming than fortress walls.

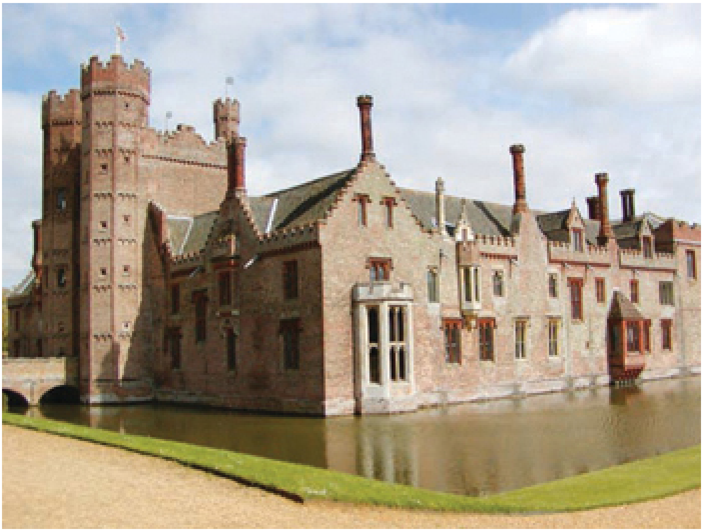


Fig. 6.9 Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, exterior, 1482. Photograph: author

Monastic architecture in the early Tudor period

The Perpendicular style in church buildings built during the Lancaster-Yorkist era flowers into a profusion of windows and ceiling surface decoration during the reign of Henry VII. Much of the ecclesiastical energy for architectural projects during this period is devoted to parish churches and to renovations to cathedrals. A remarkably beautiful example of the style occurs at the Abbey Church of St Peter and St Paul in Bath.

Bath Abbey

In 1495, Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, found the Norman Abbey Church of St Peter and St Paul, Bath in disrepair. He initiated a complete rebuilding. Unique sculptural ladders of angels flank the large window on the west façade. Correspondence of 1503 between the bishop and Sir Reginald Bray, a court builder, confirms that the extraordinary brothers Robert and William Vertue, who contribute significantly to the development of the Perpendicular style of architecture and who also would serve the crown at Greenwich and Windsor, worked at Bath. In fact, Bath Abbey, which reaches 225 ft long, 35 ft wide in the nave (23 × 11 m), with the vaults of the five-bay nave soaring to 75 ft (23 m), is the earliest extant building to contain the masonry of the Vertue brothers (Figs 6.10 and 6.11). Bishop King wrote of their elaborate vaults saying, "… ther shal be noone so goodley neither in england nor france."[22] Although initially the vaults may have been planned as wooden, the Vertues pursued their specialty of masonry fan vaulting. They began work in the 30 ft wide (9.14 m) chancel and proceeded westward. The thin shelled semi-circular fan vaults meet along the long axis of the vault and intersect transversely, which squares off the sides of the fans, as seen later in the vaults at King's College, Cambridge and the quire of St George's Chapel, Windsor. In the chancel, the diamond-shaped spaces between the fans are polychromed; the diamond-shaped area in five bays of the nave each display a smaller polychromed shield-shaped boss. The cruciform plan, by this time rare in English parish churches, remains to accommodate the needs of the monastic community. The elevation has uncharacteristically low side aisles and nave arcades that support a tall clerestory. The 52 large clerestory windows cover about 80% of the wall space and eliminate the need for a gallery and create the impression of a cage of light.[23] The light, lacy appearance is a purely English spin on the Late Gothic style. In fact, the late flowering of Perpendicular architecture inspires some of the most delicate and imaginative Gothic architecture in England.

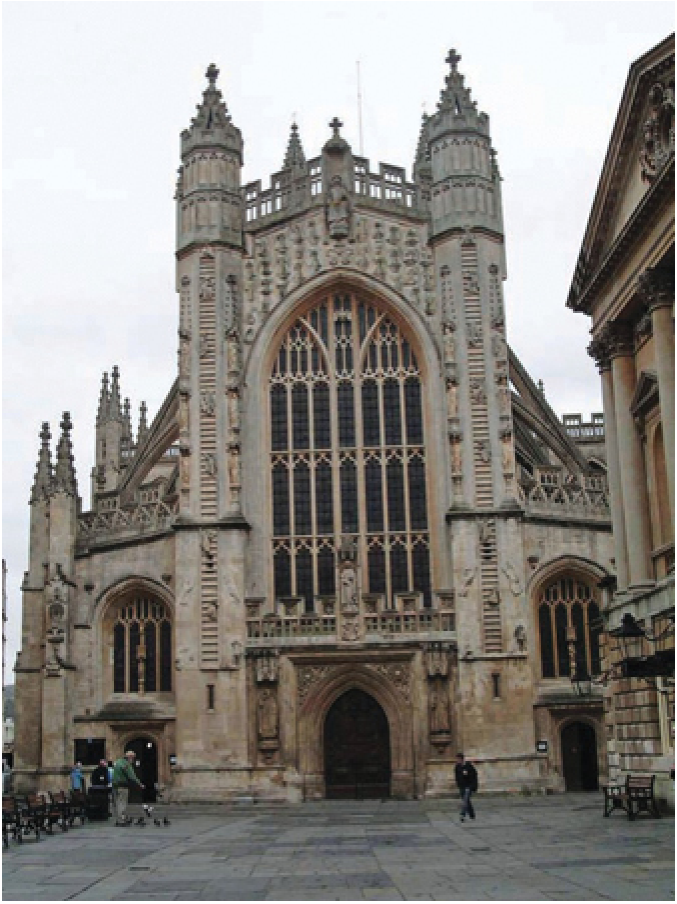


Fig. 6.10 Bath Abbey, Somerset, exterior, 1503. Photograph: author

Royal patronage of institutional architecture

Royal and educational architectural projects during the reign of Henry VII supplanted the dearth of ecclesiastical and parish projects. In fact, the Perpendicular Gothic style prevailed as the official royal architectural style. Henry's projects included the continuation of King's College, Cambridge, particularly the chapel, completed in 1547, which took over a century to build, the continuation of St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, and a new, larger and grander Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, which would serve as his mausoleum.

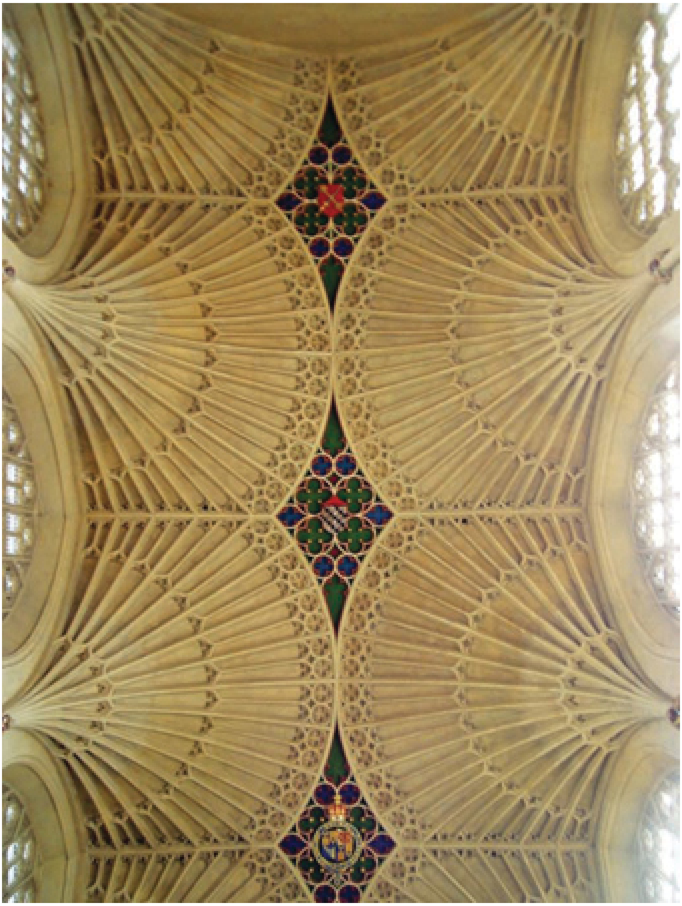


Fig. 6.11 Bath Abbey, Somerset, Robert and William Vertue, interior vaulting in nave, 1503. Photograph: author

King's College, Cambridge

King Henry VI established King's College, Cambridge in 1441 with the most sincere of royal intentions. In the end, this crown jewel of the late Perpendicular Gothic style, which took over a century to build, would emerge triumphant from the seemingly discordant agendas of royal devotion, dynastic wars, religious conflict, labor quarrels, spectacular artisanship, and daring engineering. On 22 April 1506, when Henry VII attended the St George's Eve service of the Knights of the Garter at King's College Chapel, only the first five bays of the chapel stood in place. A timber roof covered the space, but without stone vaulting. The western end was boarded up. Urged by his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, who had pledged to assume certain of the pious projects of her royal predecessor Henry VI and who recognized the political benefits to the new Tudor dynasty of continuing the royal project, Henry Tudor committed to completing both the college and its extraordinary chapel (Fig. 6.12). As with earlier chapels, it is a large hall church with no aisles. The elaborate webbing of the fan vaulting meets along the long axis and intersects transversely, which squares off the sides. The splendor even exceeds that at Gloucester. When he died in 1509, he left a bequest for its completion. In the words of his will, the funds were to "perfourme and end al the warkes that is not yet doon in the said chirche." His son, Henry VIII, prodded by his astute chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, saw it to a glorious completion.[24]

Under Tudor patronage, Lancastrian austerity gave way to Tudor exuberance. In 1508, Henry VII secured the services of architect John Wastell, the most acclaimed architect in East Anglia and designer of the crossing tower at Canterbury Cathedral, completed in 1503. By 1512, the chapel extended ten bays with an additional single bay apse and a single bay antechapel, reaching 284 ft (86.6 m) in total length. As at Bath Abbey, the semi-circular fan vaults meet along the long axis of the vault and intersect transversely, which squares off the sides. However, rather than use pointed arches, Wastell employs the low elliptical four-centered arch. Soaring to a height of 81 ft (24.7 m) over an extraordinary 45 ft (13.4 m) wide nave, they rank among the tallest, largest, and heaviest of all of fan vaults, not to mention extraordinary engineering achievements. The delicacy of the webbing represents a change from the heavier treatments at Bath and Canterbury. As at Bath, the diamond shaped areas between the arcs of the fans contain shields, but this time those of the Tudors: the portcullis badge alternates with the Tudor rose.

Under Wastell, Lancastrian severity in the lower interior walls of the antechapel, originally intended to be paneled, proudly yields to prominent elaborately carved royal badges and coat-of-arms, announcing the Tudor king's embracing of the project. The arms of

Henry VII also stand over the doorways, inside and outside. The low side aisles are divided into chapels. By 1515, the main structure and some of the glazing of the windows were complete.

The glass-filled windows also exhibit stylistic changes and political messages. Between 1515 and 1546, Flemish glaziers, who fled religious wars only to endure the scorn of jealous English artisans, systematically installed 2300 panels of stained glass. Earlier royal patrons, such as Henry III at Westminster, had favored French artisans. In Flemish hands, not only does the palette change and individual glass pieces increase in size, but also the usual multitude of small panes holding a single figure or a small narrative gives way to single compositions that spread across the entire width of the window. The arrangement of the subjects, however, follows an age-old medieval typological format, in which Old Testament stories above prefigure New Testament events beneath. For example, the Ascent of Elijah in his chariot prefigures the Ascension of Christ. In addition to commissioning windows that gave religious instruction, the Tudor kings seized the opportunity to insert political messages. For example, the story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba not only prefigures the visit of the Three Kings below, but Henry VIII inserts his portrait into the face of Solomon, thereby aligning himself with the most illustrious of the divinely anointed biblical kings, noted for his power, wisdom, and poetic gifts.[25] Rarely had a pope, let alone a secular monarch, used religious imagery for such overt politically charged purposes. Rarely had a king commissioned a work filled with so many artistic and architectural innovations.

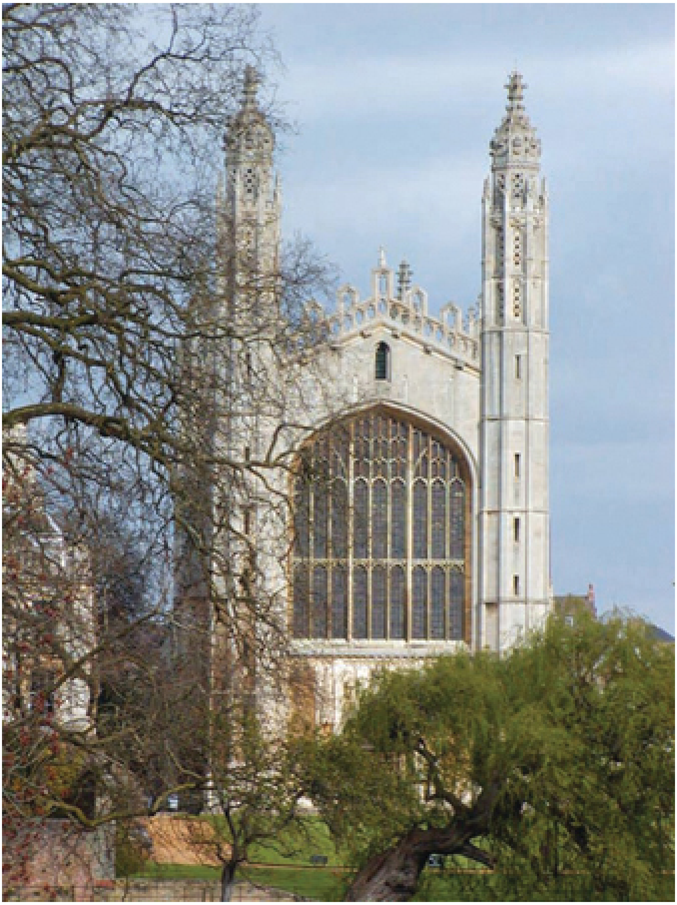


Fig. 6.12 King's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, chapel, exterior, east end, 1506–1547. Photograph: author

St George's Chapel, Windsor

Henry VII also turned his attention to projects at Windsor, where he left an indelible mark on St George's Chapel, which his Yorkist great-great-grandfather Edward III had left incomplete (Fig. 6.13). As noted in a contract of 1506, William Vertue, who had worked with his brother Robert, now deceased, at Bath Abbey, formed the spectacular vaults of the choir. The constructions resemble one another: both span about 35 ft (10.82 m), have fans that touch the central rib, central conoids that actually serve as the keystone of the vault, and relatively thin masonry. Window to wall ratios are also the same as Bath Abbey. St George's, however, like King's College, Cambridge, uses the broad four-centered arch throughout.[26] The nave and aisles, completed by 1509, largely follow the plans from 1475, drawn up by the reputable master mason Henry Janyns, who may have created the vault of the nave. The huge western window, which measures 36 × 29 ft (11 ×

8.8 m), completed around 1500, contains 75 principal panes, each with a single figure, including knights, kings, bishops, and saints, a few of which are women. Figures of freemason John Hylmer, who holds a hammer, and William Vertue are honored on the lower right.

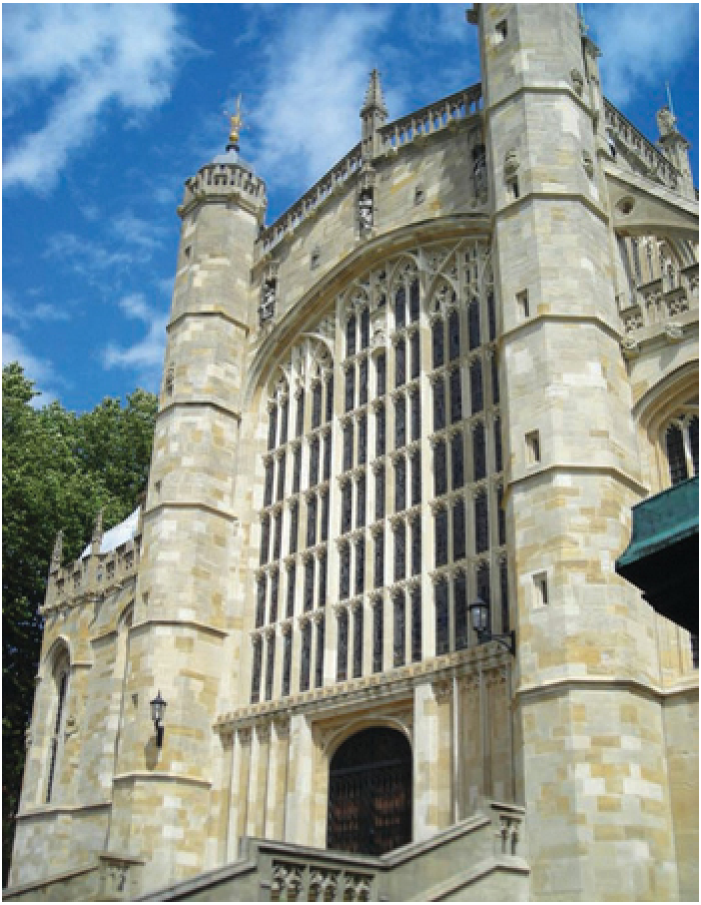


Fig. 6.13 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, Henry Janyns, master mason, St George's Chapel, west façade, 1475–1528. Photograph: author

In the 1490s, Henry VII began renovations to the Lady Chapel at St George's, which he intended as his final resting place and the shrine for his pious Lancastrian ancestor Henry VI, whose body had been moved there in 1484 from the Benedictine Abbey at Chertsey, in northwest Sussex. Yorkist kings, however, had chosen Windsor over Westminster Abbey. In 1497, Henry abandoned the Windsor project after the dean of Westminster Abbey persuaded him that Henry VI had actually wanted to be buried at Westminster Abbey. The vaults in the Lady Chapel remained unfinished, as Henry shifted operations to Westminster, which he decided to re-establish as the royal mausoleum for himself and for his ancestor.[27]

Lady Chapel, Westminster

Within a year of shifting his plans to Westminster Abbey, Henry VII had designs in hand for a new Lady Chapel, ostensibly to glorify his saintly ancestor (whose body remains at Windsor), although surely the greater motivating factor in building such a grand structure was Henry's desire to affirm his family's legitimate status (Fig. 6.14).[28] Ties to earlier royal dynasties appear in its location; ties to national identity emerge in the perennial Perpendicular architectural style. New will be the classicism of the tomb sculpture. In 1502, Henry razed the existing six-bay Lady Chapel, dedicated in 1220 by Henry III (Chapter 3).[29] In January 1503, he laid the cornerstone for a new chapel on the foundations and undercroft of the old. As with Becket's shrine at Canterbury, he raised it above the level of the abbey, eight steps in this case. This configuration may indicate that from the beginning he planned it as a royal mausoleum for more than himself and Henry VI, for the space below could accommodate many vaults. He widened the chapel by an aisle on each side, bringing it to just over 70 ft, and slightly extended the length at 103 ft (21.3 × 31.9 m). The austerity of the former, however, would pale in comparison to splendor of the new.

As at St George's and King's College, the vaults in the aisleless Lady Chapel, which span 34.7 ft (10.58 m) – slightly narrower than St George's Chapel – and rise to a height of 60.7 ft (21.4 × 18.8 m), employ the wide, elliptical four-centered arch throughout (Fig. 6.15). This type of arch and fan vaulting increase the span beyond what a pointed arch, such as used at Bath, could achieve. Although Bath is wider, its side aisles give extra support. At Westminster, however, the thickness of the panels in the vaults, the jointed masonry technique, groin vaulting techniques, and the smaller window-to-wall ratio, results in a more stable structure. Whereas some scholars have suggested Robert and William Vertue as designers of the vaults, recent technical comparisons of the vaults at Bath and Windsor with those at Westminster indicate that Robert Janyns (son of Henry and grandson of Robert), who also had worked at Windsor, served as master mason.[30]

At Westminster, the chapel gives the ultimate display of royal Perpendicular splendor. The English love of surface decoration overtakes the rationality of making architectural support apparent. The gilded decorative webbing has polychromed shields interspersed among the ribs. Conoids not only cling to the walls and fan across from the walls, but three-dimensional pendants hang from the ceiling. Planned as a chantry chapel, where monks would chant melodious intercessions in perpetuity for the Tudors, 117 figures of saints, including the king's favorites from Wales and England, line the upper walls to shepherd royal souls to heaven.[31] The mysterious light that enters through large stained glass windows to cast ever-changing patterns of color on the walls creates the aura of the other-worldly space through which the souls of the departed would ascend to heavenly glory.

The equally spectacular exterior – a geometric web of exquisite surface decoration and interplay of shapes – shimmers with octagonal tower-like buttresses topped with little gilded onion-shaped domes and weathervanes turned by gilded royal banners, undulating windows between the buttresses on the lower level, and above, flat, lacy windows. The arches that reach from the buttress to the body of the church have rosette and wheel designs. Henry VII did not live to see this marvel of Perpendicular Gothic exuberance. Instead, his progeny, Henry VIII, saw it to completion. The completed Lady Chapel signifies not only the glory of the Tudor dynasty and the epitome of the autumn of the Gothic style, but also as the last instance of great ecclesiastical architecture in England until Christopher Wren rebuilt London churches in the aftermath of the Great Fire in 1666.

Sculpture in early Tudor England

As in churches in continental European countries, fifteenth-century churches throughout England abounded with holy items intended to fire the visual imagination of the faithful and draw them closer to the saints and the Almighty. These include relics, rood screens, sculpture, and even special structures, such as an Easter Sepulchre in stone or wood, in which an image of Christ would be placed on Good Friday and removed for Easter Sunday. Painted alabaster heads of John the Baptist with the legendary sword wound from Herod on his forehead were familiar church fixtures.[32] Most customary and most typically English of all, however, was the carved and polychromed alabaster polyptych. Many portable personal images also existed, even in rather modest households. The scant remnants of English religious sculpture include fragmentary remains of Trees of Jesse at Abergavenny, Wales and in the Church of St Cuthbert in Wells, and a carved alabaster altarpiece of the Passion of Christ now in Italy. These images demonstrate that sculpted figures served a vital role in the spiritual life of the English people.

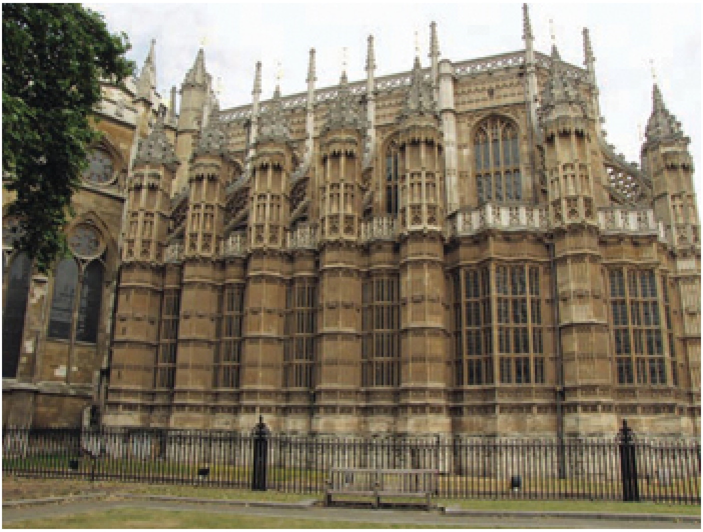


Fig. 6.14 Westminster Abbey, London, Robert Janyns the Younger, Master Mason(?), Lady Chapel of Henry VII, exterior, south side, begun 1503. Photograph: author

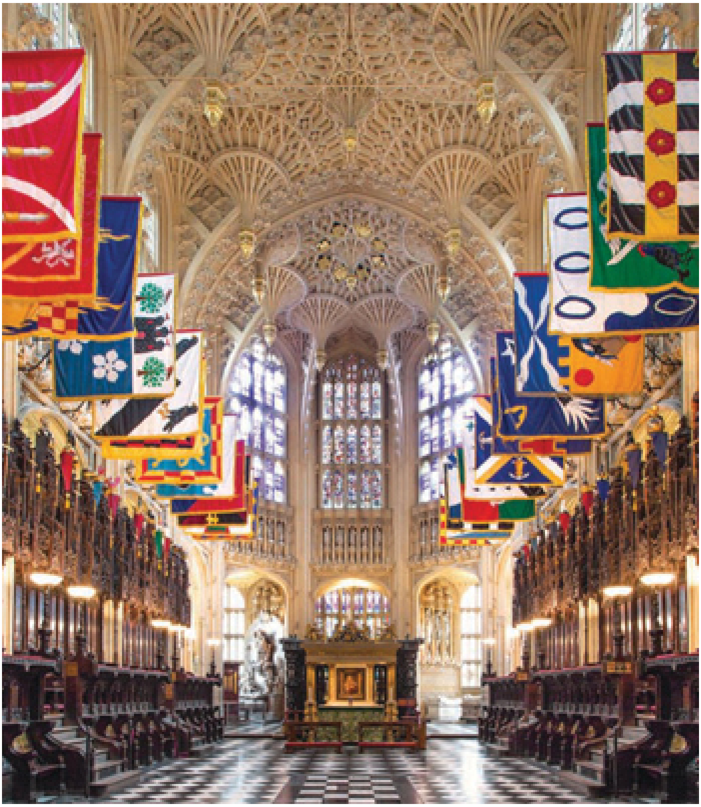


Fig. 6.15 Westminster Abbey, London, Robert Janyns the Younger, Master Mason (?), Lady Chapel of Henry VII, view to the east with ceiling vaulting, Begun 1503. Photograph: Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey

At the same time, portraiture gained popularity in England, inspired by Italian sources, often by way of what the English courtiers saw at the French and Burgundian courts. Some of the finest remaining sculpture from the early Tudor period occurred in portrait busts and tomb figures. Henry VII would commission works of each type.

Religious sculpture

Abergavenny, Wales: St Mary's Priory Church

Depictions of Tree of Jesse, which foretold the lineage of Jesus Christ as recorded in Isaiah 11:1, appeared more frequently in manuscript illuminations and stained glass windows than in sculpture. However, a rare fifteenth-century sculptural remnant, the only known wooden Jesse figure in Britain, survives in St Mary's Priory Church in Abergavenny, Wales. The original sculpture displayed, in tree-like fashion, an ascending order of Davidic kings and other members of his lineage, ending with Mary and the Christ Child and perhaps Christ in Glory at the summit. The surviving life-size wooden image of Jesse, father of David, carved from the trunk of a single oak tree and once brightly painted, formerly lay at the base of a sculpted Jesse Tree. Jesse lies on his side in deep sleep with his crowned head supported by a small figure, presumably an angel. The branch of the family tree that originally rose from Jesse's loins no longer exists, but scholars estimate that was about 25–30 ft high (7.6–9 m).[33] Such images served to link the Old Testament prophets to New Testament fulfillment.

Wells: Church of St Cuthbert

The Church of St Cuthbert, a large Gothic structure with Saxon origins, has two works of religious sculpture surviving from this period. St Catherine's Chapel, which fills the north transept, holds the remains of its thirteenth-century stone reredos, or screen behind the altar, on the east wall. The Lady Chapel, which fills the south transept, displays another stone reredos dating from 1470, also based on the theme of the Tree of Jesse. The reclining figure of Jesse at the base remains, as do heads, which have traces of paint and gilding. The contract for this sculpture still exists, as does the record of its destruction under Edward VI. Parishioners who valued images sometimes succeeded in hiding them from the henchmen of the Dissolution. This one reemerged in a renovation in 1848.[34] In the remnants of this sculpture and that at Abergavenny, the style of the carving, the delicate painting, the detail in the hair, and the stiff, bulky drapery, align closely to northern European carving styles.

Passion Polyptych from Nottingham

Until the post-Reformational purge of religious images, alabaster altarpieces, or “tables,” as they called them, existed in abundance in English churches and were exported to the continent. Although many have been dismembered, some complete alabaster altarpieces still grace the altars of French and Flemish churches; two of the finest appear in Italian museums. Artisans in Nottingham, with quarries nearby at Chellaston and Tutbury, were particularly proficient and prolific with a polyptych-type that appears to have been almost exclusively English. These delicately carved, polychromed polyptychs share many common characteristics in function, size, and style. Although some smaller portable ones were produced, most were designed to stand directly on the altar. These altarpieces generally measured about seven feet long. The center panel might stand slightly higher, but not high enough to interfere with the low east window that frequently appeared in English churches.

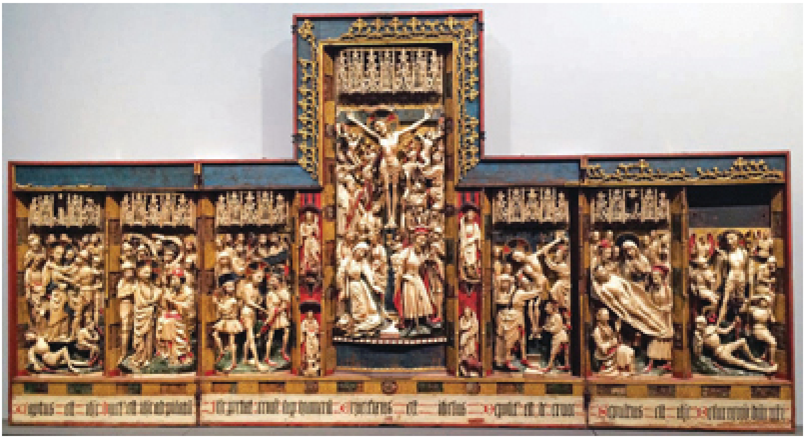


Fig. 6.16 Capodimonte Polyptych with Scenes from the Passion, made in Nottingham. c. 1500, *alabaster, wood, and polychrome, Capodimonte Museum, Naples, Italy. Photograph: author*

The largest and one of the most intricate surviving English alabaster polyptychs is at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (Fig. 6.16). It depicts the Passion of Christ, rendered in a decidedly Gothic style. Although provenance is uncertain, it fits a polyptych-type typical of those produced at Nottingham between 1450 and 1500. It stretches over 10 ft long (3.08 m) and nearly 3.5 ft high (1.07 × 0.44 m) at the center, which is raised. Each side panel measures 22 × 13 in (57 × 33 cm).[35] The upper part of the wooden frame, painted green, retains some of its original gilded overlay, which is in a vine pattern that resembles contemporary manuscript illumination border decoration.

The lower part of the frame contains descriptive inscriptions in black and red lettering on a light colored ground. Each of the seven sections has a gilded Gothic-style canopy, which recalls contemporary English tomb sculpture. From left to right the panels depict The Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, Christ Carrying the Cross, The Crucifixion, The Deposition, and The Entombment. Each panel teems with overlapping figures that show movement, strong gestures – often with elongated fingers – and deep pathos. Much of the original polychrome remains, with a palette consisting primarily of green, red, gold, and touches of blue. The green cloth of honor behind and beneath the feet of the figures in each panel is dotted with tiny white flowers. The same delicate floral pattern repeats, though in raised plaster, in the gilded borders that both run below and separate the various scenes. The Crucifixion, which is flanked by the Four Evangelists standing with their winged animal symbols at their feet, is especially noteworthy. The crucified Christ, slightly larger than the other figures, dominates the composition. Two small angels holding golden chalices hover beneath Christ's arms to collect his blood, clearly showing the dogma of Transubstantiation. The thieves are visible in the upper background, while to the right of Christ, St Longinus pierces his side with a long red spear. At the foot of the cross, the Virgin Mary swoons, supported by St John and two of the Marys. Mary Magdalene, slightly behind, prays at the foot of the cross. To the left, Nicodemus reaches toward the body of Christ, while Joseph of Aramathea, wearing a red hat, stands below. These two men also appear in the Deposition and Entombment scenes. The presence of this altarpiece in Italy, and similar ones in France and other continental locations, demonstrates the value the continental Europeans placed on these typically English works. For the late fifteenth century, the style would appear slightly anachronistic in Italy, but typical of the late medieval style that lingered for so long in England.

Painting in early Tudor England: manuscripts and the royal library

English artistic patronage of illuminated manuscripts, printed books, and paintings reflected the conservative taste of Northern European courts. English royalty remained in contact with European courts through sporadic periods of exile in Burgundy and France. Affluent patrons continued to commission manuscripts written and illuminated by hand, although less expensive printed books, often with hand colored illuminations, were readily available. Henry VII followed the collecting tradition of his predecessors, Edward IV and Richard III, whose libraries he inherited. Like theirs, Henry's books were mostly religious in nature and Netherlandish in origin, particularly Bruges and Ghent. Although traditionally historians credit Edward IV as the founder of the Royal Library, Henry created the office of Royal Librarian to manage his growing library and added the first royal library to his palace at Richmond. Quentin Poulet, a scribe from Lille and a member of the book confraternity in Bruges, served as the librarian and the arbiter of taste for books for the English king and his court.

Unlike Edward IV, who had lived in Bruges, Henry, who received much of his education in Brittany under the auspices of his uncle Japer, appears to have preferred French manuscripts, yet the royal manuscripts still came from the Southern Netherlands. Frederich Winkler, also called the Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500, illustrated the best of them. One of Winkler's secular books, done in collaboration with another master called Master of the Tower of London, gives a rare example of illustrated love poetry in a compilation of love poems then attributed to Héloise and of *Poèmes* by Charles of Valois, Duke of Orleans, composed while in exile in England following Henry V's 1415 victory at Agincourt. One illustration depicts Héloise, in her nun's garb, seated beneath a cloth of honor instructing her pupils (f. 137). In the same book, the illustration of Paris under the Protection of the Virgin and Christ (f. 89) shows the Virgin, standing and clothed in the richest of blue gowns, and a group of fifteenth-century males kneeling before the crucified Christ. A convincingly rendered topographic view of the walled city of Paris fills the immediate background, with the royal coat-of-arms, the dove of the Holy Spirit, and a banner in the sky over the city. The silhouettes of the cathedral of Notre Dame and several other churches stand out against the soft blue haze in the background. The cathedral appears as it would have looked before 1245, when Jean de Chelles and Pierre de Montreuil remodeled the transepts with large windows and added flying buttresses in the flamboyant Rayonnant style. The rich borders, filled with flowers, animals, and heraldry, also include the Tudor badge of a crowned gilded portcullis.[36]

Henry VII's education included instruction in the classics and courtly decorum. Likewise, André of Toulouse, poet-chronicler to the Tudor court, would tutor Prince Arthur. Many of the classical texts in the royal library were in French translation. John Skelton's translation of "Dialogues of the Imagination" and royal librarian Quentin Poulet's transcription of "Imaginacion de la vraie noblesse" formed a part of the curriculum. Poulet's book was illustrated by "Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500" with charming scenes of everyday life that included both nobles in rich costume and common people in convincingly rendered atmospheric landscapes.[37] On the eve of the printing press, sumptuous books continued to be a vital part of the splendor of courtly life.

Panel painting in early Tudor England

Although the members of the English court, most notably Elizabeth of York, emulated Burgundian patronage, little survives of English panel paintings from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. No known painting from the royal collection during Henry VII's reign depicts either a classical or biblical narrative. As with the rest of Europe, paintings of religious images existed in English homes, churches, and cathedrals. A few altarpieces survive from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, hardly representative of the many that once adorned sacred spaces. Scholars can reconstruct a fervent religious climate in England from documentary evidence of the many religious images that once existed.

Surviving paintings show a growing popularity of secular subjects, partly because of increased wealth and spending on art among members of the middle class. The early Tudor paintings tend to be planar, or two dimensional, rhetorical, and honorific, often with the purpose of promoting the monarchy. Even paintings that invoke associations with saints often have a secular purpose, such as the first and only Italian Renaissance painting to enter the royal collection. Raphael's painting of St George and the Dragon, as far as it is known, was not a commission but a gift. Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, sent a painting of St George and the Dragon by Raphael, also of Urbino, to the king. The occasion was his election to the Order of the Garter in 1504, and St George, it will be remembered, was the patron saint of this prestigious chivalric order. Two years later, Baldassare Castiglione, who acted as the Duke's proxy for the installation, delivered the work, along with horses and other gifts. The painting does not survive today, but two versions of the subject by Raphael do survive, both small, both dated 1504 (the National Gallery of Art, Washington, Fig. 6.17, and the Louvre, Paris). These works give some idea of the appearance (but not necessarily the size) of the work Castiglione delivered to the king. Both paintings show the armored saint attacking the dragon with a sword from the back of a dynamic rearing white horse while a maiden in the background awaits safety. The violent action fills the foreground, while a peaceful verdant landscape, rendered in perfect linear and atmospheric perspective, spreads across the mid-ground and background. The painting, while sufficiently appreciated to receive mention in documents, does not set off a flurry of Italian painting commissions or the ordering of humanistic texts.

English portraits

The portrait, a popular artistic genre among the Romans, faded after the fall of Rome and remained largely dormant until the early fifteenth century. Although one of the first independent portraits in late medieval Europe, that of the boy king Richard II in Westminster Abbey (*c.* 1398), was English, the more widespread popularity of portraits developed around 1425 in Flanders and by mid-century in Italy. A significant number of portraits were made in England during the reign of Henry VII, mainly of royal subjects.

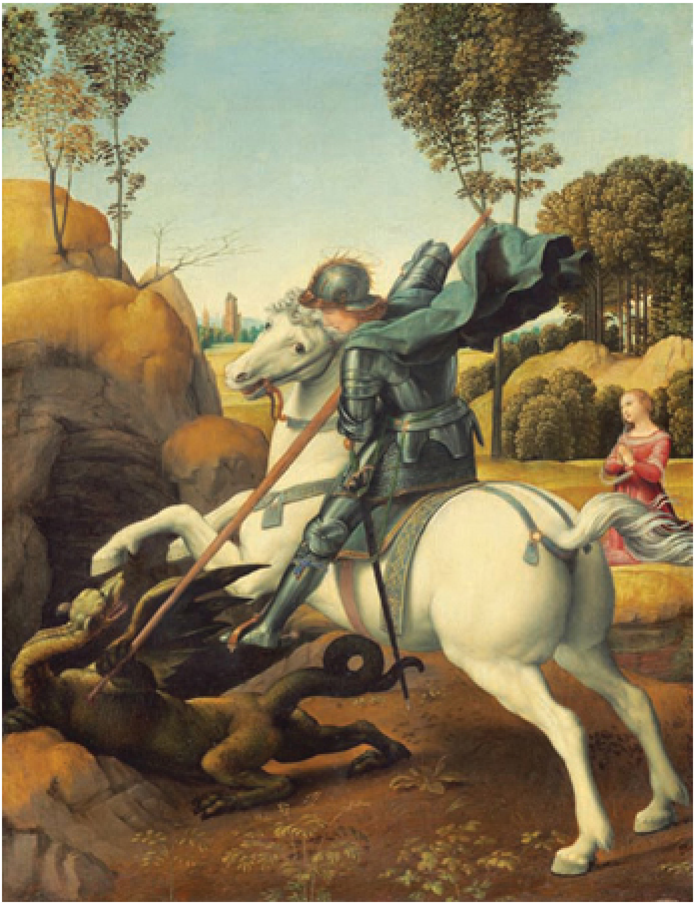


Fig. 6.17 Raphael, St George and the Dragon, c. *1506, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Photograph: courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington*

In England, the first portraits appeared as emblematic images to record rank rather than copious life-like resemblance, as in the case of the iconic image of Richard II. Members of the Tudor royal house and their courtiers were preoccupied with genealogy and family position, which often was recently gained. They recognized the value of portraits for displaying the family genealogy, both true and imagined, in order to underpin their social position and promote their dynasty. Collections of portraits in the long galleries of royal and noble houses gave a show of magnificence in representing powerful people not only in the costumes and styles of the artists, but also in whose image was included. In addition to family members, some highly favored collectors were able to receive royal permission to display portraits of kings. Such paintings, copied and recopied, affirmed the social position of the owner. Today, information that can be gleaned from a portrait, even an anonymous one, includes costume, wealth, power, rites of passage, and political agenda. Most of all, however, a portrait displays the persona the subject wished to project to society and how they wished to be remembered.

Most portraits in England, and throughout Europe for that matter, were painted, although sculptural busts and effigies survive. Before Raphael and Titian came to the forefront of Italian painted portraiture in the sixteenth century, paintings by Flemish artists were the most lifelike and engaging portraits in Europe. Even Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, commissioned a Flemish painter, Joos van Gent (Justus of Ghent), to portray him with his young son and heir, Guidobaldo.

Throughout northern Europe and England, materials and workshop practices appear to have been fairly uniform, which facilitated the migration of artists into England, where a familial foreign community and a ready market already existed. Most English portraits are anonymous workshop pieces in the style of Northern European artists. In fact, in 1488, London guilds asked for protection against foreign artists – which could include not only artists from the continent but also Englishmen living outside London. Based on style analysis and scientific conservation of English portraits, collaboration in the workshops appears to have been common practice, with painters specializing in faces, costume, landscape, and heraldry.[38] Individual artistic identity was far less important to the English than to artists and clients on the continent, especially the Italians. The rather formulaic, almost iconic style of English portraits, typically bust length, showed the figure in a shallow nondescript space against a solid background, usually dark. Line rather than light and shadow formed the contours, which often flattened the images. Sometimes the corners contained family crests, which would promote the family and advertise rank. Later, especially when a particular individual commissioned several portraits throughout life or when families exchanged portraits during marriage negotiations in lieu of the meeting in advance, physical likeness received more attention. However, whether by foreign or native born English artists, portraits of the English reflected English reserve and understated refinement.

Henry VII and family before St George and the Dragon

The single surviving group portrait of the family of Henry VII combines elements of both a dynastic statement and a royal altarpiece, yet the image of the Virgin and Child is conspicuously absent (Fig. 6.18). In the foreground, in the manner of donors in an altarpiece, the king and queen, each with an open book, face each other as they kneel on brocade covered prie-dieux. Henry and his three sons occupy the left; Elizabeth and their four daughters appear on the right.[39] The children also kneel, with hands clasped in prayer. Matching brocade canopies emblazoned with emblems of the Tudor rose cover each group. A small angel hovers above each canopy, while a larger angel in the center holds open the canopies to reveal the two groups. In the Netherlandish fashion, the figures are set against a landscape with distant castles tucked among rolling hills. Just behind the canopies, England's patron saint, St George, the gallant armor-clad knight on horseback, fights an airborne dragon on the left. His flag sails past the dragon's head, as he draws back his sword to strike. Broken weapons litter the near background in front of the maiden and her lamb. St George's oversized and overbearing presence ties the royal family to the Order of the Garter. The rather crudely and inaccurately rendered painting has neither a specific setting nor any reliable physical likenesses. Moreover, the image exhibits neither the current detailed naturalism flourishing in the Netherlands nor the sumptuousness of the earlier Westminster Retable and the Wilton Diptych, which also served dual dynastic and religious purposes. Clearly, artistic skill held less importance to the patron, presumably the king, than the statement of dynastic power. Henry VIII's obsession with his royal line probably explains its survival.

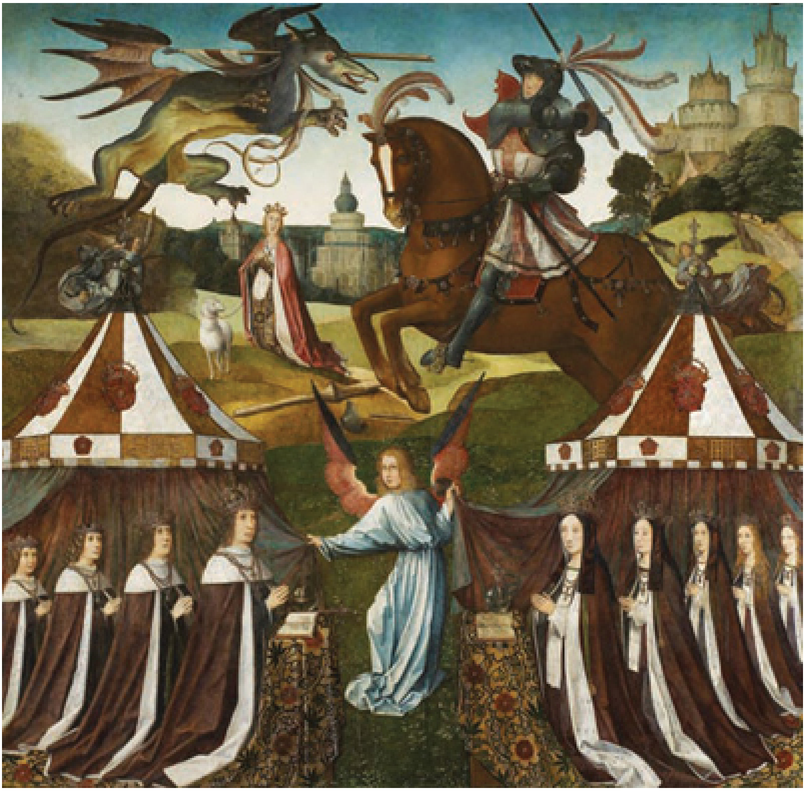


Fig. 6.18 Anonymous: Henry VII and Family before St George and the Dragon. *Oil on panel, Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015*

Royal portrait collections

Several single-figure easel portraits from the 1490s by anonymous artists survive, some of good quality, others not. For the most part, royal portraits offered simple, straight-forward, life-like renderings in half-length, set against a solid colored background. Contemporary portraits and later copies of Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth of York, survive in several versions. Typically shown under life size, three-quarter view, half-length, and holding a rose, they conform to the Netherlandish convention. Elizabeth, who kneels at a brocade covered prie-dieu, wears a red dress and a black veil trimmed in gold. The inscription flanking her head verifies her as both Elizabeth of York and the wife of Henry VII. With eyes lifted heavenward, she holds a white rose of York, verifying the union of the houses of Lancaster and York. Another portrait pair long held in the royal collection depicts the dour portraits of the Spanish monarchs dressed in dark clothing and placed against a dark background. The paintings probably arrived in 1490 with the ambassadors who negotiated the marriage between their daughter Katherine and Prince Arthur. Because these works served a vital role in marriage negotiations, they were of a better quality and less iconic style.

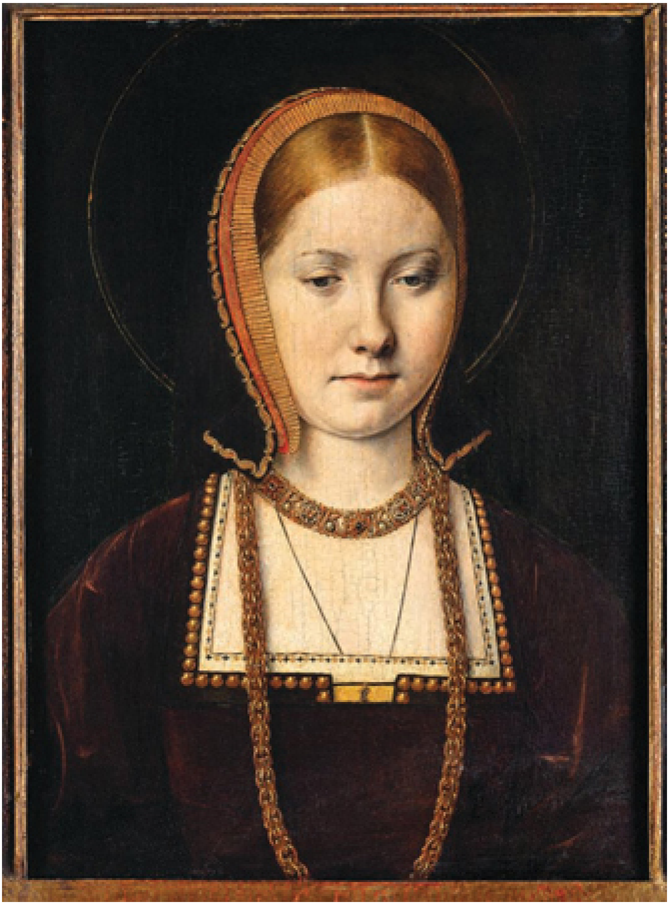


Fig. 6.19 Michael Sittow: Katherine of Aragon, *oak panel, 29 × 20.5 cm,* c. *1504–1505, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemaeldegalerie, Vienna, Austria. Photograph: © Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

Michael Sittow

The most gifted portrait painter to work in England during the reign of Henry VII was Michael Sittow (*c.* 1469–1525). He came to England through contacts with continental courts, especially those of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and the Habsburg prince Philip the Fair of Burgundy and later Castile and his wife, Juana la Loca, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Although a native of Reval, Estonia, Sittow's portrait style conforms to the established Netherlandish manner of bust portraiture with a three-quarter view of the face. He uses the closed space and dark background popular with

English patrons, although his works convey an arrestingly life-like quality, effectively capturing the seemingly calm, reserved character of the English. In addition to portraits, Sittow painted religious narratives, although it is unknown if any ever came to England. In spite of the dearth caused by religious reformers, many English families did own religious images.

Michael Sittow: Katherine of Aragon c. *1504–1505*
Perhaps the most spellbindingly beautiful and sensitive portrait to survive from the early Tudor court depicts the demure Katherine of Aragon as the teenage widow of Prince Arthur (Fig. 6.19). The artist portrays Katherine with a girlish natural prettiness and innocence. Conforming to expected gender roles, she appears modest and retiring. Rather than employ the usual three-quarter view, Sittow shows her full-face, but she modestly averts the viewer's gaze by casting her eyes downward. Her eyebrows and natural hairline, reddish in color and parted in the center, have not yet been altered, as they often were in mature women in the sixteenth century. She wears modest clothing, including a close-fitting black coif trimmed with gold and red around the face and a veil in back. Her dark and simple dress has a delicately embroidered white linen collar inset into the square neckline. In the lower center is an embroidered C for "Catalina," her Spanish name. The neckline of her dress is outlined with small gold cockle shells, the identifying symbol of the apostle St James, patron saint of Spain. She wears a long chain necklace of gold openwork and a short gold choker with a design of red and white jeweled Tudor roses that alternate with "K" for "Katherine," her name in English. In spite of her youth, her widowhood, and her demure demeanor, the abundance of gold reveals her royal status.

Henry VII

Another of the fine early easel portraits in England is an exquisitely executed, highly individualized painting of Henry VII, once attributed to Michael Sittow (Fig. 6.20). As is typical of many Netherlandish portraits, the small panel, like that depicting his father, is squared at the bottom and rounded at the top. The inscription states that the portrait was painted on 29 October 1505 by order of Herman Rinck, who was an agent for Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor. Henry, now widowed, was under consideration as husband for Margaret of Savoy, the emperor's daughter.[40] The king appears close to the picture plane against a vivid blue background in a three-quarter view with his head turned to his left. With arresting vitality, his small eyes focus on the viewer. His clasps a rose in his right fingers, while his left hand rests on a fictive ledge. He wears a rich, ermine-lined brocade coat with the insignia of the Golden Fleece hanging from a jeweled chain around his shoulders, which announces his royal status. In spite of the artist's ability to capture life in his portraits, the marriage did not take place. Little is known of the two portraits of Margaret that Henry received, except that Katherine of Aragon remarked that Michael Sittow would have made better and truer likenesses.[41]

Prince Arthur

Two portraits of Prince Arthur have been verified, both of which conform to contemporary Flemish conventions. The painting at Hever Castle of *c.* 1501, which appears to be contemporary and portrays him younger, may well have been part of marriage negotiations with the Spanish court for the hand of his wife, Katherine of Aragon, to whom he was betrothed in 1497 and married in 1501. Arthur appears in half-length before a rich, dark green damask cloth. Shown facing right in a three-quarter view, he is the picture of boyish innocence. With his head erect and alert, he appears serious and dutiful. His clothes are befitting of royalty of this period: a gold-trimmed red jacket beneath a robe of cloth of gold brocade trimmed with a fur collar, all painstakingly realistic. He wears a large gem-studded gold pendant around his neck and a similar smaller one, albeit dripping with pearls, on his soft, beret-style cap. His left hand rests on a ledge and he holds in his right hand a while gilliflower, a relative of a carnation, which symbolized purity, marriage, and perhaps royalty. The meticulous detail in this painting and the preoccupation with sumptuous dress recalls Richard II in the considerably smaller Wilton Diptych of *c.* 1399. The jewel-tones and brilliant handling of the paint recall the similar portrait of his father, Henry VII, painted about five years later, possibly by the same artist and for the same purpose. The other surviving portrait, which may be posthumous, is in the Royal Collection at St James Palace, London (*c.* 1502?). The prince wears a red fur-trimmed coat and a red hat with turned up brim trimmed with a gold medallion. In many ways, this fine portrait of Arthur bridges the English medieval tradition with current practices in Flanders. It also gives a window into the original appearance of portraits of fifteenth-century kings, which otherwise survive only in later iconic copies.[42]

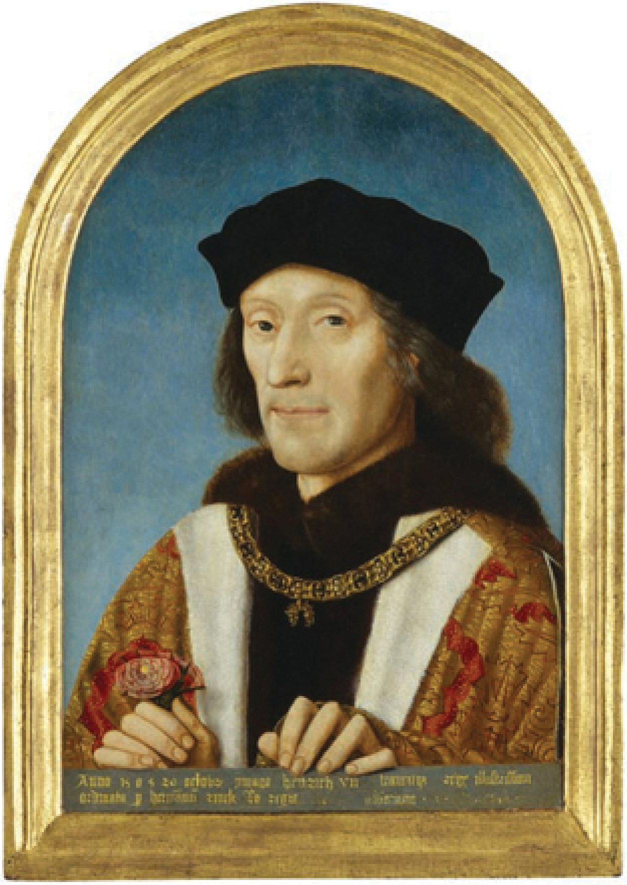


Fig. 6.20 Unknown Netherlandish artist: Henry VII of England, *oil on panel, 1505, National Portrait Gallery, London. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

Portrait sculpture

In addition to patronizing sculpture for decorative and religious purposes, Henry VII brought in Italian artists to England who introduced the terracotta portrait bust. This art form, which had its basis in antique models, had gained popularity in Renaissance Florence. Several exist of members of the Medici family. Giorgio Vasari, Italian artist, architect, and author of the *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects,* made the earliest reference to Italian work of sculpture for the English king, saying that a sketch-model for a portrait bust of Henry VII was found in the studio of Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Maiano, who died in 1497.[43] If indeed such a commission existed, it was never documented. Benedetto da Maiano's son, Giovanni (1486–1542), however, did work in England, as did Guido Mazzoni, and most importantly, Pietro

Torrigiano.

Bust of a child

One of the first surviving Italian portrait busts in England is a polychromed terracotta Bust of a Child (*c.* 1498; Fig. 6.21), which scholars attribute to Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni (1445–1518). The sitter is quite possibly the little Tudor Prince Henry at about 3 or 4 years old.[44] The highly animated toddler turns to his right and looks downward. His dark and formal clothing, with the tip of a white shirt collar visible at his neck, indicates royalty. His tightly fitting woven and partially gilded cap tucks behind his ears and covers all of his hair. He laughs, eyes squinting and mouth open, revealing a full set of baby teeth. Rarely do Renaissance portraits show such vivacity or a full-tooth grin, as the teeth, especially those of adults, were often missing or disfigured. Similar busts of juveniles appeared in Florence from the mid-fifteenth century, most evident in the glazed terracotta and carved marble works of Luca della Robbia and Desiderio da Settignano, but this child’s joie de vivre stands in marked contrast to the reserved Italian examples.

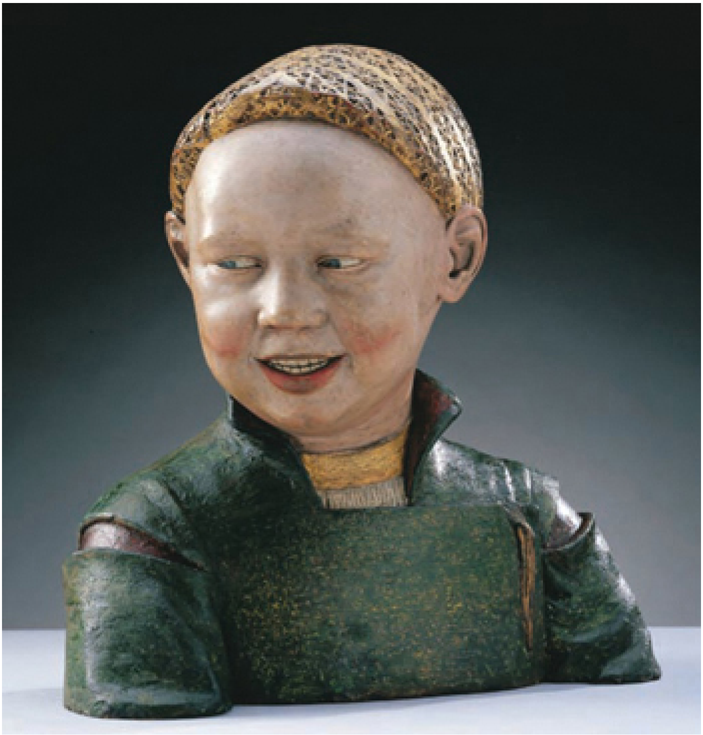


Fig. 6.21 Guido Mazzoni: Bust of a Laughing Child, *possibly Henry VIII when a young boy, painted and gilded terracotta,* c. *1498, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015*

Pietro Torrigiano

The most important Italian artist to work in Britain in the early sixteenth century was Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528). In the early 1490s, Torrigiano studied sculpture at the Florentine academy established by Lorenzo de'Medici. He and fellow student Michelangelo studied under Donatello's pupil, Bertoldo di Giovanni, where both achieved a high level of competence. Later writers Benvenuto Cellini and Giorgio Vasari vilified Torrigiano for allegedly breaking Michelangelo's nose in a schoolboy tussle, virtually eradicating him from the canon of fine Italian artists.[45] Even so, he was a sculptor of phenomenal skill and genius, as both critics concede.

Torrigiano worked in a variety of media, including bronze and terracotta, which he used in his English commissions and adapted to English taste; in fact, his sculptures in bronze and terracotta probably provide the finest surviving Italian examples from the period and possibly suggest the proficiency of his fellow student Michelangelo, none of whose works in terracotta and bronze survive. Whether he reached England before Henry VII died is uncertain; some scholars speculate that he briefly visited there around 1507. He worked in Avignon in 1504 and in the Netherlands in 1510. He definitely arrived in England by 1511, when he signed the contract for the tomb of Margaret Beaufort and left for Spain 1522/25.[46]

Pietro Torrigiano: portrait bust Henry VII

Establishing the date of Pietro Torrigiano's first appearance in England revolves around the life-size painted terracotta portrait bust and his full length wooden effigy of Henry VII. Scholars debate the year of execution of Torrigiano's bust of Henry VII (Fig. 6.22), dating it anywhere from 1507 to 1522. Like the bust of the child, this image portrays firm, life-like flesh, although that of an older man. Its vibrant and immediate sense of life suggests that he made it from life, giving credence to a brief but undocumented visit to London in 1507. Otherwise, he must have modified the death mask, which so clearly guided the funeral effigy.

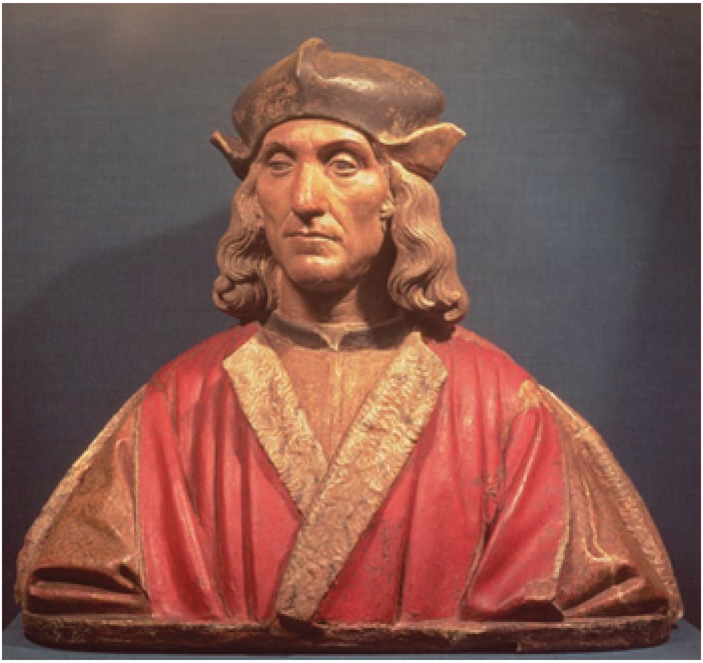


Fig. 6.22 Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528): Portrait Bust of Henry VII, *painted terracotta, 1507–1511? Possibly as late as 1522, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

Torrigiano portrays the middle-aged king with his head turned slightly to his right and his eyes cast slightly downward, as if caught in thoughtful contemplation, both characteristic of Torrigiano's works. The high cheek-bones, deep-set eyes, and thin lips concur with other of Henry's portraits, most notably the painted panel of *c.* 1505 and his funeral effigy. His slightly open, ermine-lined red coat reveals a brocade brown doublet with a standing black collar and a white shirt collar behind. His black cap partially covers his shoulder-length grey-brown hair. Torrigiano traded the air of pretentiousness, often seen in contemporary Italian examples, such as Verrocchio's bust of Giuliano de'Medici (now at the National Gallery of Art in Washington) for English sincerity and reserve, attributes that characterize much of English portraiture.

Pietro Torrigiano: funeral effigy of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York

Upon King Henry VII's death in April 1509, Torrigiano fashioned polychrome plaster and wood death masks and funeral effigies of Henry and his queen. Effigies in late medieval and renaissance Europe came in two forms: the recumbent figure on a tomb, which could be of stone, bronze, or even wood, and the more perishable full-length, life-size, doll-like figure with a padded body that would have been dressed in finery with a painted terracotta or plaster head. Especially for royalty and nobility, an effigy would have been laid upon the pall, or the cloth over the burial casket, during the funeral procession.

Whereas the head that fit onto Elizabeth's wooden effigy is quite generalized, probably made strictly from her death mask, the head on Henry's effigy matches his portrait bust for size. The strictly frontal effigy face depicts Henry as older as and more drawn than the portrait bust does, with the hollow cheeks of a corpse. Torrrigiano modeled this face posthumously from a death mask, which is imbedded in the face of the effigy. The terracotta heads have no hair, but the dressed effigy would have had a fabric headpiece and a wig. Henry's wig had strands of red and grey hair.[47] Torrigiano continued to work in England during the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, making sculpture for English high churchmen, nobility, and royalty.

Royal tombs

For royalty especially, an honorable tomb kept the memory of one's power and position in earthly life alive for their heirs to build upon and assured entrance into eternal glory by announcing one's piety to heavenly powers. Accessibility mattered: whereas portrait galleries and other magnificent displays in royal and noble residences served a limited, albeit important, audience, tombs often stood in more public chapels. For his tomb monument, Henry VII sought the finest sculptors available – Italians, who brought fine technical skills and classicizing artistic style. In 1506, Guido Mazzoni provided a design for a double tomb for Henry and Elizabeth (d. 1503), which he proposed would surpass the tomb he made for Charles VIII (d. 1498) at the abbey church of S. Denis. Similar in design, it consisted of a free-standing, two-tier monument of touchstone and marble with nineteen figures, all painted and gilded. He proposed three life-size figures of the royal couple: two reclining effigies below and the king in full armor kneeling above. To depict the king twice was unprecedented in England.[48] Among papal tombs, only Antonio Pollaiuolo's monument of Innocent VIII of the 1490s at St Peter's showed the deceased twice: recumbent and giving a blessing. Nothing came of the grand Mazzoni monument before Henry died. Apparently his son objected to the design. In 1512, Henry VIII and his advisor, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, found the talent they sought in Pietro Torrigiano, whom they hired in 1511 for the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother. The royal tombs commissioned by Henry VIII appear in the next chapter.

For Henry VII, however, a strong, enduring, and magnificent dynastic statement fulfilled his monarchial ambitions for himself and his heirs. The sense of importance the king felt for his tomb survives in his will: nearly a quarter of the document outlines specific details. He also requested a speedy completion to the chapel and its stained glass windows. For the tomb, he specified the grate, images, arms and badges (which show the family lineage), and specified that no expense be spared.[49] Henry VII's undertaking represents the largest royal funerary expense since Edward I entombed his wife and his father, and planned for his own tomb. The tomb and mortuary chapel of Henry VII set the benchmark for high funerary art for many generations to come.

Textiles: tapestries as a display of magnificence

As Henry ascended the throne in 1485, magnificence was a highly prized means of proving royal power. Henry VII's tapestries played a large part in his display of magnificence, and more information survives concerning them than any other art he owned. The royal collection already held some tapestries when he ascended the throne, and it appears that most remained with the crown.[50] Henry, however, collected a considerable number of tapestries himself, all with some honorific significance, some narrative, some with only badges and coats-of-arms. A visitor to the wedding of Prince Arthur and Princess Katherine of Aragon at Richmond recorded that walls were covered with much costly cloth of Arras.[51] Although few have survived, inventories of the royal tapestries help establish their appearance, which often can be tied to similar ones in other collections, as often weavers reused cartoons and repeated designs. Some tapestries were commissioned, often based on large drawings, or cartoons, by an artist. Others were purchased ready-made from a dealer or from another collector. Early in his reign, his principal supplier was the firm of Pasquier Grenier, based in Tournai, who served various European courts from England to Italy. After 1498, Henry began to order from Pieter d'Enghein van Aelst in Brussels, whom he came to know through the Burgundian court. The death of Pasquier Grenier in 1493 probably affected the change, but also the French invasion of 1477 all but ended tapestry production in Tournai and Arras. As with the subjects of his predecessors, those that Henry chose offered dynastic symbolism. Millefleurs tapestries appeared in English royal and noble collections. Narrative subjects inventoried in the royal collection, Henry's and those inherited, included a set for Richmond Palace depicting Esther and the King Ahasuerus.

Millefleurs Tapestry

Millefleurs tapestries are distinguished by an overall pattern of plants and flowers fairly evenly scattered across a green background to give the impression of a flowery meadow viewed from above – hence the modern name, which translates a thousand flowers. In the fifteenth century, the they were known by the French title, *verdures*, a reference to the lush green of flourishing vegetation. The plants appear whole and in bloom. Some specific species can be identified, with varying degrees of accuracy. Sometimes figures or even a narrative scene, and/or heraldry, are superimposed on these fields. Woven in France and the southern Netherlands from the late fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries, they were prized by English royalty and nobility. Such works made a grand display of the rank, achievements, and magnificence of the owners.

Esther and Ahasuerus

At a meeting of Parliament in 1485, Chancellor Alcock compared the reign of the new Tudor king to Joshua leading the Hebrew people out of misery and restoring the golden age of Ovid. Such metaphors were not lost on the Tudor king. In 1500 at the meeting in Calais with Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, Henry VII chose as the backdrop of the series depicting the story of Ahasuerus, or Xerses, king of Persia, and his wife Esther – an Old Testament story of a foiled plot resulting in the liberation of the Jewish people by the queen. This series appears to have been woven from the same cartoons as a set that survives in Saragossa. Several episodes occur in each panel of the tapestries, with individual scenes separated by architectural features. A legend appears at the top and a millefleur border at the bottom. As with the contemporary courtly style of International Gothic painting in the north of Europe, the figures, shown small in the picture space, wear elegant brocades and other courtly apparel trimmed with gold-covered threads and the action tilts slightly forward. The prominent colors of red, green, and blue stand out against a neutral background. The scene of the feast during which Esther reveals her Jewish identity and the plot to destroy the Jews in Persia to Ahasuerus shows the king seated on a throne beside a rich banquet with a display of gold plate, surely in imitation of contemporary courtly feasts. This single image from a set represents only one of many sets that existed in the royal collection. Other groups included subjects such as the Trojan War and the Story of Joshua, which also would have had allegorical-political meaning for the Tudor king.

Textiles: *opus anglicanum* as a display of

magnificence

English women excelled at embroidering textiles. Elizabeth of York, for example, employed a staff of embroiderers, although none of the textiles she owned survive. A particularly rich example of such textiles used for clothing, as well as an example of collaborative manufacture, is a cope from Westminster, made of cloth of gold and red uncut velvet by Antonio Corsi of Florence. The field contains three large images of the crowned Beaufort portcullis set against a vine of Tudor roses. The Lancastrian collar has an interlocking S-shaped design in the border around the hem. The hood contains an Annunciation. The front orphrey, or embroidered border on an ecclesiastical vestment, shows a series of saints. English women would have made such orphreys and incorporated them into the Italian design. Henry VII bequeathed this and other vestments to Westminster Abbey. Henry VIII borrowed these for his meeting with Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold.[52] Many textiles disappeared because of general wear and tear, civil war, and the destruction during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. However, until the Dissolution brought the industry to a close, English needlework was the most prized in Europe.

Conclusion

Henry VII may have come to the throne with less training than most, but he governed well and left the monarchy and the country strong. In fact, under the Tudors, England reached a height of prosperity. Following the example of his great-great grandfather, Edward III and his predecessor, Edward IV, Henry embraced the Burgundian ideals of chivalry and magnificent display as a means of asserting authority. Royal patronage of art and architecture revived under the Tudors, manipulated to promote the magnificence of the monarchy. On 21 April 1509, the founder of the Tudor dynasty, King Henry VII, died at age 52, leaving behind many dreams unrealized. Legend tells us that the cause of death was a broken heart, having lost his heir, Arthur, in 1502 to an epidemic and a year later his wife, Elizabeth of York, to complications of childbirth. His second son, Prince Henry, age 17, assumed the role of heir, dynasty-builder, powerful monarch, and prolific patron of the arts. The reign of the successor, at once malevolent and magnificent, would set England upon a course that his father could never have imagined.

Notes

[1] David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance: 1485–1649* (Berkeley, CA, 1997), 6–8 and *ad passim*; Susan James, *The Feminine*

Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons, and Painters (Burlington, VT, 2009), 1–10; David Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens, GA, 1990), 6–11; Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (New York, 2002), 146–72 and *ad passim*.

[2] Margaret's Lancastrian claim descended through her maternal grandfather, John Beaufort (d. 1410), the eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his mistress Katherine Swynford. Although the illegitimate Beaufort line was excluded from the line of succession (1407), the death of the imprisoned Henry VI (1471) made Henry Tudor head of the house of Lancaster. The death of the Yorkist Edward IV (1483) and the accession of the unpopular Richard III left Henry the leader of the faction opposing Richard. Edmund Tudor was the son of Owen Tudor, second husband of Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V.

[3] Karen Hern, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), 13; Belozerskaya, *Rethinking*, 58, 142, 152–3.

[4] John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1993), 38–41, 132.

[5] Simon Thurley, *Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 4ff and ill. 8; 32–24, pl. 45–6; Schofield, *Buildings of London*, 63–4, 85.

[6] Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547* (New York, 2003), cat. 3, p. 148. See Chapter 5. Many scholars attribute the window type to Oriel College at Oxford; Edward III also used them at Windsor.

[7] Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 11–18, 85–6; A. L. Rowse, David Starkey, Maurice Howard *et. al.*, *The Renaissance at Sutton Place: An Exhibition to Mark the 450th Anniversary of the Visit of King Henry VIII to Sutton Place* (Sutton, 1983), 57; Belozerskaya, *Rethinking*, 152–8, 256.

[8] Rosalys Coope, "'The Long Gallery:' Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration". *Architectural History* 29 (1986), 45.

[9] Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 27–30; Belozerskaya, *Rethinking*, 152–4.

[10] Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300–1500, Vol. 3, Southern England* (Cambridge, 2006), 248.

[11] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), 51, 46–59.

[12] Simon Thurley, Historic Royal Palaces, "Hampton Court Palace: Thomas Wolsey at Hampton Court, 1514–1528", http://hrp.org.uk/hampton/hcp_history/thomas_wolsey (accessed 18 January 2007); Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D'Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's 'De Cardinalatu'* (Rome, 1980), 87, 91, and 112–13, ns 94 and 95.

[13] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 4. The Old Priory is now Southwark Cathedral.

[14] Emery, *Medieval Houses*, 323.

[15] Emery, *Medieval Houses*, 322; 364–8; Coope, "'The Long Gallery:'", 43–5; and Evett, *Literature and Visual Arts*, 67. Bourchier bequeathed the house to the See of Canterbury. Knole remained a residence for four more archbishops, Thomas Cranmer being the last. Henry VIII took possession of it during the Dissolution. Eventually it came into the hands of the Sackville-West family.

[16] David Starkey, ed. *Man and Monarch: Henry VIII* (London, 2009), 16–18; chap 3, 79–88; 97–9; Emery, *Medieval Houses*, 464.

[17] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 51.

18 Jonathan Foyle, "A Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace". *Architectural History* 45 (2002), 135.

19 Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 39, 48, 49; 65–70, 282–3 and pl. 26 and 312; Evett, *Literature and Visual Arts*, 11–12.

20 John Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2011), 395–9.

21 S. J. Bernard Basset *The English Jesuits from Campion To Martindale* (Leominster, 2004), 54.

22 Walter C. Leedy, Jr. "The Design of the Vaulting of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster: A Reappraisal". *Architectural History* 18 (1975), 5–8; "Correspondence of Bishop Oliver King and Sir Reginald Bray". *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 60(2) (1914), 4.

23 Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, 118; Leedy, "The Design of the Vaulting of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster", 7–9.

24 King's College, Cambridge, "History of the Chapel", http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/chapel/history.html (accessed 22 October 2013).

25 Carola Hicks, *The King's Glass: A Story of Tudor Power and Secret Art* (London, 2007), *ad passim*. Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel and Its Place in the Development of Late Gothic Architecture in England and France* (London, 1986), *ad passim*.

26 Leedy, "The Design of the Vaulting of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster", 7.

27 Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, cat. 25 and pp. 109–10; Leedy, "The Design of the Vaulting of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster", 7–8; and Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 153–61. Sixteenth-century engravings show the original appearance of the chapel.

28 Thomas Cocke, "'The Repository of Our English Kings: The Henry VII Chapel as a Royal Mausoleum". *Architectural History* 44 (2001), 212–13; Christopher Wilson, "'Excellent, New and Uniforme:' Perpendicular Architecture c. 1400–1547", in *Gothic Art for England*, Marks and Williamson, eds (New York, 2003), 110.

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119, pp. 398–9.

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40 Belozerskaya, *Rethinking*, 165–8; Foister, *Holbein*, 19.

41 "[Q]ue major y mas cierta y perfectamente las pintura Michel …", Belozerskaya, *Rethinking*, 166 and n. 98, p. 305.

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Chapter 7

IMAGE MAKING AND IMAGE BREAKING: ART UNDER THE TUDOR MONARCHS – HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI, AND MARY I, 1509–1558

The first half of the sixteenth century, which coincides with the reign of Henry VIII, witnessed profound change throughout Europe in nearly every possible sphere. Both the peerage and the middle class continued to grow, rise in social status, acquire wealth, contribute to the economy, and patronize art. The printing press lowered the cost and transformed the speed with which books and brochures could be reproduced, published, and distributed, which, in turn, also increased literacy. Printed images – mainly woodcuts and engravings – developed from a craft with a simplistic – even crude – quality into an art form that became increasingly sophisticated in composition and technique. Some prints were designed as illustrations for published materials, replacing hand illuminations. Others were created as stand-alone art. The political cartoon was born. In addition to printed images, painted images, particularly portraits, were created, copied, and circulated, especially the image of the monarch.

Not since the Romans had the means, breadth, and sophistication of communication increased as significantly. Faster ships and better navigational equipment not only facilitated travel, but brought the English and Europeans closer together and into contact with people previously unknown. From the expanded communication developed a new understanding of how to use art and architecture to communicate ideas. Most European governments were headed by strong monarchs with strong personalities, such as Francis I of France and Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. The Italian peninsula, with small duchies, city-states, and nominal republics, was led by the Medici, Sforza, d'Este, Farnese, della Rovere, and Gonzaga families. Several of these families produced powerful popes.

Henry VIII's strong personality and ambition generated other changes that set England on a far different course from its European counterparts. The most of radical and far-reaching of the changes was the break with the Roman church and the subsequent adherence, partial though permanent, to the Protestant Reformation. This single decision not only gave the English church autonomy and independence, but it also altered the English taste and market for art. For the first time since William the Conqueror, royal patronage of the arts superseded that of the church. Royal patronage not only reached its zenith, but so did the use of art – painting, sculpture, portraits, prints, and architecture – to communicate royal power and primacy. Never again would an English monarch own as many residences or dominate building practices to the degree that Henry VIII did. Henry also set a new precedent for building lavish temporary buildings for pomp and ceremonial purposes. Moreover, the traditions he set for the form and display of dynastic portraits set a fashion for the royal, noble, and upwardly mobile that continues today. All three of his children would occupy the throne, but only Elizabeth would follow her father's lead in the patronage of art as propaganda for asserting the strength of the monarch.

The character of the monarch: Henry VIII

Henry VIII (1509–1547), the bright, articulate, handsome, and robust second son of Henry VII, ascended the throne at age 17. At the outset of his reign, he largely continued his father's conservative, domestically-focused plans, styles, and traditions. In fact, had he died young, he might have slipped into obscurity. In mid-life, however, the tide changed. Henry's frenetic obsession to produce a legitimate male heir would effectively divide his reign into two distinct parts, the latter of which would have sweeping consequences in government, religion, art, and architecture. His reign witnessed more change than any reign since that of William the Conqueror. In addition, the emphasis on the conspicuous display of magnificence to promote power reached almost obsessive proportions. As a result, the king, nobles, and the artists they employed developed more complex and sophisticated methods of communicating religious, social, and political ideas.[1]

Even for a second son, Henry's upbringing and education varied significantly from the norm, which probably affected his adult behavior. First, he grew up in a heavily female environment. While male tutors groomed his older brother Arthur for the throne at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire near the Welsh border, Henry received his education at home with his sisters, with his mother taking an active role. Perhaps Henry VII intended his second son to enter a career in the church, as was often the case with ambitious continental families. Henry did indeed show a facility for theological studies. After Arthur's death in 1502, however, Henry's education shifted to preparation for the role of king and dynasty-builder. He would be the first king since at least the twelfth century to receive a sophisticated, Latinate education. His tutor, the poet John Skelton, was replaced by John Holt, a professional schoolmaster and scholar. Henry, however, remained at home with his sisters. Never did his father give him independence or foster the male relationships enjoyed by his older brother.

After his father's death in 1509, Henry assumed the kingship. Henry also assumed his deceased brother Arthur's wife, Katherine of Aragon. With Katherine testifying that her marriage to Arthur was unconsummated, Henry VII had paved the way for the union by appealing to Pope Julius II for a dispensation. The final decision, however, rested with the young king. The wedding took place on 11 June 1509 and the lavish double coronation followed on 24 June. The marriage to a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain was meant to cement a strong relationship with Europe's most wealthy, most powerful, and most staunchly Catholic monarchy. The initially happy union with Katherine, who was 6 years Henry's senior, would have grievous enduring consequences that would change England forever.

Because Henry VII had stabilized the domestic arena in England, Henry VIII enjoyed the luxury of pursuing ambitions beyond England's boundaries. Although tournaments, jousts (which his father had forbidden because of the danger), and other chivalric activity would dominate much of the first 20 years of his reign, the young king also had romantic ideas of reviving the imperialistic ambitions of his ancestors and modeled himself after the ideal chivalric warrior-king, Henry V. To regain English holdings in France would place England on a more equal footing with the major players in the theater of European politics. The young king recognized the value of prestigious military alliances to gain his goals and looked for the best advantage. Thus, to cement his claim in England, Henry forged alliances not with temporal rivals, but with popes, as his father before him had done.[2] He joined Julius II, the warrior pope, and the Holy Roman Emperor in support of a "holy" league against France. Upon Julius's death in 1513, Henry continued this alliance with Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici), the first cousin of Leo X. The king and the popes exchanged honorific titles. Henry offered the services of his astronomers and theologians.[3] In 1521, Henry, articulate and steeped in theological training, published a treatise, the first monarch since Alfred the Great to do so. His work, *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, defended the Roman church and Pope Leo X against the theological attacks of Martin Luther.

The obsequious exchanges between the monarch and the popes also played into the hands of the gifted administrator Thomas Wolsey, whom Henry had inherited from his father. The Oxford-educated cleric had risen quickly from his middle-classed origins through diplomatic and ecclesiastical ranks into the inner circle of the court of Henry VII and would prove to be one of the most brilliant ministers in English history. The young Henry VIII, inexperienced in governance and more interested in chivalric endeavors, gave Wolsey a certain measure of freedom and several offices, including canon of Windsor and secretary to the Order of the Garter. In the religious sphere, Wolsey ascended even faster. In 1509, he became dean of Lincoln, then, in 1514, its bishop. The same year, he acquired the mitre of the Archbishop of York, the second highest ecclesiastical office in England. On 10 September 1515, Pope Leo X elevated Wolsey to cardinal, replacing the recently deceased Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge whom Wolsey had earlier succeeded as Archbishop of York. A month later, Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham resigned the office of Lord Chancellor, presumably under royal pressure. On Christmas Eve of 1515, the king appointed Wolsey to that position. For the next 14 years, Wolsey served both as the highest churchman and most powerful minister in England. However, unlike Cardinal Bainbridge, whose diplomatic career in Rome ended in humiliation, Wolsey chose to remain in England at the side of his secular master.

In the 1520s, as Wolsey's power ascended, Henry's dynastic ambitions caused him to develop an obsession to produce a legitimate heir. His affection for Katherine waned as childbearing efforts produced only one daughter, Mary, born in 1516, but no living male heir. He also fell in love with a beautiful young woman at court, Anne Boleyn. By the late 1520s, a serious political issue, the quest for a papal annulment on the grounds of an invalid marriage to Katherine, or "The King's Great Matter", began to strain the relationship between Henry and Wolsey. Initially, Wolsey pled with Henry not to pursue an annulment. Far from Rome and lacking training, experience, influence, and a physical presence at the papal court, Wolsey tried to negotiate for the king's wishes, but made little headway with the pope. His failure ended his political career. In 1529, along with forfeiting his office as Lord Chancellor, Wolsey relinquished his real estate to the king. He retained his ecclesiastical offices, however, and began his retreat to his archdiocese at York. A year later, he left Yorkshire for London to stand trial. On 29 November 1530 the 60-year-old Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey, sparing himself further disgrace, imprisonment, and probable execution.[4] However, his

Italianate, and ultimately classical, legacy would endure.

For years, Pope Clement VII avoided the issue of Henry's annulment, as he had other more pressing problems. In 1527, troops of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V sacked Rome. Soldiers desecrated churches, tortured priests, defiled nuns, and threw the city into utter chaos. The pope fled first to the nearby fortress, Castel Sant'Angelo, and afterwards ensconced himself at the impregnable city of Orvieto, about 75 miles (121 km) north of Rome. At this point, fearing further wrath from Queen Katherine's nephew, Clement prepared for a siege and hired Antonio da Sangallo to build a deep double-helix well. He ceased negotiations with Wolsey and the king and instead promulgated the bull that denied Henry VIII an annulment.[5] In 1531, Henry separated from Katherine. In 1533, 5 months after he married Anne Boleyn, Thomas Cranmer, who succeeded William Warham as archbishop of Canterbury, annulled the marriage to Katherine. Henry's mid-life chain of five more marriages would include two beheadings, a post-partum death, a second annulment, and a survivor.

Henry VIII's cataclysmic break with the Roman Catholic Church alienated England from European culture. The production of religious art and architecture in England, and the importation of religious art, abruptly ceased. The fate of the universities, closely aligned with the church, also hung in jeopardy; mercifully, they were spared. The Reformation did have a small silver lining in artistic spheres: many Protestant artists who sought refuge from religious conflict on the continent found shelter in England. Some artists, engravers, and publishers from the continent, mainly from the Netherlands, settled in London and made important contributions, especially in the book industry. Creative endeavors that once went into religious art and architecture gave way to secular endeavors, with the monarchy overtaking the lead in patronage and inspiring innovative ideas in art and architecture. Henry, however, did not initiate the great patronage of art and architecture that would eventually characterize his reign: his Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey set that example. This patronage bears examining, for his taste in art, classical motifs, and penchant for the work of foreign artists would profoundly influence his king and would alter English taste and practice for centuries.

Patronage of the Cardinal Lord Chancellor

As Thomas Wolsey rapidly ascended the ladder of high offices in England, his conspicuous patronage of art and architecture increased exponentially. In 1514, his first major post as Archbishop of York entitled him to certain episcopal residences, including York Palace in London. A year later, he was appointed Lord Chancellor and cardinal. As with monarchs and high ranking churchmen before him, the English cardinal was expected to live grandly and entertain lavishly, as his magnificence would bring honor to the king.[6] As noted in Chapter 6, in 1470 John Fortescue codified courtly magnificence for Edward IV in his *Governance of England*. As a prince of the church, Wolsey looked beyond the shores of England to Rome, especially to the Italian cardinals from high ranking families with close ties to the papal throne as the appropriate benchmark for his display of rank and position. Wolsey would be the last great churchman in England to subscribe to this idiom. His subsequent disgrace has clouded the fact that he was the first high profile person in England since antiquity to seek out and promote Italian classicism in art, architecture, and magnificence.

The English gift for synthesis, along with a cultural traditional that was more strongly verbal than visual, gave Wolsey's architecture a distinctive flavor. Moreover, Wolsey appears to have been among the first in England to understand the concept of architectural theory. Whereas a cardinal's palace in Italy exhibited a recognizably classical plan and form that imitated the classical orders and stone facings found in a variety of nearby antique buildings, Wolsey's English derivatives, built with the requisite plan and parts of a cardinals' palace but of local brick in a fundamentally Gothic style, retained visual links to the English past and looked decidedly unclassical.[7] However, Wolsey's architectural projects, such as York Palace and Hampton Court, reflected Italian theory, or the controlling ideas concerning the plan, form, orientation, and the applied classical decorative elements.

In addition to books and secondhand sources for the practices of his peers in Rome, Wolsey and his contemporaries saw classical ornamentation at court in France, inspired by the classical revival in Italy. The formal Italianate garden, carefully laid out in symmetrical patterns of hedges, walkways, and flowers, also came to England, albeit by way of France. Gardens, perceived as little paradises, provided places to display heraldry and served as settings for masques and other outdoor entertainment. Although none survive intact, the appearances of Tudor gardens can be gleaned from Tudor paintings, texts, and from archaeology. All palaces and grand houses had gardens, and owners prided themselves in them, as gardens reinforced their appearance of magnificence.

York Palace

Of all the palaces in London, ecclesiastical or royal, the residence of the Archbishop of York was the most desirable and most strategically located, for in 1515, Westminster Palace had burned, leaving the king without a convenient residence in London.[8] Although York Palace no longer stands, its appearance, at least in part, is known through prints, paintings, documents, and archaeology. The main residential block stood on the east side – the riverfront side – of King Street. This street connected the fashionable Strand, where many ecclesiastical palaces stood, to Westminster, the political and ecclesiastical heart of England, which was an easy walk away.

Successive archbishops had improved York Palace, especially the well-connected George Neville (1465–1476), the youngest son of the Earl of Salisbury. Like Wolsey, Neville also served as Lord Chancellor and displayed his positions magnificently, doubling the size of the palace. In 1467, King Edward IV relieved Neville of his secular office, put him in prison, and despoiled his wealth. Neville's bejeweled golden mitre was melted down for a new crown for the king.[9] Neville's career path could have served as a forewarning to Wolsey 60 years later. Unfortunately, it did not.

Upon his elevation to the See of York, Wolsey proceeded to enhance the appearance and land holdings of his London residence. His improvements appear, at least in part, to reflect Italian models. In 1510 in Rome, Paolo Cortesi had published *de Cardinalatu*, which codified the form and theory to which cardinals' residences should conform. As Fortescue had advocated for the English monarch, so Cortesi advocated that magnificence reinforced ecclesiastical power.[10] Although the travels of Cortesi's recently published book may be difficult to track, the coincidences between the text and Wolsey's practice indicate that Wolsey knew something of the expectations for a cardinal's residence, perhaps even second-hand through Bainbridge's personal court and English visitors to Rome.

As Cortesi had recommended for the ideal cardinal's palace, York Palace faced the rising sun. Within the walls were the requisite courtyard, chapel, and apartments, which at York Palace, overlooked the Thames. Between 1515 and 1516, Wolsey enlarged the domestic quarters, kitchen, and support facilities. He added a hall, a great chamber with a gallery, a great staircase, and renovated the Privy Chamber. For protection from inclement weather, he added porticoes and colonnades to join the buildings, which also agreed with Cortesi's directives. Wolsey also increased the conspicuous display. The king's glazier added large bay windows, a feature that signified wealth, first seen at Windsor and Kenilworth castles.[11]

By 1523, Wolsey had twice had been a candidate for the papacy and held the office of papal legate, or *legatus a latere*, a special representative of the pope with plenipotentiary power. This extraordinary power was usually limited to a particular assignment, but for Wolsey, it was unconstrained. Thanks to the munificence of Clement VII, who extended the title for life, Wolsey's power exceeded that that of any ecclesiastical peer or predecessor in England.[12] With this new exalted position, Wolsey sought to enlarge York Place, but he needed more real estate, which presented a challenge: the properties to the southeast belonged to Westminster Abbey and those to the north had been in dispute since 1436. Nevertheless, Wolsey managed to acquire a portion of the disputed lands. Between about 1520 and 1523, Wolsey concentrated on the southernmost area, visible from the Thames. He added a gallery with a profusion of glazed windows stretching some 174 feet or more along the riverfront.[13] He demolished the thirteenth-century chapel and built another to lie parallel to the hall, a configuration introduced by Henry VII at Richmond and used at Greenwich. The T-shaped chapel, which measured 33 × 65 ft (10.1 × 19.8 m), resembled chapels at Oxford, such as that at Magdalen College. Twice he extended Neville's Great Hall, bringing it to 40 ×108 ft (12.1 × 33 m). It had a fine hammerbeam ceiling, rich plasterwork, and nine large windows. By 1530, Wolsey had doubled the size of York Place.[14]

To enhance the palace, Wolsey built two grand entrances. One, on the east, faced the Strand; the other, on the west, faced Westminster. Italianate terracotta roundels holding busts of Roman emperors, the first in England, adorned each gate, four on each side. We know that they were in place by 1521, as the artist, Giovanni da Maiano (1486–1542), who belonged to a long line of Florentine sculptors, was then in England requesting payment for them. The busts conform in theory to the more costly stone roundels of emperors at Pavia, which Cortesi cites as desirable.[15]

At least some of the roundels at York Palace, noted in eighteenth-century descriptions and etchings by George Vertue and others, survive. After the destruction of the gates, some were moved to Hampton Court Palace. Although Florentine sculptors often cast terracotta in sculptural molds, and, following the lead of Luca della Robbia and heirs, they sometimes glazed terracotta sculpture, roundels of emperors were unique to England. As is typical of English synthesis, these roundels give an example of the patron seeking a foreign art form and carrying it through with a foreign artist, but adjusting the artistic product to suit English taste. By inserting these architectural elements, Wolsey imposed a new princely order on both the waterfront and the area facing King Street, which served as a major ceremonial artery that directly linked Parliament, the courts, and Westminster Abbey. Neither the Archbishop of Canterbury nor the king had such a well-positioned public corridor. His residence was the most magnificent in the London area – ecclesiastic, noble, or, royal. His would follow this model with other of his properties.

Hampton Court

In 1514, with York Palace underway, Wolsey purchased a lease from the Knights of St John of Jerusalem on Hampton Court, a modest manor house, or hunting lodge. The purchase of a country residence followed the practice of other high ranking English clergy, who had houses along the road between home and London. However, located about 15 miles (24 km) southwest of London, Hampton Court never served the practical function as a stopping point between any of Wolsey's ecclesiastical venues. Instead, Wolsey appears to have modeled it after a grand Italian villa in size and in function: a retreat for productive leisure. Around 1522, John Skelton, in a lengthy satirical poem, indicates such in his satirical answer to the question, "Why come ye not to court?"

> To whyche court?
> To the kynges courte?
> Or to Hampton Court?
> Nay, to the kynges court!
> The kynge's courte
> Shulde have excellence
> But Hampton Court
> Hath preeminence.[16]

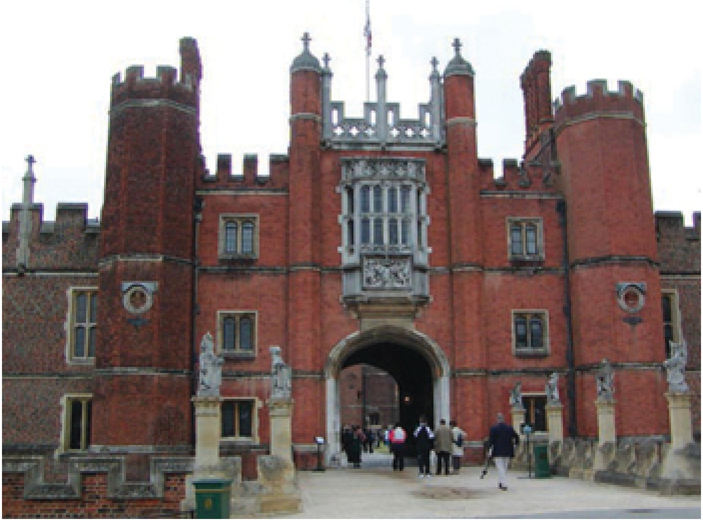

Fig. 7.1 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, entrance gate, 1514–1520. Photograph: author

At Hampton Court, little remains of its modest beginnings, but much can be reconstructed. Wolsey proceeded to richly embellish both the exterior and the interior, making it one of the grandest houses, and perhaps the largest, in England. The all-brick construction with elaborate diaper (lozenge) patterning followed the lead of Eton College and Sheen Palace. Some of the brick and diaper work was overpainted to give the illusion of precision, a costly extravagance. He introduced many new trend-setting features, including high-pitched gables, and multiple fireplaces accompanied by richly embellished, gracefully curved brick chimneys, some of which survive.[17]

In addition to these English features, excavations at Hampton Court reveal that Wolsey's buildings followed the symmetrical lines popular in Italy. Wolsey again echoes Italian models as codified in Cortesi's directives. The major components of a traditional Italian palace include a symmetrically aligned hollow block with a colonnaded inner courtyard, a form foreign to English houses. Cortesi also recommends the long-standing Italian tradition of placing heraldry over the central portal and at other important entries. The *piano nobile* (the first floor, one flight up) receives emphasis outside and inside, with large, glass-filled windows. A staircase located in the north corner, as recommended by Coretesi, complete with landings, gives ready access to the hall.

Wolsey changed the orientation of Hampton Court from south, facing the river and opposite the hall, the usual in medieval England, to face a land approach to the west (Figs 7.1 and 7.2). This orientation allowed for a processional entrance and formal Italianate gardens on the sunny southern side of the house. To the west front, Wolsey added a nearly square paved forecourt, or base court. The Great Gatehouse on the west was 60 ft wide (18.3 m) and five stories high with a low four-centered arched opening. The massive size, probably modeled after Archbishop Morton's Gate at Lambeth Palace, allowed for grand guest accommodations in the gatehouse and wings. Glass-filled oriel, or projecting, bay windows graced the façade over the entrance.

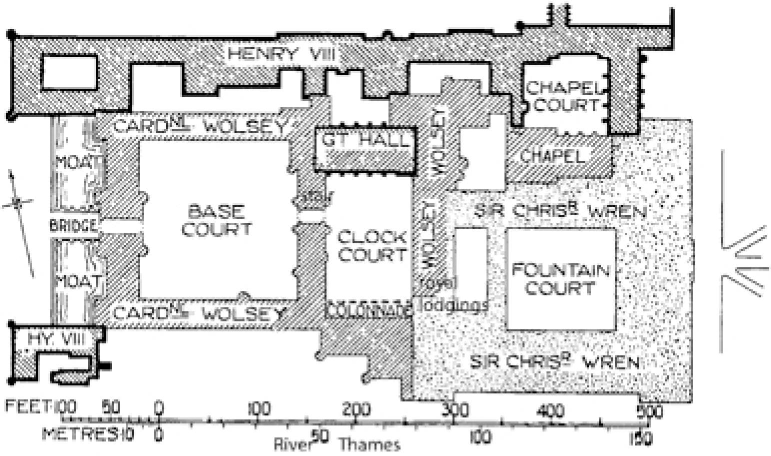
HENRY VIII
CHAPEL COURT
CARDNL WOLSEY
GT HALL
WOLSEY
MOAT
BASE COURT
stair
CHAPEL
SIR CHRISR WREN
BRIDGE
CLOCK COURT
WOLSEY
FOUNTAIN COURT
MOAT
royal lodgings
CARDNL WOLSEY
COLONNADE
HY. VIII
SIR CHRISR WREN
FEET 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
METRES 10 0 50 100 150
River Thames

Fig. 7.2 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, plan of Wolsey's Palace, 1514–1528. Photograph: author

On the east face of the gatehouse, Cardinal Wolsey paved the large forecourt. Recent excavation revealed four paved squares intersected by a walkway. The stones in each square were laid triangles to form a pointed star design (now reconstructed). No previous paved courtyard in England, as far as is known, exhibited this design. Rather, the star patterns in Wolsey's pavement conformed to the single-star design still found at the Ducal Palace in Urbino, which Cortesi cited as the ideal model.[18]

The Great Hall, the heart and soul of any English ecclesiastical or royal palace, surpassed all of Wolsey's other embellishments (Figs 7.3 and 7.4). The elaborate hammerbeam ceiling overhead by James Needham – a purely English feature – stretched approximately 40 ×120 ft, or a proportion of 1:3 and stood 60 ft high – 4568 sq. ft (12.2 × 36.6 × 18.3 m; 1392 sq. m). The hall exceeded both his hall at York Palace and the king's at Eltham Palace. Only the king's Great Hall at Westminster Palace, the largest Great Hall in Europe, surpassed Hampton Court for size and splendor. Although Henry VIII would rebuild the hall, Wolsey's oriel window survives. Six panels wide, the lower two levels in particular announce Wolsey's importance with his various coats-of-arms as cardinal, archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, clarified by the inscription, "The Lord Thomas Wulsey, Cardinal, Legate de Latere, Archbishop of Yorke, and Chanceler of England."

Recent archaeological evidence indicates innovative Italianate elements in the plan. Although Wolsey built on the site of an earlier ground-floor hall, he raised it one flight up. Whereas in English residences, the hall routinely was at ground level, this rare placement concurs with Italian practices. Wolsey placed his staircase in the north with a wide landing at the top, which allows convenient access to the hall and the adjoining chambers. This placement also agrees with Cortesi and Italian examples. John of Gaunt's Great Hall at Kenilworth Castle appears to be the only English precedent for a raised hall. However, while the hall at Kenilworth is an independent structure, Wolsey's hall, in Italian fashion, stands first in a sequence of important chambers, including the Great Watching Chamber and the grand corridor leading to the chapel. Hampton Court appears to be the first in England to have such Italian arrangements.[19]

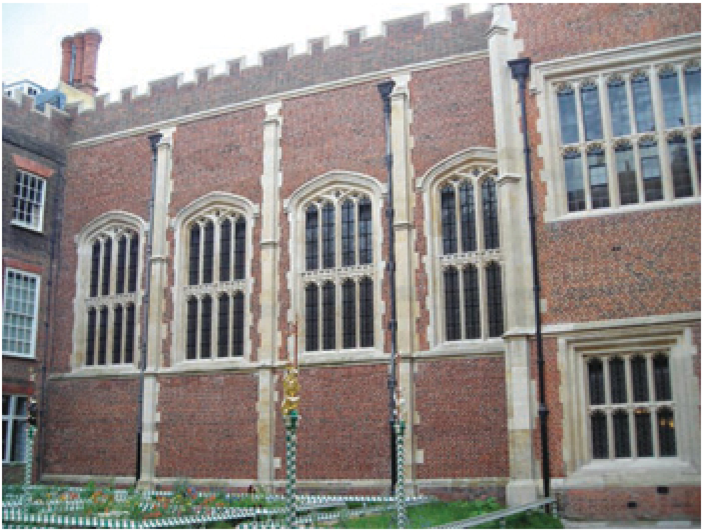

Fig. 7.3 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, Great Hall, exterior, 1514–1520. Photograph: author

Beyond the hall, Wolsey's large expanse of bay windows stretches across reception rooms that lead toward a two-story chapel with a balcony, a double stained glass window in the east end, and gilded decoration. In a second phase of building, Wolsey also added a 200 ft (60 m) glazed gallery (now destroyed) on the south side of Hampton

Court that extended eastward with the primary purpose of viewing the gardens and the river. Again he exceeded that at Eltham Palace. Wolsey's décor also included classical orders, laurel wreaths, and classically inspired terracotta ornaments, all innovative Italianate features that Cortesi recommended.[20]

Italian sculpture also decorated the gates and the inner courtyard, later named the Clock Court, which set a trend to soon be followed by the court. Documents record his now lost Histories of Hercules and that he may also have owned a stone roundel of Cleopatra.[21] Wolsey's coat-of-arms still presides over the doorway of the inner courtyard (Figs 7.5 and 7.6), which, in Italian fashion, displays his cardinal's hat with flowing tassels flanked by classical putti (winged infant boys). Although Italian terracotta roundels of Roman emperors appear on inner and outer gates, placements have changed (Figs 7.7 and 7.8). A cycle of great men, however, would conform to such painted series as those in the studiolo (little study) at the Ducal Palace at Urbino and at Villa Carducci in Legnaia (near Florence), and to Cortesi.[22]

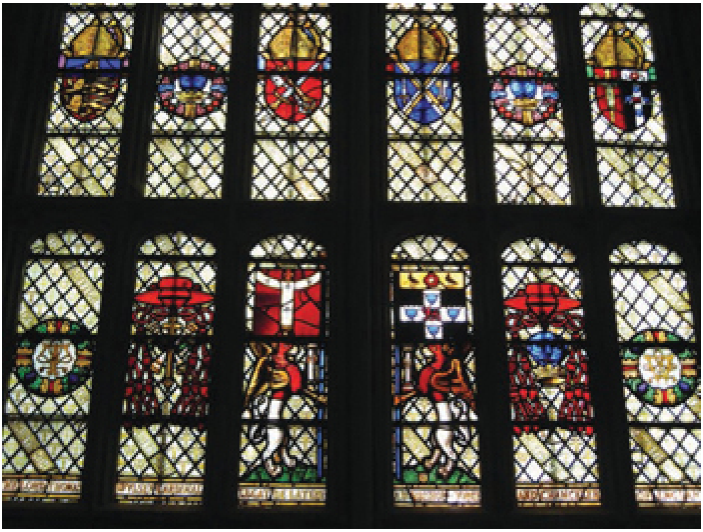

Fig. 7.4 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, Cardinal Wolsey's Oriel window detail, 1514–1520. Photograph: author

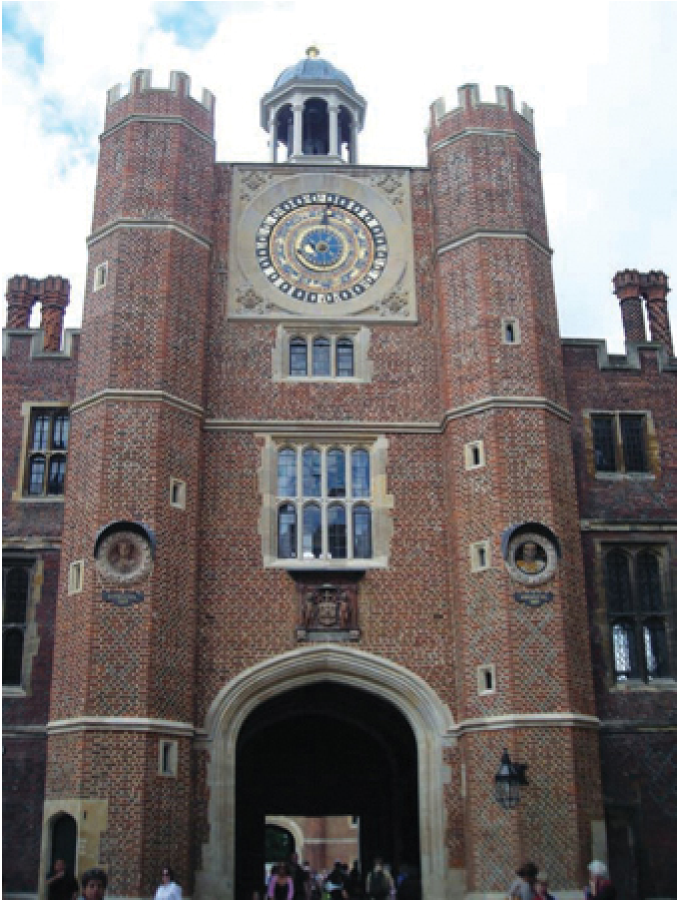

Fig. 7.5 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, inner courtyard, Anne Boleyn Gate with Wolsey's coat of arms, 1514–1520. Astronomical clock by Nicholas Oursian added by 1540. Photograph: courtesy Clark Laster

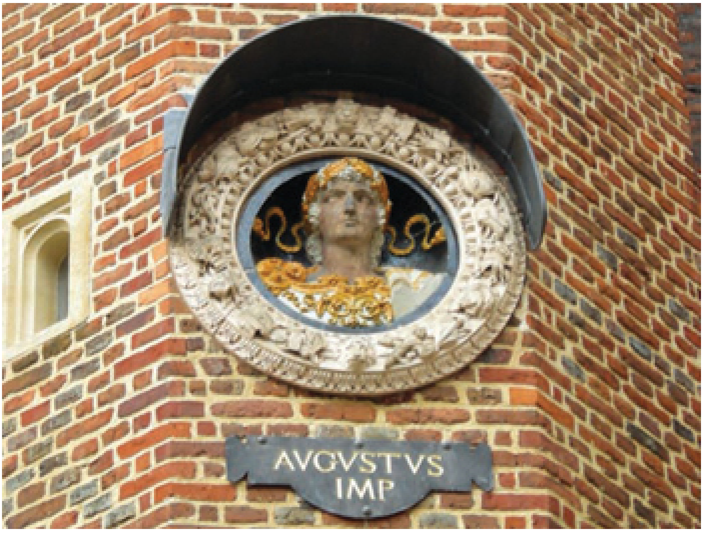

Fig. 7.7 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, Giovanni da Maiano, Medallion terracotta bust of the Roman Emperor Augustus, 1514–21. Photograph: courtesy Clark Laster

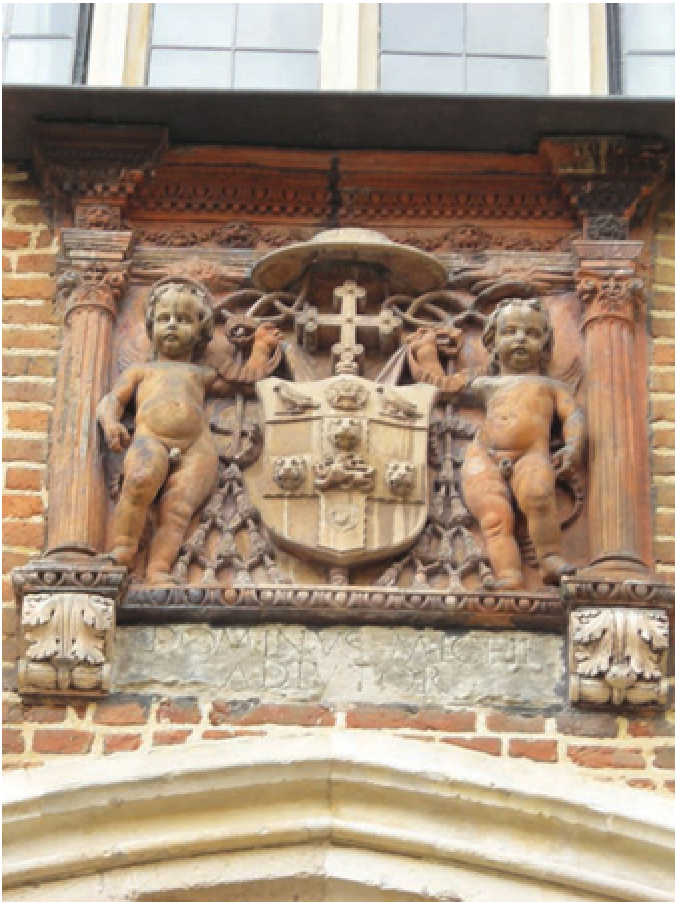

Fig. 7.6 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, Giovanni da Maiano, Wolsey's coat of arms, inner courtyard, 1514–1521. Photograph: author

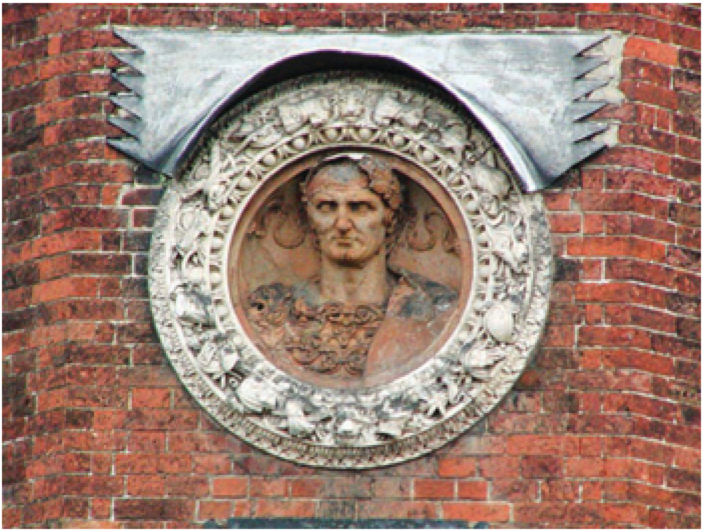

Fig. 7.8 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, Giovanni da Maiano, Medallion terracotta bust of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, 1514–1521. Photograph: courtesy Clark Laster

Wolsey also renovated the pre-existing range facing the gate of the inner courtyard to accommodate stacked lodgings for the royal family (Fig. 7.9). He used Henry VII's three-story lodgings at Richmond Palace as his model, with ceilings higher on the upper floors. Wolsey followed suit, with the queen's lodgings on the first floor and the king's lodgings on the second floor towering above the surrounding ranges (removed in the seventeenth century). However, Wolsey's façade undulated with projecting towers of larger bay windows than those at Richmond, which gave plenty of light to the interior. Wolsey added a small room, called Wolsey's Closet, with Netherlandish-style linenfold paneling on the lower walls and paintings above. He also introduced a grand staircase (which no longer exists) to connect the lodgings to each other and to the gallery. Whereas medieval staircases generally were enclosed in towers on the outside of buildings to conserve interior space and to prevent cold drafts, this wide interior one facilitated grand entrances and ceremony. Again Skelton speaks to the richness, and not kindly:

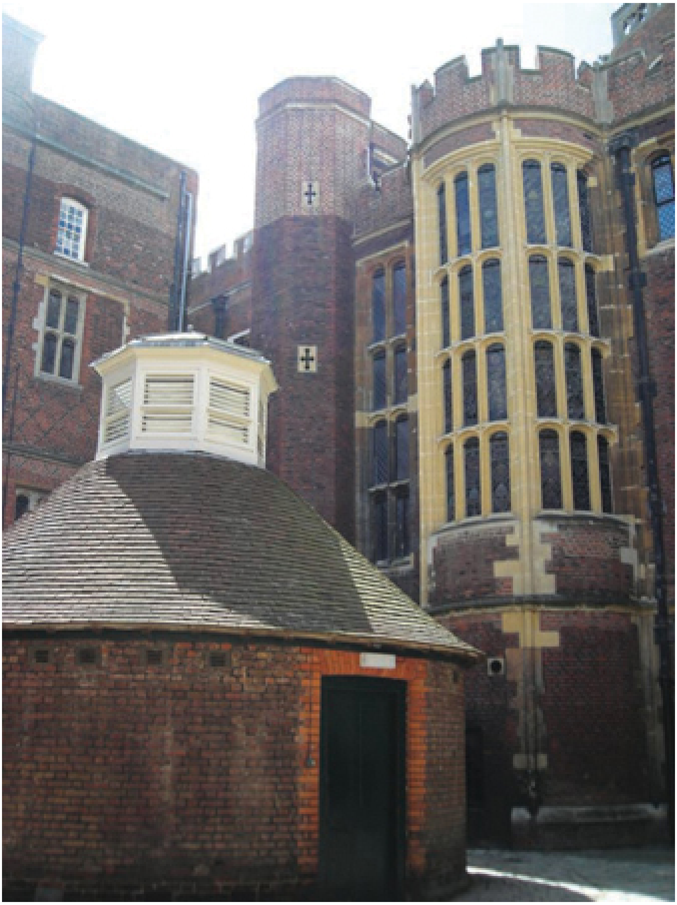

Fig. 7.9 Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, stacked lodgings, 1514–1521. Photograph: author

> With turrets and towers
> With halls and with bowers
> Stretching to the stars
> With glass windows and bars.[23]

Wolsey's splendid interior furnishings conformed to practices at secular and ecclesiastical courts. Cortesi specifically cites tapestries of histories as a means of propaganda for one's own importance. In fact, the pope had recently commissioned tapestry designs from Raphael. In England's damp climate, tapestries proved more satisfactory than fresco, and Wolsey used them extravagantly. Between 1517 and 1525, Wolsey acquired some 600 tapestries, an unprecedented number. His tapestry collection at Hampton Court alone numbered more than four hundred pieces. By 1522, when Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and the queen's nephew, visited England, Hampton Court had achieved an international reputation for its magnificence.[24]

Royal architectural projects before the fall of Wolsey

In contrast to Wolsey's ostentatious display of rank as a prince of the church, Henry's first phase of building in the 1520s included relatively conservative additions and renovations to existing royal palaces. One exception was a palace in Rome that Henry owned but never occupied. Little is known of it except that it was designed by architect Donato Bramante (1444–1514), who designed works in Rome for the Spanish monarchs as well as for the pope, who gave him charge of additions to the Vatican Palace and the rebuilding of the new basilica of St Peter's. Bramante's architecture in Rome, such as the Palazzo Caprini (Raphael's House and known only from prints), and the Vatican Palace, would indicate that Henry's palace had a strongly classical design. In England, on the other hand, Henry's construction with towers and turrets reflects the lingering English attachment to the Gothic style. Moreover, brick, which was rapidly becoming the English building material of choice, suited Henry's impetuous and impatient nature. Since bricks were produced on site, construction required neither quarrying nor hauling. Wolsey acted as the king's overseer for most of these projects. The early projects included Eltham, Richmond, Beaulieu, Bridewell, the Tower of London, Windsor Castle, and Greenwich. Ironically, Henry's grandest project, the only one built from scratch, was built in France, intended only for the ceremonial occasion of meeting the King of France.[25] This temporary building set a precedent for later beautiful and functional but temporary structures built for ceremonies and situated in strategic places – even down to elaborate temporary structures erected for the 2012 Olympics in London, such as those at Horse Guards Parade Ground at Whitehall and Greenwich Park.

Beaulieu and Bridewell

The most extensive renovations that Henry made before the fall of Wolsey occurred at Beaulieu in Essex and Bridewell on the outskirts of London. Although more evidence exists for Bridewell, little remains of either residence. Typical of Henry VII's generation and Wolsey's projects, even though the donjons no longer existed, living quarters were arranged vertically, with the king's lodgings above those of the queen. Side-by-side lodgings, the earlier practice in English royal residences, would soon return to favor.

By 1510, Wolsey had acquired the property on the site of the medieval St Bride's Inn – hence the name – located at a strategic position by the Fleet Tower, not far from Baynard's Castle, where the city walls came down to the conflux of the rivers Fleet and Thames. The palace, from foundations up, was built almost totally of brick. Henry lived at Bridewell between 1515 and 1523. By 1523, the palace had a courtyard at the entrance, the living quarters arranged around an inner courtyard, and a third courtyard with a 200 ft (61 m) long glazed gallery that terminated at a watergate, which provided water access into the Thames. Henry eliminated Wolsey's hall and added a processional staircase into the main reception rooms. Another gallery adjacent to the front courtyard led over the River Fleet to Blackfriars, where the king and queen owned additional quarters. Bridewell exhibited three especially important new features, adapted from continental designs: the processional staircase, perhaps the first staircase designed for state occasions in England; the formal Italianate garden, which extended along the gallery to the river; and the absence of the great hall, now deemed obsolete and unnecessary. After 1530, these features, along with side-by-side lodgings, would appear in subsequent royal residences and soon after in the prodigy houses of Henry's courtiers.

Windsor Castle

Henry VIII left an imposing mark on Windsor Castle. In 1511, he added a new double-towered gate to the Lower Ward (Fig. 7.10). This wide, slightly four-centered arched entrance with projecting battlements above connects two massive crenellated, three-story octagonal towers. The arched windows decrease in size as they ascend, making the tower appear even taller and more daunting. However, such windows indicate a gate intended to serve as a grand ceremonial entrance rather than a seriously defensive one. The path through the gate gives direct access to St George's Chapel and the large, slightly trapezoidal, open area inside the Lower Ward, perfect for long, ceremonial processions of the chivalric Order of the Garter.

Tower of London

Soon after he ascended the throne, Henry began renovations at the Tower of London to mend recent fire damage. He renovated walls and towers with stone imported from France. In order to fit the White Tower for defense, the roof was strengthened to carry modern heavy artillery. In 1519–1520, he rebuilt the Church of St Peter ad Vincula, which had burned in 1512.[26] Built of stone in the Perpendicular style with a simple timber roof, the signature low elliptical four-centered arch appears extensively throughout.

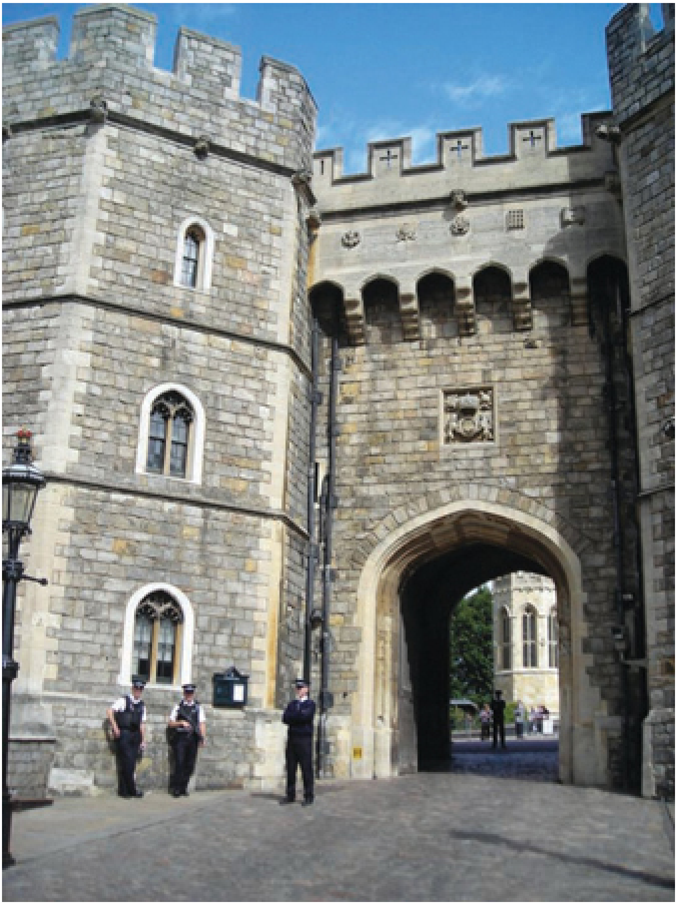

Fig. 7.10 Windsor Castle, Berkshire, gate of Henry VIII, 1511. Photograph: author

France: The Field of Cloth of Gold

Undoubtedly the greatest pageant of Henry's early reign and the most audacious of his early building campaigns occurred from 7–24 June 1520 at the Field of Cloth of Gold, located near Calais in France at Val Doré, between Ardres and Guînes – the last English territory on the continent. The meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I of France was planned ostensibly to seal the alliance between the two kings in the wake of the Anglo-French treaty of 1518. As part of his effort to uphold peace, Wolsey had promoted a betrothal between Henry's infant daughter Mary and the dauphin of France, which was to be solemnized on this occasion.

The actual outcome of this important diplomatic assembly, however, was a competition in magnificence. Each king sought to surpass the other by projecting the image of the glorious Renaissance prince and did so by recreating their perception of the world of chivalry. Whereas Wolsey modeled himself after colleagues in Rome, Henry emulated Francis I, whose displays of magnificence included classically inspired chateaus. Wolsey oversaw the affair, including the setting, the pageantry, and the supervision of the temporary structures (Fig. 7.11). Edward Hall, an English chronicler, and French writers Jacobus Silvius and Joachim du Bellay record impressive tilts, tourneys, mock battles, gilded fountains of wine, and huge feasts with participants dressed each day in different sets of splendid regalia. They used so much cloth of gold, a fabric woven with silk with golden threads, that the site of the event was named for it. Henry's gilded armor still survives at the Tower of London.

The flagship of the English enclave was a temporary palace, a new idea in itself, which stood in front of Guînes Castle. This lavish structure, used for two weeks and then dismantled, represented one Henry's few building projects begun from scratch and, at more than £6000, one of his most expensive. Moreover, considering that only relatively recently had artists begun to use canvas as an independent support for paintings, the building, the first canvas structure built on such a scale, showed innovation. Interestingly, this and subsequent temporary buildings of the era, and their lavish but often fragile decoration showed more artistic originality than contemporary permanent buildings.

Italian artists, sculptors, and painters played a large role in the design and execution of the temporary palace at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Wolsey saw to it that splendor, elegance, and variety, achieved by exceptional extravagance, were manifest at every point. The outwardly facing square form and the huge expanse of glass windows – a pretentious display of wealth – stood in striking contrast to the adjacent turreted medieval French buildings. Only the brick foundation of about 8 ft (2.4 m) high was solid; all else was canvas. It most closely resembled Bridewell, with a central courtyard surrounded by four sides, each about 300 ft (91.4 m) long, with elevations about 30 ft (10 m). In 1529, as Wolsey fell from favor, scathing allegations cited him for masterminding this lavish temporary affair and for his wasteful spending of royal funds.[27]

Greenwich Palace

The temporary building at the Field of Cloth of Gold set a precedent for at least two later temporary banqueting houses. In 1527 at Greenwich Palace, for the signing of a peace treaty with France, Henry mounted a renovation campaign, including new stables and tiltyards, which largely revolved around the king's love of recreation and chivalric activity. Between January and May, he ordered the construction of a canvas-roofed banquet house and a three-tier theater in which to receive and entertain the French emissaries.

In the 1520s, for these and other projects, Henry VIII began the continental practice of having resident painters at court who were paid on a retainer rather than by the piece.[28] In addition to painting portraits and murals, court artists devised designs for gold and silver work, stuccoes, chimneypieces, book covers, sculpture, and heraldic devices. Later, they designed sets and costumes for theatrical masques. At Greenwich, John Brown, the Sergeant Painter, and Vincent Volpe, an Italian and the King's Painter, produced much of the painted decoration. However, Italians, many of whom had worked at the Field of Cloth of Gold, along with the newly arrived German artist, Hans Holbein the Younger, undertook the construction and other embellishment.[29]

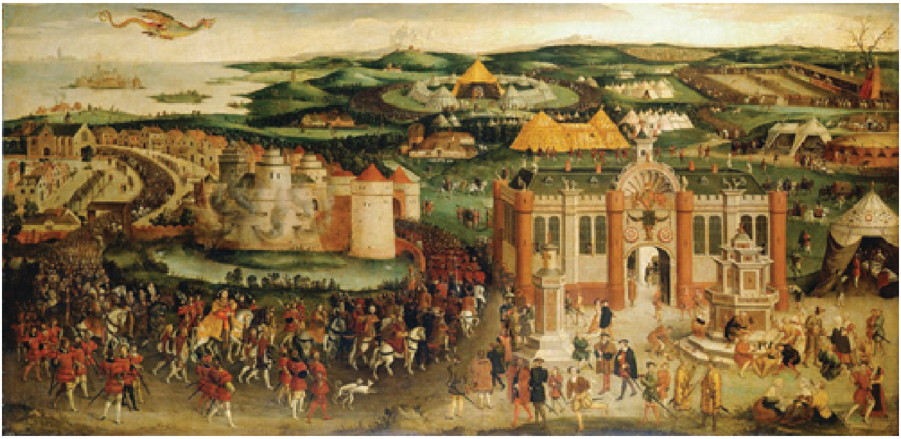

Fig. 7.11 British School, Henry and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, *oil on canvas,* c. *1545–1550, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

The interior decoration of these temporary structures proclaimed Henry's royal vision of himself. Two decorative triumphal arches, one with a minstrel gallery above, dominated the décor inside the banqueting house. Giovanni da Maiano, who earlier had made the roundels for Hampton Court and the gates at York Palace, apparently designed the gilded busts of classical emperors for one of the arches. Hans Holbein proved remarkably versatile and quickly earned a place at court for his designs for jewelry and decorative objects for goldsmiths and silversmiths, such as candelabras and ceremonial vessels, but most of all for his paintings. He spent the early part of 1527 painting murals in the theater at Greenwich. He collaborated with the king’s German astronomer, Nicholas Kratzer, who devised a cosmic map to cover the ceiling that Holbein and his assistants painted. In the banqueting house, on the wall opposite the triumphal arch, the king requested that Holbein make a large mural depicting the Battle of the Spurs, fought 16 August 1513 near Thérouanne. Much to the king’s pleasure and to the mortification his French guests, the visitors were forced to observe themselves defeated in battle on their soil by the English.[30] The tradition of showing victories in battle in ceremonial spaces may follow the precedent of the unfinished program in the new grand Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, in which the now lost murals of the Battle of Anghiari by Leonardo da Vinci faced the Battle of Cascina by Michelangelo (*c.* 1500–1502). Florentine artists and scholars at Henry’s court would have known this program and its intention. Again, Italian ideas, theory first, then form, transferred into a grand English setting. Unfortunately, none of Holbein’s decorative objects or murals survive.

Sculpture in the early reign of Henry VIII: a brief encounter with the Italianate

On the eve of the Reformation, English Christians continued to venerate sculpted and painted images of religious subjects. Even during the early years of the Reformation, religious art not only continued to play a vital role in Christian worship, but a brisk and lucrative market existed for it. During the mid-fifteenth century, portraiture gained a lasting popularity. The Italianate sculpted bust, which came England under Henry VII, maintained popularity. Meanwhile, the interest in funeral effigies increased. Henry, Wolsey, and other patrons continued to favor skilled foreign artists and artisans, including gifted Italian sculptors Giovanni da Maiano, Pietro Torrigiano, Baccio Bandinelli, and Benedetto da Rovezzano.

Pietro Torrigiano was unquestionably the most important Italian to work in England at this time and the first to create a substantial number of high quality portraits. He had, after all, trained at the best sculpture school in Europe, sponsored by Lorenzo de’Medici. His work compared with that of his schoolmate, Michelangelo, whose surviving oeuvre incudes nothing in terracotta or bronze. Torrigiano’s work perhaps offers us a window into the dynamic qualities of Michelangelo’s bronze sculpture of 1510 of Pope Julius II that triumphantly stood over the doorway of the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna, only to be destroyed a decade later. While still in Flanders, Torrigiano made a gilded sculpture of Hercules for Henry VIII, which he either brought with him in 1511 or sent earlier.[31] Although Henry VIII brought Torrigiano to England for the largest sculptural commission England had seen in years, perhaps ever, Torrigiano worked on other projects at the same time as the royal tombs. Although he left substantial work in England, Torrigiano left no known work in Italy.

Bust of an ecclesiastic

Among several portrait busts Torrigiano made in England is a painted terracotta bust of an ecclesiastic, believed to be John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Between 1507 and 1511, Fisher, as the executor of the estate of Margaret Beaufort and the overseer of her tomb commission, may have commissioned the busts of himself and the two Tudor kings. Documents note that this is one of the three busts that were housed together in the Holbein Gate at Whitehall Palace until it was torn down.[32]

In this sculpture, Fisher looks to his right, gazing ahead with a serious but approachable countenance. His wavy cropped hair is barely visible beneath his black biretta. He wears a coat with a shawl collar with his high-collared shirt slightly visible beneath. This remarkably life-like bust, with the focus on his face and demeanor rather than on his clothing, corresponds in style and conception with other portraits attributed to Torrigiano.

Tomb effigy of Lady Margaret Beaufort

For some time, the English had excelled in tomb sculpture, both effigies and decorated chests. With Pietro Torrigiano, this art form achieved a new level of excellence. Whereas the architecture and architectural sculpture in Henry VII’s new Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey were nearly complete when the king died, the sculptor for the royal tombs had not been hired. On 23 November 1511, Torrigiano signed a contract for the tomb of the king’s paternal grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509). This shared project, typical of medieval working customs still in practice in England, was among the greatest collaborative efforts of the sixteenth century. Torrigiano worked with a Netherlandish painter named Maynard Wewyck (also called Vewick) under the watchful eye of the aforementioned John Fisher and William Bolton, Prior of St Bartholomew’s. Wolsey, who handled the business arrangements, recommended Bolton as having an eye for design. Wewyck drew up at least three separate designs for the tomb monument with copies for the patrons. He also received payment for a face pattern used in making the effigy. Wewyck knew

Margaret's appearance, for documents record that he received payment for a portrait of her for Christ's College, Cambridge.[33] Torrigiano agreed to execute the exquisite life-size, fire-gilded bronze effigy figure and to fashion the tomb chest (Fig. 7.12). However, the contract required that Torrigiano, who was a respected portrait artist, work under the direction of Wewyck, use his face pattern, and follow his detailed directions for the recumbent figure.

The overall design recalls the earlier royal tombs – especially that of Queen Eleanor of Castile in the Plantagenet royal mausoleum surrounding the shrine of Edward the Confessor (Fig. 4.28). Like Queen Eleanor and the other women there, Lady Margaret lies recumbent with a gablet, or canopy, surrounding her head, which rests on two pillows with Tudor badges. She wears the wimple, coif, and veil of a pious widow and a long cape over her gown. In spite of having to work under the supervision of others, Torrigiano displays tremendous skill in the frank veracity of the figure, a new feature in English effigies. Unlike Queen Eleanor, shown in the blossom of youth despite her 50 years, Lady Margaret's lined face and knotty hands, clasped in prayer, concur with her age of 66 years. Traces of pigment appear on the veil, face, and hands.[34]

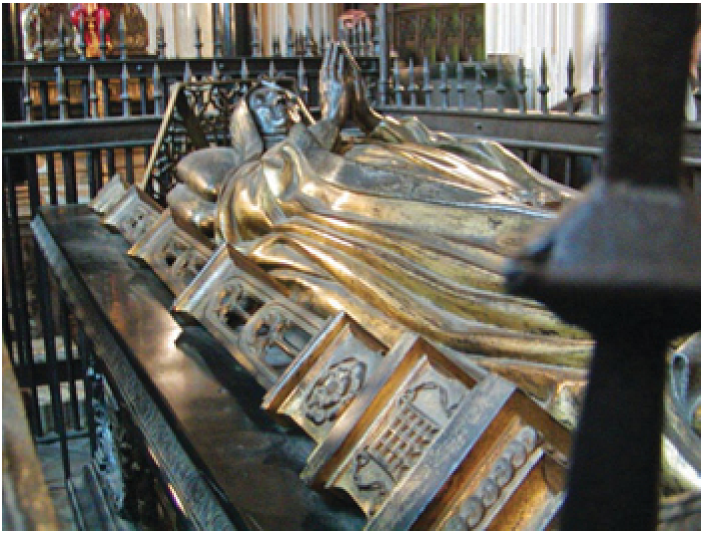

Fig. 7.12 Westminster Abbey, London, Pietro Torrigiano, effigy of Margaret Beaufort, gilded bronze, 1511–1512. Photograph: author

Torrigiano incorporated classical elements into the design for the touchstone tomb chest, which, in the English workshop tradition, was usually the venue of another craftsman. Apparently with a bit more freedom in this design, Torrigiano divided each long side into three sections with composite classical pilasters. Ribbon ties at the top featured Tudor roses and foliage. As was typical of Tudor art, the various gilded coats-of-arms in each section, surrounded by classical wreaths, promoted the Tudor dynasty. They included the emblems of the queen's parents and grandparents, her husband's, her royal ancestors, Henry V and Catherine of Valois, her grandson Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon (now missing), and Prince Arthur. Erasmus wrote the text around the tomb, for which he received a generous payment. Cornelius Symondson designed the surrounding black wrought iron grate, which is only slightly taller than the tomb.[35] In the end, his skill and conformity to a collaborative design paid off, for on 26 October 1512, with Wolsey acting as agent for Henry VIII, Torrigiano signed a contract for the double tomb monument, which would take 7 years to complete.

Chantry, altar, and tomb effigies of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York

Frequently in medieval and Renaissance Europe, royal couples were laid to rest in individual tombs, sometimes in separate locations. By placing Henry VII and his Yorkist queen together, the Tudor monarchs emphasized the double lineage through which they claimed legitimate title to the throne and promoted the dynasty they established. The chantry occupies the center of the Lady Chapel, directly behind the high altar, which Torrigiano also designed. As Torrigiano began work, Thomas the Dutchman had already completed an ornate wrought iron grate to define the boundaries of the chantry. To embellish the grate, Torrigiano fashioned 32 small bronze statues of favored saints (now destroyed), the only part of the tomb in which he collaborated with someone else. Considerably taller and more elaborate than the grate surrounding Lady Margaret's tomb, the enclosure for the Tudors resembles more closely that for Edward IV (d. 1483) in the choir of St George's Chapel, Windsor. The architectural setting, the royal chantry, and the effigies compete in size, grandeur, and placement with the nearby tombs of the canonized King Edward the Confessor and the revered warrior Henry V in the apse of Westminster. It exceeds the chantry for Edward IV, the grandest to date at Windsor. The closest equivalent on the continent was the French royal mausoleum at Cléry, built by Louis XI (d. 1483).[36] Having proved himself with the tomb of Margaret Beaufort, Torrigiano had more freedom in designing the monument. Although Torrigiano's design would share some features with the lavish, decidedly Gothic chapel and free-standing Beauchamp tomb in Warwick of sixty years earlier, he introduced new features of

Italian Renaissance classicism.

Torrigiano designed a freestanding double chest molded of black touchstone with a white marble base (Fig. 7.13). The north and south sides of the chest have three gilded roundels surrounded by a wreath with the images of pairs of saints, taken from a list in the king's will. Reading from east to west on the north side, the saints are: St Mary Magdalen and St Barbara; St Christopher and St Anne; and St Edward the Confessor and St Vincent; on the south side are: St George and St Anthony; St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist; and the Virgin and Child and St Michael. He introduced many classical and Italianate features, such as gilded pilasters with acanthus leaves on the corners, grotesques in high relief, and putti. At each end, two putti, who originally held banners, gracefully reach over to touch the top of the royal arms. A gilded bronze border of classical scrollwork runs along the top outside edge.

Breaking with the earlier design that Guido Mazzoni had made for Henry VII, the recumbent figures appear without somber kneeling angels, gablet canopies, cadavers, or the sleep of death. Instead, with eyes open, the naturalistically portrayed, middle-aged king and queen fold their hands in prayer and fix their attention on the east window. Henry wears a long robe and a cap; Elizabeth, a fur-lined robe and a veil. The refinement and verity of the effigies compare favorably with the bronze papal tombs in Rome, completed in the 1490s by Antonio Pollaiuolo for popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. The sublime double effigy is generally considered Torrigiano's masterpiece and a milestone in funerary art.

Torrigiano's exquisite Italianate design for the high altar, with various colored and white marbles, touchstone, gilded bronze pillars, and terracotta angels, was without rival in England. Gilded bronze reliefs showed the Nativity on the back and the Resurrection on the front. A terracotta sculpture of the dead Christ was below the altar. Above, a pair of angels, each with a candle and a cross, flanked the royal couple's coat-of-arms. Torrigiano, however, did not install the high altar that he designed. Benedetto da Rovezzano put it in place in 1526, when he also assumed other of Torrigiano's projects. Although damaged by iconoclasts in 1644, descriptions and an engraving of 1663 record its general appearance. It was reconstructed in 1932–1935 from these sources and remaining fragments.[37]

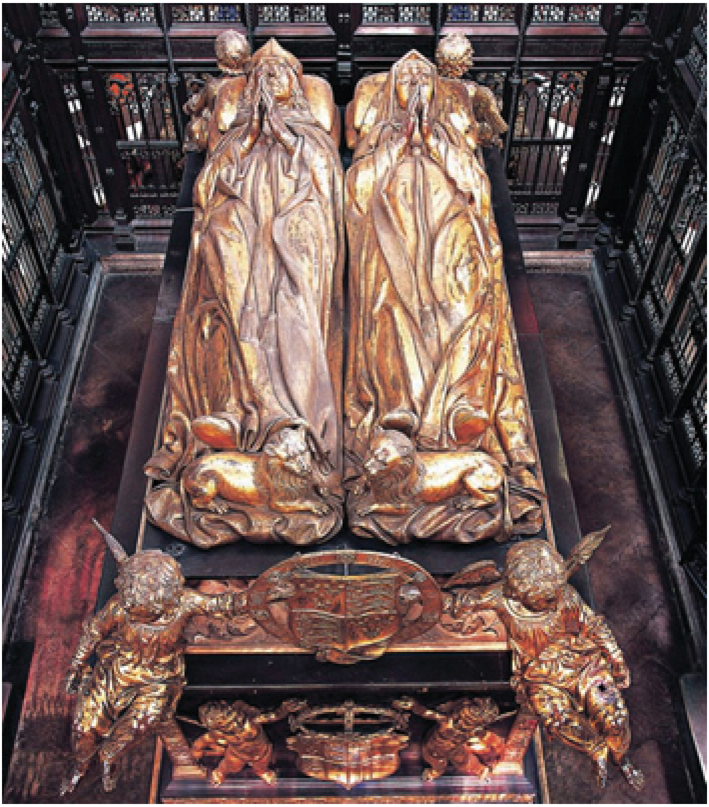

Fig. 7.13 Westminster Abbey, London, Pietro Torrigiano, effigy of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, gilded bronze, 1512–1519. Photograph: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, London

Tomb design for Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon

As the monument to Henry VII and Elizabeth of York drew to completion, Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey turned their attention to a freestanding tomb for Henry VIII and Queen Katherine of Aragon, a grandiose idea that would go through several incarnations with various artists, but would come to an ill-fated end. The saga began on 5 January 1519 with Torrigiano entering into an agreement with Wolsey, acting on behalf of the king, to produce a tomb of black touchstone and white marble with gilded bronze effigies of the royal couple. The full design not only exceeded that for his father, but also Michelangelo's lavish initial designs for the tomb of Pope Julius II (d. 1513). Torrigiano, however, produced nothing other than the concept. Between 1522 and 1525, he left London for Florence to gather assistants. The assistants arrived, including Baccio Bandinelli, but, for unknown reasons, Torrigiano never returned.[38]

In spite of abandoning the project, however, Torrigiano succeeded in instituting Italianate ideas with far-reaching consequences. First, he introduced new and enduring forms, including the consistent, well-conceived use of classical forms, the sarcophagus-style tomb chest, naturalism, and a grand scale. Torrigiano also brought a new combination of materials, inspired by his wide travels throughout Europe.[39] In addition, he introduced the Italian Renaissance process of a single artist, free of the cumbersome constraints of collaboration, designing and executing an original work of art. Although workshop collaboration did not disappear in England, the English now more willingly trusted the oversight of a project to one artist. This concept was informed by fifteenth-century Italian humanistic philosophy, with its increased emphasis on the dignity of the individual, and its more enlightened appreciation for creative genius.[40]

The next phase of Henry VIII's tomb project involved Giovanni Cavalcanti and Wolsey as agents requesting models from three artists. Cavalcanti was a Florentine businessman with close ties to the Medici family and the pope; he also served as a gentleman usher at the English court. Acting on instruction from the Datary, which controlled important papal expenditures, Cavalcanti hired another of Michelangelo's rivals, Baccio Bandinelli, a Florentine artist favored by the Medici.[41] In 1522, models by Baccio da Montelupo and Jacopo da Sansovino arrived in England. Baccio Bandinelli's more grandiose model went first to Rome, as Pope Leo X planned the tomb as a gift in appreciation for Henry's military alliance and his erudite theological treatise, which had supported the pope against Protestant critics.[42] On 30 November 1520, the pope approved the plan from his deathbed, and simultaneously awarded Henry the title, "Defender of the Faith."[43] Henry received the title, which would soon prove valuable to him in ways that neither he nor the pope could have imagined, but nothing came of the monument.

In a letter of 1521 to Michelangelo, Leonardo Sellaio described the model for the tomb of Henry VIII and Katherine as large and set on a platform of several steps that supported a triumphal arch resembling that at the foot of the Capitoline Hill in Rome, which has a triple opening.[44] The design also called for 134 statues and 44 bronze relief panels. The top portion was to resemble a funerary canopy with a bronze equestrian sculpture of the king at the top, recalling the scale and grandeur of the fifteenth-century Italian commemorative equestrian monuments by Donatello and Verrocchio.[45] Nothing on that scale, imbued with such symbolic and allegorical value, had ever been built in England – nor would it, until 1872, when Queen Victoria erected the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park in memory of her beloved husband.[46] However, by June 1524, Benedetto da Rovezzano actually had begun Wolsey's tomb, intended for either his college at Oxford or his archepiscopal seat at York. The contract specified that it was "… not to be inferior in workmanship, magnificence, or cost to the tomb of Henry VII".[47] With Michelangelo's tomb for the pope reduced and Henry VIII's tomb on hold, Wolsey's freestanding tomb was the grandest underway in Europe, but not for long.[48]

In 1527, Jacopo Sansovino resumed the royal project, assisted by Benedetto da Rovezzano, who had worked with Baccio Bandinelli on the earlier tomb. The venue changed from Westminster to the more spacious St George's Chapel at Windsor, the burial place of his Lancasterian grandfather, Henry VI. The design, artist, and queen would change as well.[49] In the mid-1530s, Benedetto, free of the contract for Wolsey's tomb, began work on a smaller, but still grand, tomb for Henry VIII and his new queen, Jane Seymour. As the final insult to Cardinal Wolsey, Henry appropriated the completed parts of Wolsey's tomb for his own, most particularly the magnificent classically-inspired, black marble sarcophagus.[50]

As with Michelangelo's initial plan for the tomb of Pope Julius II, Wolsey's and Henry VIII's tombs are sad testimonies to grand ambitions. Each man, magnificent in life, rests for eternity beneath a simple stone slab: Julius at St Peter's (1513), Wolsey at Leicester Abbey (1530), and Henry VIII (1547) with Queen Jane, Henry VI, and others in the crypt beneath the choir of St George's Chapel, Windsor. Although Puritan iconoclasts later destroyed most of the completed parts of Henry's tomb, Wolsey's indestructible sarcophagus that Henry confiscated survives. In an interesting twist of fate, it rests in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral, London, where it holds the body of neither Wolsey nor Henry, but instead that of Horatio, Viscount Nelson (1758–1805).[51]

Ecclesiastical tomb designs: the perpetuation of the Perpendicular Gothic

Whereas the tombs of English royalty embodied bold new Italian ideas, ecclesiastics of wealth and influence firmly held to the conservative Perpendicular style. However, rather than becoming stale, these late Perpendicular monuments actually offer fresh and interesting variations. Their elaborate chantry tombs included grates, polychromed effigies, and cadaver figures, as first seen in the previously mentioned tomb of Henry Chichele (d. 1443) in Canterbury Cathedral. Among the most interesting and most contrasting are the tombs of Richard Foxe and John Wakeman.

Chantry tomb of Richard Foxe

In Winchester, Bishop Richard Foxe (d. 1528), an executor of the will of Henry VII and an overseer of his tomb, commissioned an elaborate carved stone chantry to stand between two piers along the south corner of the presbytery (Fig. 7.14). This mastery of Perpendicular detail resembles other chantries at Winchester, such as those of bishops Waynflete and Wyckham. Scholars attribute the design to master mason William Vertue; indeed, it resembles Vertue's works at St George's Chapel, Windsor and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which Foxe founded. The rectangular four-bay structure contains fluted engaged columns topped with stone lanterns that reach above the springing of the arcade. Alternating lanterns hold pelicans, the emblem of Bishop Foxe. Legend held that in the absence of available food, pelicans tore their flesh to feed their young. They often appear above crucifixes as a symbol of sacrifice. A wooden entry door stands in the westernmost (left) bay. The second bay from the east contains an arched iron grille, through which a stone cadaver image of Bishop Foxe's emaciated corpse appears as a "memento mori", or a reminder of the transience of life and the inevitability of death.

John Wakeman

Perhaps the most gruesome of the cadaver tombs is the monument that John Wakeman, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, built during his lifetime and finished in the 1530s (Fig. 7.15). This canopied stone monument stands between two columns in the ambulatory of Tewkesbury Abbey. Unlike the double effigies of most cadaver tombs, this one, carved from stone and unpainted, has only one effigy – and a disturbing one. A verminous cadaver, with its back arched from rigor mortis and displaying an advanced state of decomposition, lies on top of the tomb chest. Many animals gnaw at the corpse: a worm wiggles over his left knee, a lizard leaps across his left thigh, a beetle alights on his left arm, a mouse nibbles at his bowels, a snake slithers through his shroud near his feet, and a frog perches near his head. Wakeman intended this richly carved monument as his tomb. However, in 1541, he was consecrated as the first bishop of Gloucester, where he died in 1549. He was buried at Forthampton. Morose cadaver tombs and chantries, where monks offered prayers for the souls of the departed, would lose their purpose when the English church embraced Protestantism. Many tombs were defaced or destroyed by Protestant zealots.

Royal architectural projects following the fall of

Wolsey

The last two decades of the reign of Henry VIII mark the zenith of royal patronage and the point at which architecture and painting turned from that which glorified God to that which glorified royal power and secular positions. Royal jousts and tournaments gave way to unparalleled artistic and architectural patronage, perhaps fueled by his new wife, Anne Boleyn, who appears to be the only of his wives to have had a serious interest in architecture. Henry would acquire more of his country's art and architecture than any monarch in English – possibly even European – history. He would also destroy more than any previous monarch. Henry's royal buildings, whether renovated or confiscated from religious leaders, along with their rich furnishings, provided a fitting setting for Henry's increasingly extravagant lifestyle. No king before or since was more innovative, influential, inexhaustible, or exasperating to those who worked for him, as he constantly altered architectural plans and then demanded a rapid completion.

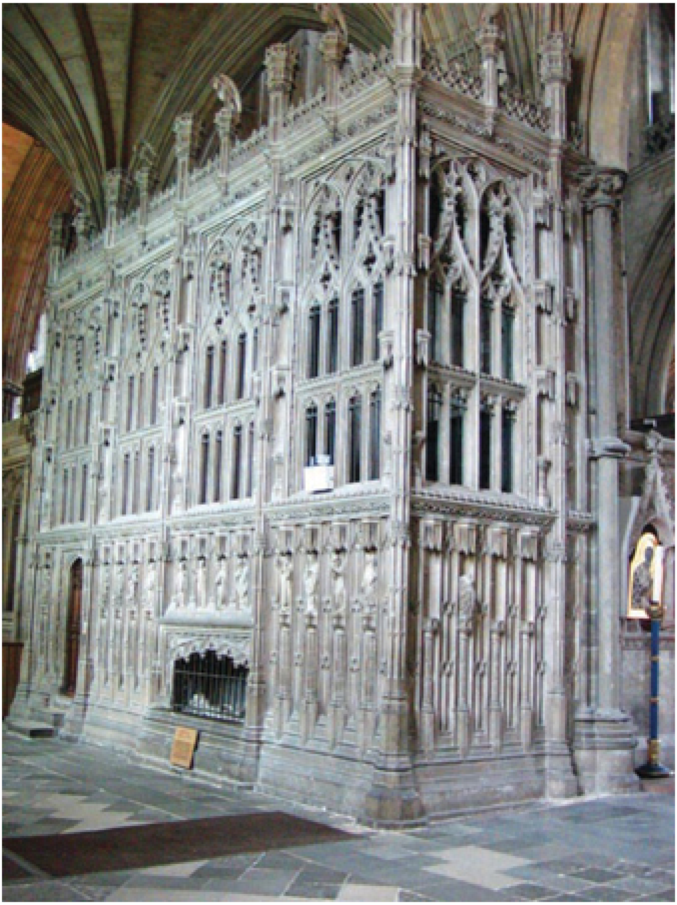

Fig. 7.14 Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, William Vertue, master mason (?), chantry tomb of Richard Foxe, carved stone, c. *1505–1530. Photograph: author*

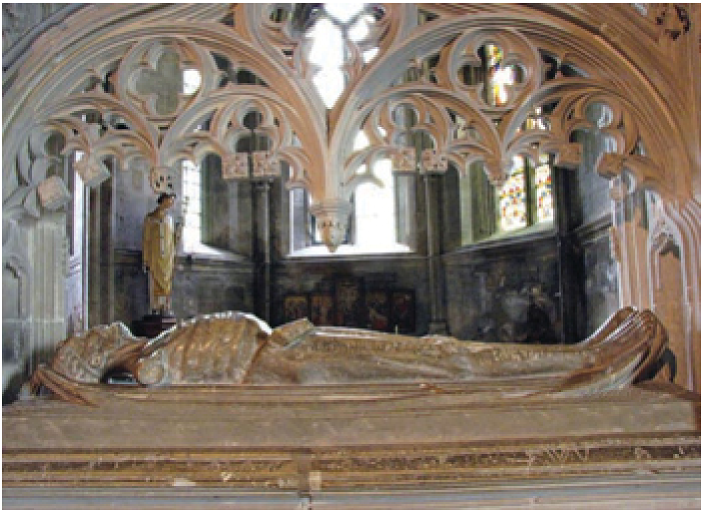

Fig. 7.15 Abbey Church of St Mary the Virgin, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, tomb of John Wakeman, Abbot of Tewkesbury, carved stone, 1530s. Photograph: author

The Eltham Ordinance of 1526 divides royal residences outside London into two distinct types, based on size and capacity. The greater houses, listed as Windsor, Hampton Court, Richmond, Beaulieu, Eltham, and Woodstock, could accommodate the entire court of about 1500 people. The lesser houses tended to have no halls and therefore served as private retreats. The Office of the King's Works, already established in 1378, oversaw construction and maintenance at these palaces.[52] Like his predecessors, Henry would renovate his London residences, the newly acquired Whitehall Palace and the Tower of London, and he would put his mark on his grand properties, including Hampton Court, Greenwich Palace, and Windsor Castle. His lesser residences included some escheated from churchmen other than Wolsey, such as the bishop of Ely's house at Hatfield, where Henry's children spent much of their youth, and Knole, country house of the archbishop of Canterbury. He also built a new palace on a somewhat smaller scale as a retreat, which he named Nonsuch Palace.

Whitehall Palace, London

Of the cardinal's possessions, York Palace held the most importance for the king, since in 1515 the privy lodgings at Westminster Palace had succumbed to fire. What remained at Westminster, including the Great Hall, Henry gave to Parliament. The new royal residence, which

Henry renamed Whitehall Palace, gave the monarchy a power base near Westminster and replaced Bridewell as the primary royal residence in London. Whitehall Palace served the royal family as its primary residence in London from 1530 until 1698, when fire destroyed most of it. Henry was the first of several kings to enlarge it.

When Henry took control of York Palace, the main residential block, which stretched to the river and included the Great Hall, chapel, and apartments, would form the core of the new royal palace. He built two splendid twin-towered, multi-storied gatehouses to span King Street: King Street Gate and Holbein Gate. The latter, known only through descriptions and a 1725 engraving by George Vertue, resembled the form of the entrance gates to Hampton Court.[53] The upper level of these gates enabled members of the court to pass from the south side of what is now St James's Park to Whitehall Palace without crossing the public road. In 1533, the king renovated Wolsey's apartments for his new queen, Anne Boleyn. New lodgings for the king were situated in the Privy Gallery, on the north end near the Holbein Gate, which connected to the queen's gallery on the east end. To the north of his lodgings and visible from his apartments he built a most unusual feature: an outdoor pulpit surrounded by a classical loggia called the "Preaching Place." This classical loggia, or covered colonnade, probably the first in England, surely caught the eyes of William Cecil at Burghley House and of architect Inigo Jones in the next century as he designed a new Banqueting House at Whitehall for James I.[54]

Henry acquired land to the south and west of the palace, an adjacent orchard, and reclaimed land along the riverfront, where he built a large courtyard house for Princess Mary. Following the example of the tennis courts and bowling alleys his father built at Richmond, Henry built Parkside, the largest recreation area of any Tudor palace. It included a tiltyard, a cockpit, four tennis courts, and two bowling alleys. On Henry's death in 1547, Whitehall, still under construction, covered 23 acres (9.3 ha). Henry's counterpart to the French king's Louvre Palace was reputed to be the largest royal palace in Europe. Whitehall was not only Henry's most expensive building project, but it was probably the most extravagant of any English royal project.[55]

St James Palace, London

Second to Whitehall Palace in the king's mind was nearby St James Palace, which served as guest quarters. To build this red brick Tudor style complex, which surrounded four courtyards, Henry razed the leper hospital dedicated to Saint James the Less, from which the palace and the park behind it took their names. The gatehouse, which still stands on the north end of a long range, is flanked by taller polygonal towers with crenellations. Embellished with diaperwork and the badges of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves, his fourth queen (1540), it recalls the designs used at Hampton Court Palace and at Whitehall.[56] This new royal construction offers insight into the appearance of parts of the palace built in the Tudor era under Wolsey and Henry. St James Palace remained an auxiliary facility until Whitehall burned in 1698. Then it served as the royal palace until Queen Victoria moved into Buckingham Palace.

Tower of London

Henry's renovations during the 1530s and 1540s at the Tower of London made the complex grander in appearance and more comfortable. He embellished the turrets of the White Tower with onion-shaped domes and weather vanes. In the southwest corner, across from the Church of St Peter ad Vincula, he built black and white timber lodgings (later renamed the Queen's House) for the resident governor of the tower. In 1533, to honor the coronation of Anne Boleyn, he built the timber Queen's Lodgings in the southeast corner of the complex, which extended northward from the Lanthorn Tower almost to the southeast corner of the White Tower. Henry and Anne stayed in these apartments before the queen's coronation procession embarked along the Thames to Westminster Abbey. Beginning in the 1530s, with the strife caused by the Reformation, the Tower increasingly held political prisoners. In 1536, the same queen would be held there as a political prisoner. On that occasion, Anne Boleyn asked Sir William Kingston, the Constable at the Tower, "Shall I go into a dungeon?" He answered, "No madam. You shall go into the lodging you lay in at your coronation".[57] She met her death at the Tower scaffold by the executioner's sword and was buried nearby in the Church of St Peter ad Vincula.

Hampton Court Palace

Henry poured tremendous energy into Hampton Court, which he called his fourth favorite residence after Whitehall Palace, Greenwich Palace, and Windsor Castle. He spent 811 days there during his 38-year reign, which suggests that although he visited frequently, his stays were short. His ongoing extensive renovations at Hampton Court refit it from a cleric's residence to one suited for a married king and his court. He continued the brick construction and general architectural appearance begun by Wolsey.

The phases of construction at Hampton Court correspond roughly to Henry's marriages. Each of his six wives came to the palace, most to a new set of lodgings. In 1529–1530, for Katherine of Aragon, Henry used the stacked lodgings inherited from Wolsey. In 1533, he built the finest of his lodgings there for Anne Boleyn. For these quarters, he abandoned the stacked arrangement and placed her lodgings on the same level as his. Both of these lodgings joined the glazed galleries and the grand staircase, a new feature that Wolsey had introduced.[58] The king rebuilt his own rooms at least half a dozen times with varying degrees of personal involvement. His tower study near his bedchamber appears to have been of his own design.[59]

Renovations extended beyond residential quarters. The largest enterprise of the early phase involved the kitchens, built to the north of the base court and adequate to feed hundreds of people. His builders engineered running water from cisterns to supply toilet and bathing facilities as well as a fountain in the garden. As at Whitehall, he added tennis courts. Henry finished the chapel that Wolsey had begun by adding the roof Wolsey intended for the chapel at Cardinal College, Oxford (renamed Christ Church College), which he had founded in 1525. By 1540, the astronomical clock by Nicholas Oursian that still presides over the inner courtyard stood in place. As it marks the time, it displays a geocentric, pre-Copernican outlook, with the sun on the hour hand rotating around the earth at the center. It also shows the days of the week, the months of the year, the signs of the zodiac, the phases of the moon, and high tides at London Bridge.

Wolsey had recently rebuilt the Great Hall at Hampton Court as a traditional medieval communal eating space. In 1534–1535, Henry rebuilt it again – his only Great Hall and the last Great Hall in England. In so doing, however, he redefined the function of the Great Hall, which, since Saxon times, had been a staple of any respectable house. Henry, who used more private spaces for his dining, transformed the hall to a center of ceremony and an embodiment of magnificence. This decision would influence subsequent architectural projects – his as well as those of his courtiers.

London-based carvers Richard Rydge and John Wright personally applied embellishments to the new carved screen and elaborate ceiling, including polychromed and gilded angels at every hammerbeam. A louver in the center of the roof allowed smoke from the fire below to escape. Large stained glass windows asserted his kingship in symbolism and magnificence. The hall remains largely intact, except for the louver and interior paint. The walls displayed fabulous tapestries with gold and silver threads, which could be changed according to the season or occasion. The Story of Abraham, which often hung there, was filled with strong dynastic symbolism, reinforcing his ecclesiastically ordained kingship. By 1540, Hampton Court Palace probably exceeded all others in Europe as the most modern, sophisticated, and magnificent.[60]

Nonsuch Palace, Surrey

On 22 April 1538, the day following the twenty-ninth anniversary of Henry's accession to the throne and the eve of St George's Day, Henry began Nonsuch Palace, one of the few residences that he built from the foundation up with a fully conceived plan. Considered a "healthful" place, he planned a retreat for healthy exercise, quiet privacy, and recreational hunting. Moreover, to celebrate the birth of his son by Queen Jane and heir, Edward, born at Hampton Court Palace the previous October, Henry conceived a house of unequaled splendor, second to none; hence he invented the name, which he originally spelled "Nonnesuche". To provide the site and stones for the building material, Henry demolished the village and ancient church at Cuddington near Ewell in Surrey, as well as Merton Priory. Razed in the 1680s, little remains of Nonsuch today except archaeological fragments and a few images from the later sixteenth century, including a woodcut and a drawing by Hoefnagel.[61] These images and the greater quantity of written material, however, have demonstrated a new significance surrounding Nonsuch Palace as a political statement of Henry's image of himself as king and Defender of the Faith. Nonsuch also initiated a new classically inspired concept of architecture and established a model for the prodigy houses of Henry's courtiers, who wished to offer homage to their king and his new Protestant regime.

Italian humanists and architects, inspired by classical literature, particularly Virgil's *Georgics*, had stressed classical art and architecture as a return to a Golden Age of perfection, morality, and productive leisure, especially the hunt.[62] The pastoral setting and seclusion of Nonsuch invoked such ancient-inspired villas, especially the splendid Italian rural retreats by architect Andrea Palladio. To create the classical setting, Henry built Nonsuch on a more intimate scale: unlike Hampton Court, which covered 6 acres (2.4 ha), Nonsuch covered just 2 acres (0.81 ha).

Like Hampton Court, the architecture of Nonsuch was fundamentally Gothic with a classical overlay. The basic plan resembled Hampton Court on a smaller scale: two square blocks with inner and outer courtyards, each with a gatehouse. In the outer court, the lower part was built in stone and the upper in half-timber in a traditionally Gothic manner. The more modest material suited the lower status of the service personnel who lived there. Moreover, Nonsuch, like other "lesser" royal residences, had no Great Hall. Instead the household of the king used their own dining room in the outer court. As at Hampton Court, a set-back kitchen court to the left of the entrance (west) stood parallel to the north-facing outer court and joined the inner court at the north end. The raised up inner court, accessible only through a flight of stairs, with richer materials, served as a private sanctuary for the king. The designs of the Italian villas contained formal gardens and took into account the surrounding countryside. To take advantage of the vistas, Henry built galleries from which to view the walled gardens and nearby woods on the east.[63]

The physical seclusion of the inner courtyard and the esoteric classical iconography of the lavish decorations mirrored the increasingly wide disparity between the public and private sectors. Henry had initiated a change in the arrangement of the living quarters at Hampton Court, which he continued: the new royal lodgings at Nonsuch were horizontal. For decoration, again following the model of Hampton Court, Henry used classical terracotta embellishments. However, with Henry the symbolism became more specific to his new image of kingship. Henry identified with the legendary strength and wisdom of the half-god and half-mortal mythological Hercules, who appeared in the stuccoes. He frequently appeared in tournaments in mythological guise: Henry had apparently dressed as Hercules in a procession at the Field of Cloth of Gold.[64]

Italian craftsmen made many of the antique-inspired embellishments at Nonsuch. Nicholas Bellin (Belino) of Modena, who worked on the French royal building program at Fontainebleau, is documented as a painter and stucco worker at Whitehall in 1540, Nonsuch from 1541–1545, and Broughton Castle in Oxfordshire in the mid-1550s.[65] A surviving drawing attributed to Bellin for interior stucco decoration depicts classical embellishments flanking the coat-of-arms of Henry VIII and his last queen, Katherine Parr, whom he married in 1543. The drawing shows how closely Henry's embellishments reflected Post-Renaissance Italian Mannerism as filtered through the French court at Fontainebleau.

Textual descriptions and a surviving watercolor indicate stucco and terracotta decorations on the inner court divided on each side into three horizontal levels and 16 vertical rows. The top level contained the Caesars, probably taken from Suetonius. The middle level showed classical gods and heroes, male on the king's side, female on the queen's. Lower panels on the king's side depicted the Feats of Hercules; those on the queen's side portrayed the seven Liberal Arts and Sciences and nine Virtues. Newly acquired Italianate tapestries (as discussed below) may have inspired, at least in part, these classical figures, set into classical architectural niches. Recently, a series of painted canvas panels at Loseley Park in Surrey have been identified as having been commissioned for Nonsuch. These panels emulate the delicate grotteschi decorations discovered in the 1480s in the ancient Roman emperor Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome (64 AD and after). Such fanciful mixtures of animal, human, and vine forms, in turn, had also inspired painters who were decorating the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel in the 1480s, including Domenico Ghirlandaio and Luca Signorelli, as well as later artists such as Raphael, Rosso Fiorentino, and Francesco Primaticcio.[66]

Nonsuch was one of the strongest declarations of royal power and dynastic succession ever created by an English monarch. Ironically, his son and heir, Edward VI, for whose benefit Henry built his lavish and esoteric classically-inspired villa, only visited it once. In 1556, Mary, Henry's daughter and Edward's successor, sold it to the Earl of Arundel without having ever seen it.[67] The classical ideals that Nonsuch embodied did, however, stir the imaginations of Tudor courtiers, especially of that Edward's guardian, Thomas Seymour, Earl of Somerset, who built Somerset House on London's Strand, the first thoroughly classical residence in England.[68]

The Dissolution of the Monasteries: a turning point in Tudor domestic architecture

The turning point in Tudor architecture was the Dissolution of the Monasteries. This act brought riches into the king's coffers, increasing his ability to build. It also offered him opportunities to give lands to those who were loyal to him. Although Henry's divorce exacerbated the religious situation, the Dissolution was not a precipitous act. The issue of succession was one among several issues of much longer standing. Many of the monasteries had declined, as society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries moved along an increasingly secular course. Some religious houses were considered degenerate, often with good reason. Moreover, monasteries, whether moral or corrupt held large treasuries, not to mention opulent objects, which Henry, with his appetite for magnificence, looked upon covetously. They often owned large tracts of land which produced significant income. The considerable tolls, rents, and other fees that had lined monastic coffers now boosted the royal treasury.[69] Finally Protestant reformers, who emphasized the written and spoken word, looked contemptuously upon Roman Catholic liturgical trappings, ceremony, and artistic embellishments as distracting, idolatrous, and indicative of the overall misguided priorities of the Roman Church. These reformers rallied around the idea of Dissolution. Some stood to gain from it.

Initially the Reformation in England took a moderate course, but, in late 1532, with Anne Boleyn pregnant, the situation had become more urgent. In 1533, Parliament passed the *Act in Restraint of Appeals*, which favored the divorce from Queen Katherine, the marriage to Anne, and Anne's coronation. In 1534, the *Act of Supremacy* increased royal powers by disallowing all papal jurisdictions in England and confiscating all church properties. In addition, the king was not only head of the government, but also, in part on the authority granted him in 1521 by Pope Leo X as "The Defender of the Faith" and now by Parliamentary action, he assumed authority as the Supreme Head of the Church in England. These acts did not immediately disrupt religious practices, including the Roman liturgy and the veneration of images.

Between 1536 and 1540, Henry dissolved the 563 English monasteries. Destruction, sporadic and spotty, left some properties annihilated and others virtually untouched, depending on the enthusiasm of Henry's henchmen in a given area. Quickly the Reformation changed existing visual culture, religious practices, and patronage. Zealots looted and often burned and then cannibalized ecclesiastical buildings for new secular construction. As the reformers gained power, England became a less safe place for immigrant Catholics, including Italian artists; thus, most of those who remained after Wolsey's fall departed for the continent. The contributions, however, of the Italian artists remained and would influence art forms in more tolerant times to come.

Architectural magnificence of the court: Tudor prodigy houses

Architectural priorities shifted from ecclesiastical works to domestic ones as the king escheated monastic houses, keeping some for his own use and dispensing others to loyal nobles. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the greatest architectural changes in England were not in style, for the Perpendicular Gothic endured, but in building types, especially the noble prodigy house, the materials, layouts, and embellishments. Former monastic houses that came into noble hands as a favor from the king, either as a gift or a purchase, were often converted into residences, some more recognizable as former monasteries than others. Some nobles built their country estates on the foundations and even the altar stones of the confiscated abbeys. Others incorporated the pillaged stone on a different site.

For Henry, the Dissolution of the Monasteries was a double-edged sword. Whereas it increased his treasury, the Dissolution also left him without lodgings between venues when he went on progress to one or more of his out-of-town residences. These progresses, or excursions to hold court, were an integral part of royal life. The alternative came through the increasingly large prodigy houses of the nobles. Moreover, the nobles, rather than the crown or the church, would bear the expense of upkeep on the properties and hospitality for the royal court when on progress.

An English prodigy house could, and often did, serve as a primary residence; it did not necessarily denote an equally grand residence in the city, as villas did with Italians. Ambitious and obsequious English courtiers, without traditions of long standing of their own, emulated building types and embellishments that Wolsey had introduced and Henry VIII embraced. In so doing, they also followed continental courtly decorum that dictated that lesser buildings follow important buildings but in diluted form, site, scale, embellishments, and furnishings.[70]

In the earlier forms of a prodigy house, a Great Hall, most often two stories, usually stood opposite the entrance. New features included the long gallery and private quarters with an increasingly large parlor.[71] The house usually was built around one or more square courtyards, although this orientation shifted in the 1540s to a more outward focus. The introduction of classical elements, albeit often mixed with Gothic ones, stood in striking contrast to traditional turreted English buildings. This evolution appears in such prodigy houses as Layer Marney Hall, the Vyne, and Mount Edgcumbe.

Layer Marney Hall, Essex

Layer Marney Hall, located near Colchester in Essex bears the unmistakable influence of royal buildings. Henry, Lord Marney, newly ennobled Captain of the King’s Bodyguard and Lord Privy Seal to Henry VIII, began the house around 1517. In 1525, he added the imposing brick gatehouse with its double towers that unquestionably resembles the brickwork at Hampton Court Palace. Furthermore, classically inspired designs include fine terracotta work with shells and dolphins. The hexagonal corner towers, with eight rows of windows, rise well above the roof line, higher than the towers at

Hampton. Inside, the beamed Long Gallery, with wood paneling and polished oak floor, gives another distinctively Tudor air.[72]

The Vyne, Hampshire

Concurrently, Lord Sandys, Henry VIII's Lord Chamberlain, built The Vyne, southwest of London near Basingstoke (Figs 7.16 and 7.17). This house, once enclosed on all sides, incorporated the latest features, including a gallery and classical devices. The glazed gallery, built between 1515 and 1529, is the first surviving long gallery in England. It measures 74 .4 × 14.6 ft wide (22.7 × 4.5 m) and has a flat ceiling 12 ft (3.67 m) high with plaster decoration. The linenfold oak paneling bears the emblems and coats-of-arms of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Elizabeth of York, Wolsey (with his cardinal's hat), Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII, and Thomas More, among many others. The entrance into the royal apartments on the east is marked by the royal coat-of-arms, flanked by Sandys' crests and medallions and joined by two classical putti.[73] The whole effect evokes Wolsey's terracotta coat-of-arms at Hampton Court. Another surviving classical features is a single large unglazed terracotta roundel of an unnamed Roman emperor, which could have been part of a series. It so closely resembles those at Hampton Court that it could have been made around 1520 in the workshop of the same artist, Giovanni da Maiano.[74]

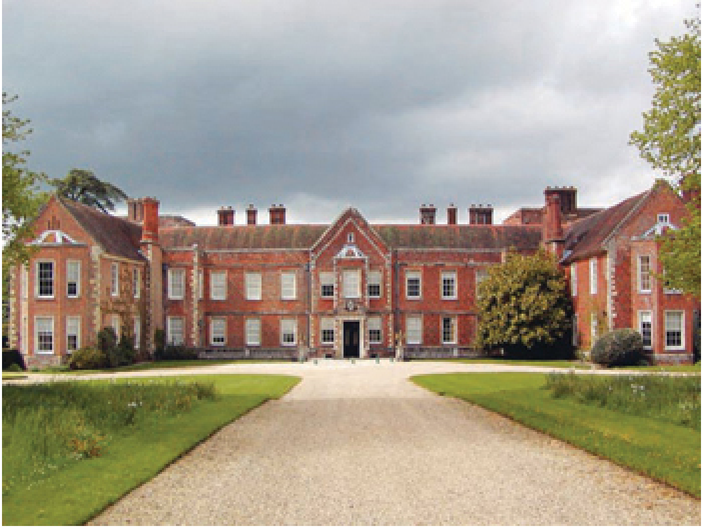

Fig. 7.16 The Vyne, Basingstoke, Hampshire, exterior façade, c. *1509–1515. Photograph: author*

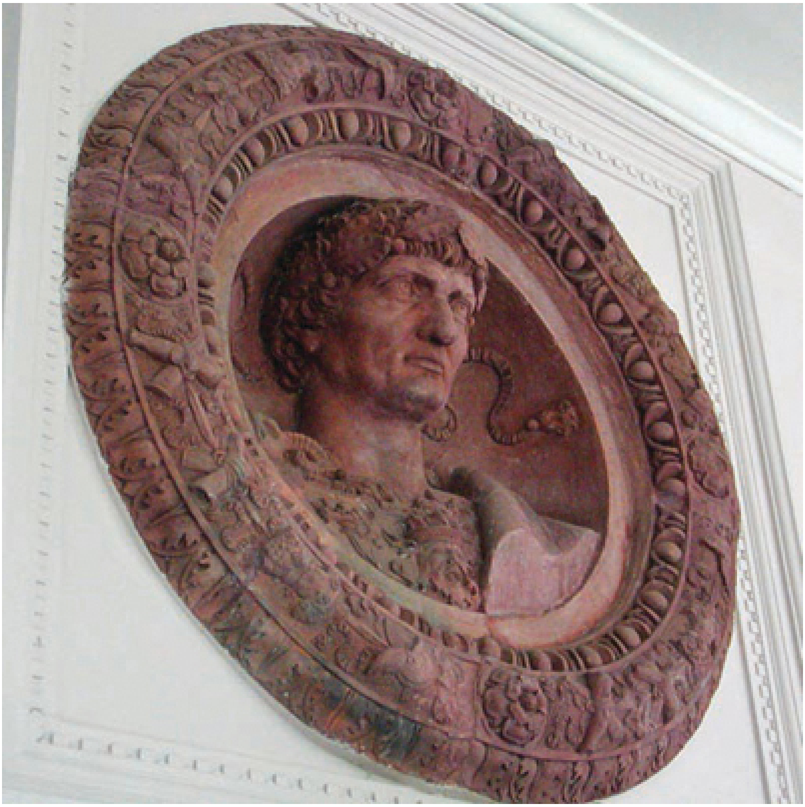

Fig. 7.17 The Vyne, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Giovanni da Maiano (?), medallion terracotta bust of the Roman Emperor Probus, c. *1520–1525. Photograph: author*

Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire

Mottisfont Abbey gives an early example of a monastic property turned into a prodigy house (Fig. 7.18). The foundation of the Augustinian Priory at Mottisfont Abbey dated to 1201. Lord Sandys acquired the property after 1537. Instead of renovating the south-facing cloister and the residential portions of the priory for his house, Lord Sandys demolished them and incorporated the nave and tower of the church into his residence. The new structure reveals little of its Gothic past. The only overtly monastic portion to remain is the thirteenth-century *cellarium*, the monks' ground-level storage room, with Caen stone columns supporting a vaulted ceiling. The stone north front of the house equals the length of the nave and ends in a truncated tower. An arch imbedded in the façade once led into the north transept. The south façade is an odd mix of Gothic austerity in the stone wings with Tudor features in the center (although this portion was reworked in the eighteenth century). However, beginning with Sandys, the focus of the residence was turned completely outward and the new building material was Tudor brick.

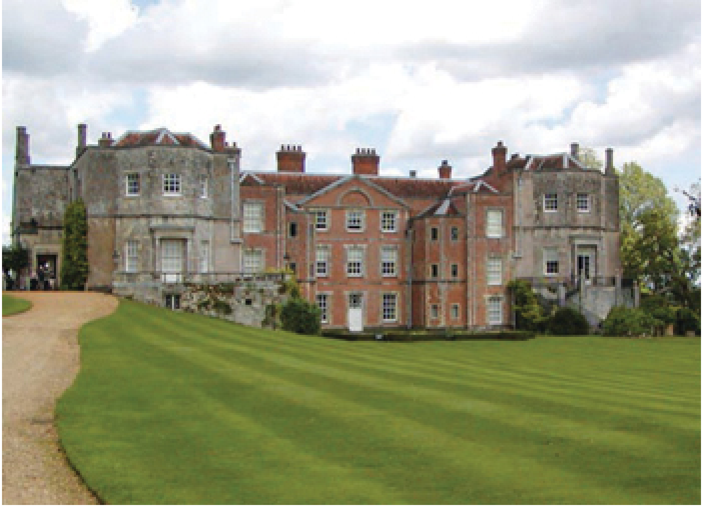

Fig. 7.18 Mottisfont Abbey, Romsey, Hampshire, exterior façade from southwest, 1537–1540. Photograph: author

Mount Edgcumbe, Cornwall

Perhaps the most innovative of the buildings of this period is Mount Edgcumbe, both in its outward orientation and in its form. In 1547 Sir Richard Edgcumbe hired Roger Palmer, a local mason, to build a lodge in a deer park created in 1539 by his father, Sir Piers Edgcumbe. Finished in 1553, Mount Edgcumbe crowns a gentle rise on the southeast slope of Kingston Down peninsula, which overlooks Plymouth Sound and the River Tamar. For the first time, an English house looks outward to take advantage of the beautiful site and fine vistas. Symmetrical in form, Mount Edgcumbe, is built around a quadrangle using red sandstone with granite long and short quoins at the corners. The façade, flanked by a pair of three-story circular brick towers and crenellations, romantically harks back to earlier medieval buildings. The compact two-story house incorporates the unusual feature of a top-lit hall in the center, completely surrounded by the building, which allows for convenient access. The new features of the outward orientation, the compact form, and the central hall lit from above carries over into Elizabethan architecture.[75]

Civic and institutional architecture

Although royal and noble housing dominated the architectural scene, some civic and institutional building did occur. Fortifications deserve brief mention, with inspiration coming again from Italy. Henry VIII, with his European aspirations, imported Italian military engineers to assist with new fortifications that accommodated the needs of canon warfare. Rather than to follow the lines of a hillside or shoreline with an improvised defensive wall, the Italians introduced a single authoritative star-shaped design, with angled bastions that could help defend other parts of the fort from danger and left no blind spots. Such angled defenses appeared at Calais, apparent in a watercolor drawing attributed to Richard Lee. Examples of these fortresses still exist in Florence and along the Italian coast near Porto Ercole.[76]

In institutional architecture, although less innovative than the military works, colleges at Oxford and Cambridge benefitted most. Collegiate designs perpetuated the quadrangle format of monastic design, with a rectangular cloister with a hall, dormitories, and a chapel, as initiated at New College, Oxford. Among colleges built during this period were Cardinal College at Oxford, renamed Christ Church College, and Trinity College at Cambridge.

Christ Church College, Oxford

Christ Church College owes its splendor to the ambitions of its founder, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. In 1525, at the height of his power, Wolsey suppressed Wallingford Priory near Oxford, built around 1097, and the Augustinian Priory of St Frideswide in Oxford, the founding of which dated back to Anglo-Saxon times. He used the funds to found Cardinal College on the site of St Frideswide. As Lord Chancellor, he had access to the king's master masons, William Vertue and Henry Redman, who apparently served as the principal builders of all Wolsey's works. The size and splendor of Cardinal College rivaled that of royal palaces. The huge cloister (Fig. 7.19), one of the largest in Britain, would have resembled that built *c.* 1526–1528 by Redman and Vertue at St Stephen's, Westminster, but on a larger scale. Humphrey Coke, the master-carpenter who had worked on the cloisters at Eton College (1510–1511), designed the magnificent hammerbeam ceiling in the Great Hall, the first such to be built at a university (Fig. 7.20). Large windows line the upper walls. With hanging carved pendants and paneling on the lower walls, it is one of the last and finest works of late medieval carpentry. In the chancel of chapel, he also designed the fan vaulting and intricate star-like patterns in the ceiling, which is reminiscent of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral. Upon Wolsey's disgrace, the king took over the college and renamed it Christ Church College. He incorporated the hammerbeam roof planned for the hall for Hampton Court and brought construction to a completion, but not as magnificently as Wolsey would have done.

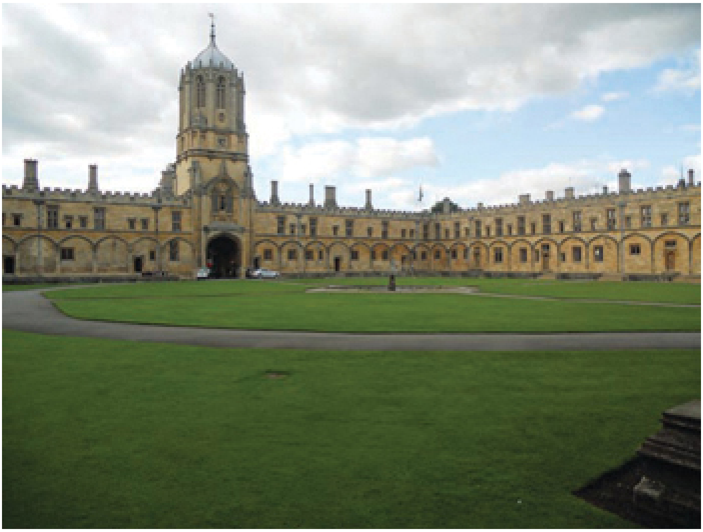

Fig. 7.19 Christ Church College, Oxford, quadrangle cloister (bell tower, Christopher Wren, 1682), 1524–1546. Photograph: courtesy of Alison Norton

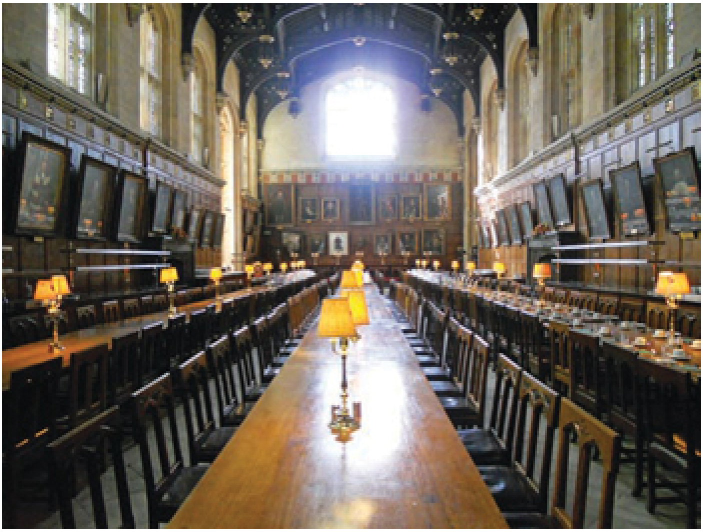

Fig. 7.20 Christ Church College, Oxford, Great Hall, interior, 1524–1529. Photograph: courtesy of Alison Norton

Trinity College, Cambridge

In 1546, Henry VIII seized two existing collegiate foundations at Cambridge. Michaelhouse, which had existed since 1324, occupied buildings on the southern parts of Great Court. King's Hall, the neighbor to the north, had been established by Edward II in 1317 and re-founded by Edward III in 1337. However, rather than dissolve them, he used their revenues to combine them into one large college, which he named Trinity College, with the express purpose of educating the future leaders of the reformed church. The layout followed the quadrangle format, but on a colossal scale. A massive double-towered brick gate with stone corner quoins stands on the west face. Whereas before the Dissolution, a patron saint stood in a niche over the entrance, such as the figure of St John on a similar gate at adjacent St John's College, at Trinity College, a statue of the king stands proud, holding a scepter and, originally, a sword, with various coats-of-arms in the lintel below. Construction began before Henry died, but he did not live to see it completed. Thus, although many religious institutions suffered with the Dissolution, colleges not only survived but also adapted and perpetuated the monastic architectural form.

Magnificence in tapestry

Although tapestries and wall hangings served the practical purpose of keep drafty rooms warmer in the winter, when Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509, elaborately woven tapestries in royal and noble hands had also announced magnificence for well over a century. Fortescue specifically mentioned tapestries as an expected part of palatial furnishings.

Cardinal Wolsey as a collector of tapestries

Early in the young king's reign, the newly appointed Lord Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, began to acquire accoutrements of wealth, including tapestries. His diplomatic travels to France and Burgundy would have exposed him to some of the finest collections of tapestries in Europe. He also would have seen that, unlike in England, fine tapestries routinely adorned wealthy Flemish and French cathedrals and churches. In 1511, Canterbury Cathedral received a six-piece set showing 26 scenes of the Life of the Virgin. Unlike Henry, Wolsey's modest background would not have provided him with such fineries, although he may have acquired some tapestries from his ecclesiastic predecessors. Lists of personal collections of tapestries appeared in the wills and death inventories of archbishop of Canterbury William Warham, archbishop of York Thomas Savage, bishop of Winchester Richard Foxe, and bishop of Ely Nicholas West. Wolsey's newly acquired chancellorship and his cardinalate gave him the means to collect tapestries – in the end, a greater collection than his king owned at the time. Although Wolsey flaunted his rank and sought the latest fashion in architecture, his taste in tapestry appears to have been more conservative.

Classically inspired objects of decorative arts, including wall hangings – tapestries as well as painted cloths – cameos, and silverware, arrived in England by the 1520s. In general, millefleurs tapestry designs lost popularity in favor of narrative scenes. The palette shifted away from the predominance of darker blues and greens to red, blue, and green against neutral tones. Embellishments in gold and silver thread added to the expense. Usually a composition had a central focal point with several supportive scenes around it, making them difficult to “read” at a glance. Highlighting gave a sense of volume to figures with lavish costumes. Many of the tapestries had borders with antique grotteschi, influenced by Raphael and his circle.[77] Although Northern decorative effects predominate, such as the ornate costumes, the emphasis on line and pattern, and the objective bird’s-eye point of view, a blending of the northern and Italian traditions characterized many tapestries at European courts.[78] Perhaps the stylistic blending occurred because sometimes Italian artists did the drawings for the Flemish weavers.

Biblical and moral themes

In 1522, an inventory of tapestries delivered to York Palace included a 21-piece series for the riverfront gallery along with fourteen tapestry window pieces. However, Wolsey’s main collection hung at Hampton Court, where inventories are more thorough.[79] Some of these tapestries still survive. Sets of history tapestries hung in rooms on the first floor around the inner courtyard. Series of biblical narratives depicting Jacob, Susannah, Judith and Holofernes, Solomon, and Sampson, along with the Nine Worthies, adorned seven primary chambers. Other biblical series of Moses, Samuel, Tobias, David, Joseph, Ruth, and the Prodigal Son filled chambers in the Base Court. Only one fragment from the Tobias series survives, which has Wolsey’s coat-of-arms in the dark blue border. The surviving pair of Triumph of the Virtues over the Vices panels (Fig. 7.21), part of the Seven Deadly Sins series that Wolsey purchased for his private chambers, has Italianate elements, particularly evident in the cohesive single frame compositions and in postures of the figures, inspired by engravings of the classically inspired Italian artist Andrea Mantegna.

Humanistic themes

The series of tapestries depicting the Triumphs of Petrarch, probably made for Wolsey in 1520, reflects the cardinal’s interest in humanist literature and represents one of the first English series showing the Italian poet’s literature. These tapestries may have been related to a similar set commissioned in 1503 by French Cardinal George d’Amboise. The innovative Italianate design elements and frame compositions reflect the influx of Italian culture and art following the capture of Milan by Louis XII in 1498 – including luring Leonardo da Vinci to France. Italianate design elements also spread north through the new medium of prints.

Ambitious in scale, Wolsey's tapestries each measured over eight meters long and represented a single panoramic landscape filled with figures. Although the horizon remained high, the space appeared deep and convincing. Fanciful Italianate buildings dotted the hilltops in the distance. In one of the earliest instances of including contemporary portraits in tapestry, a surviving Petrarchan panel of the Triumph of Fame over Death shows figures in the center mid-ground that probably represent Henry VIII as an elaborately plumed warrior and Wolsey in a red cardinal's biretta.[80] Not only does the panorama suggest Italian painting, the inclusion of portraits to represent historical characters recalls Italian fresco practices, most notably the panoramic Procession of the Magi by Benozzo Gozzoli in the chapel of the Medici Palace in Florence (1459–1461) and the School of Athens by Raphael in the Vatican Palace (1509–1510). However, as with Northern European compositions and, to a lesser degree, the murals of Gozzoli, the overall effect remains decorative. At his downfall, Wolsey's tapestry collection of approximately 700 pieces, along with his real estate holdings, was escheated by the king.

The King as collector and innovator

Unlike his father's rather austere surroundings in his youth, tapestries had been a familiar part of Henry VIII's surroundings since birth. The royal collection, spread among the various palaces and castles, probably numbered 400 or more pieces. Henry, therefore, did not immediately feel compelled to expand the royal collection. However, by the end of his reign, through inheritance, purchase, and escheatment, Henry had amassed the largest collection of tapestries ever known, even surpassing the Vatican collection.[81]

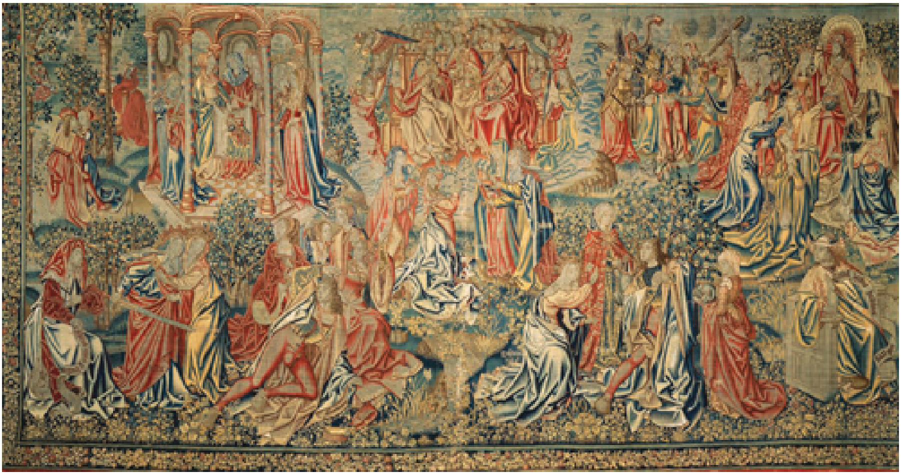

Fig. 7.21 The Vices Beset Sinful Man from Triumph of Virtues over Vices, *tapestry, woven in the southern Netherlands, Hampton Court Palace,* c. *1520–1521. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

In his early years, Henry's tapestry collection was not well documented. The style of contemporary tapestries produced in Brussels, where records show that Henry purchased, continued to be crowded with figures set against a high horizon with a touch of landscape.[82] After 1525, as Wolsey's tapestry collecting habit subsided, Henry's began to escalate.[83] For the first time, the king began to acquire series of tapestries that allegorically aggrandized his idea of his kingship, such as those representing the biblical King David. Moreover, his tapestry designs showed increasingly Italianate stylistic elements, as opposed to Wolsey's more conservative taste. In fact, tapestry, far more than painting, drew England closer to the Italian Renaissance, albeit second-hand by way of France and Brussels. With the long waits that subjects often endured in a king's hall, these tapestries captivated eyes and diverted impatient minds. The subjects and rich materials also reminded anxious supplicants of the importance of the king.

The Story of King David

In the mid-1520s, Henry purchased a ten-piece series of the Story of King David, a warrior-king with whom Henry identified.[84] The tone of the subject matter shifted from chivalric games to more serious moral matters. Henry, at this point in his life, sought to justify a divorce from his barren wife. Like David, whose first child died as punishment for his sins, Henry defended his actions by stating that Katherine of Aragon's infertility resulted from the sin of marrying one's brother's widow.[85]

Stylistically, these tapestries also show an equally dramatic change, moving away from crowded decorative compositions that emphasize line and pattern to compositions with greater illusion and focused action. Monumental figures occupy the foreground. Architectural elements are set against a deep, convincingly receding landscape that leads back to a slightly lower horizon, complete with effects of atmospheric perspective. Although the viewpoint remains slightly above the action, the large figures and buildings in the foreground draw the viewer into the action. Especially in the scene entitled David Sees Bathsheba Washing and Invites her to his Palace, figures move about within elaborate Italianate architecture, embellished with including urns, roundels with heads, and putti.

Italianate designs and papal rivalry: the Acts of the Apostles

As the leading tapestry designers fall further under the spell of Italian Renaissance designs from Raphael and his collaborators for the Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, tapestries show more convincingly rendered architectural settings and more open landscape with a lower horizon line that demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of linear and atmospheric perspective. Monumental figures enact moments of intense drama; extraneous details are minimal. The first of these sets, commissioned by Leo X and woven in the Netherlands between 1517 and 1521, depicted the Acts of the Apostles. Around 1540–1550, the Duke of Mantua and the kings of France, Spain, and England, purchased similar sets of these tapestries which shows widespread embracing of the Italianate aesthetic.

Although Henry's set of the Acts of the Apostles, last seen in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, seems not to have survived World War II, they appear in palace inventories and were photographed before the war. Based on the photographs, measurements, and documentary evidence, Henry's tapestries closely resembled, but did not fully duplicate, the surviving set at the Vatican or the aforementioned closely related sets. These tapestries had vignettes of Hercules in the lateral borders, which for both Henry and Leo X carried political and personal significance. As noted previously, the classical hero with whom the king most strongly identified was Hercules. For the Leo X, Hercules carried the insignia of a lion, his namesake.[86] The religious subject matter, which focused on the ministries of St Paul and St Peter, for Leo X, supported papal authority. In England, Henry and his Protestant theologians interpreted the subjects as Henry as the new-age evangelist and head of the newly formed Church of England.[87]

Italianate designs: antiquities a la grotteschi

Documents indicate that the biblical tapestries arrived in England in 1542, along with a second quite different series, also woven from tapestry designs for Pope Leo X, depicting stories from classical mythology.[88] Whereas the Acts of the Apostles exhibited the new monumental compositions associated with the High Renaissance in Rome, the small scale of the figures, the decorative quality, and delicacy of the two surviving Antiquities tapestries more closely resemble Italian grotteschi designs, inspired by the Roman frescoes in Roman Emperor Nero's Domus Aurea, rediscovered in the 1480s.[89] However, both styles were equally popular in Renaissance Rome and, by the 1540s, at the royal court in France. Although whimsical in appearance, the Antiquities Tapestries, like the biblical stories, conveyed political meaning. One tapestry remaining at Hampton Court Palace depicted the Triumph of Hercules.[90] These two sets of tapestries appear to have been the first instances of Henry embracing the new Italianate aesthetic outside of sculpture and architectural embellishments. Moreover, the Antiquities Tapestries may have helped inspire the decorative terracotta sculpture at Henry's new palace of Nonsuch, for the tapestries arrived at about the same time as Italian artisan Nicholas Bellin came to England from the French court.[91]

Tudor painting: religious paintings in early sixteenth-century England

Art continued to serve as the handmaiden of faith in England as in the rest of Europe, as is evident in parish records and wills. Before and during the early years of the Reformation, religious images formed an expected part of the furnishings of churches, cathedrals, and private homes, where they comforted the sick and dying and inspired the faith of the living. Even the king and Thomas Cromwell, the king's minister who later orchestrated the breach with Rome and the cleansing of the churches following the Dissolution, owned religious images in 1540.

Most of the surviving religious art from the reign of Henry VIII, like that from the reigns of Henry VII and the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings, was by foreign artists, which gives a glimpse into the foreign market and the paucity of well-trained native-born artists. Even before Wolsey rose to power and set the fashion for importing foreign art and well-known foreign artists, English artists and artisans resented the importation of foreign goods and labor. Their heated passions incited riots on May Day in 1517. The unrest, however, appears not to have quelled the desire among English royalty and aristocracy to import art and artists whose work they liked.

Ashwellthorpe Altarpiece

The Ashwellthorpe Altarpiece, a triptych dated 1519 that Christopher Knyvett of East Anglia probably commissioned, gives a surviving example of an altarpiece bearing the detail and brilliant colors of a northern European painter.[92] Attributed to a Netherlandish painter called the Master of the Magdalen Legend, the painting depicts the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The Virgin and Child occupy the center panel, seated on the ground and set against a deep landscape. The donor figures, each with an open book, kneel on brocade covered prie-dieux in the wings. To the Virgin's right is Christopher Knyvett, presented by St Christopher. His wife, opposite, is presented by St Catherine, who holds a spiked wheel. The Virgin casts her eyes downward and holds her arms crossed against her chest. In typical Netherlandish fashion, supporting narrative scenes occur in the landscape background of the central panel. The relatively modest size, brilliant colors, and minute detail characterize Netherlandish paintings popular in continental and English court circles.

Withypool Altarpiece

Although the English more often bought Netherlandish art, another triptych-form altarpiece of the same period demonstrates that Italian artists also worked for the English market. The oldest Italian altarpiece surviving in England was painted for Paul Withypool by Antonio da Solario, who signed and dated it 1514. A merchant in Bristol and London and a member of the Reformation Parliament of 1529 to 1536, Withypool traded extensively with Italians, which must have motivated his choice of an Italian rather than a Netherlandish artist. Solario, a Venetian and a follower of Giovanni Bellini, had other English clients, such as Sir Brian Tuke, who knew Withypool and whose portrait Holbein later painted. The monumental half-length figures, deep landscape, and lush colors reveal Solario's internalization of the style of Venetian artist Giovanni Bellini.[93]

The format, with kneeling donors and patron saints in a domestic setting, reflects the Netherlandish tradition, but the monumentality of the figures and the classicism of the decorative areas of the outer panels disclose the Italian origin. The central panel focuses on the Virgin in a domestic setting adoring the Christ Child. St Joseph stands to the Virgin's left. To her right, a small angel plays music. Withypool kneels in the foreground in front of St Joseph. In the left wing, St Catherine stands with her spiked wheel. St Ursula, with an arrow pointed downward, occupies the right wing. Each saint is accompanied by a small angel. The outer sides of the wings of the altarpiece contain extensive ornamental designs in grisaille. The relatively small size of Withypool's altarpiece indicates domestic use, which may well account for its survival.

Secular painting in sixteenth-century England

The subjects and purposes of painting in England changed dramatically during the reign of Henry VIII, especially after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when the production of religious imagery all but ceased and existing religious paintings disappeared. Painting types expanded to include banners, stage sets, and murals, many of which no longer survive. Without the church as the chief patron, subjects shifted to narratives, even recent events, such as the Meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Classical and allegorical stories gained favor, influenced by the emerging interest in classical literature and the self-conscious imitation of ancient works by English authors, often written in Latin. Portraits also underwent a transformation.

Mythological and history painting at court

Early in his career at the court of Henry VIII, Hans Holbein the Younger produced several classically inspired works, although only sketches survive. One such sketch portrays Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus. Apollo presides from an open pergola. Surrounding his throne are the nine muses, who play various instruments. The twin crowned coats-of-arms of Anne Boleyn appears on classical pedestals on the outside edge of the composition. The image was probably made for a stage set for one of the pageants that celebrated her coronation in May 1533.[94] Holbein also painted a battle scene for Henry at Greenwich Palace, the defeat of the French at Thérouanne, known through descriptions and a drawing of a battle scene among sword and spear-wielding foot soldiers.[95]

The Field of Cloth of Gold

Henry embraced history painting, but instead of portraying past glories or showing events couched in allegories, Henry was among the first patrons since the Romans to portray current events with the same pomp and glory. Henry also used these paintings to glorify the Tudor dynasty. One such painting was that of *c.* 1545 depicting the meeting of Henry and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (see Fig. 7.11). Painted after the fact, the vista, with the combination turreted and Italian-inspired, faux-brick and faux-stone temporary palace in the right center, is seen from a bird's-eye perspective. From the left, Henry's long and elaborate caravan approaches the palace. In front of the palace is the fountain of wine. Guînes Castle appears in the background on the left. The town of Guînes is further back near the sea. To the right the tents that accommodated the hundreds of members of the royal staff dot the hillside. This painting gives the best image of the celebrated, but ultimately fruitless, meeting.[96]

Portraits

Portraits filled the artistic void left by the demise of religious art. The iconography and symbolism that had once permeated religious art now shifted to portraits, especially those for royalty. The English tended to value portraits more as records of events or status bearers than as works of art. Thus, heraldry or objects with symbolic value might appear. Frequently portraits helped facilitate noble or royal marriage arrangements. An ambassador, who sometimes could be the artist, might take a portrait of the prospective spouse along when he went to discuss the details of the proposed union; the king might also send an artist to the distant court to paint a portrait of a marriage prospect (usually the bride).

The veracity of English portraits – what they reveal and what they conceal – remains debated. Do they faithfully record facial appearances or are the faces mask-like, such as those of the Italian mannerist Agnolo Bronzino (d. 1572), whose works reveal more about clothing and status than the personality or appearance of the sitter? English portraits in particular are usually set in a tightly closed space. The sitters appear detached, reserved, and understated, characteristics that fit personality traits often associated with the English. This character-type pervades English literature. Shakespeare refers to the buttoned-up reserve in the English character in *Hamlet* (Act III, scene ii, line 5; 23–24) when Hamlet speaks: "In the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget temperance that may give it smoothness." He also warns that what "… is overdone … cannot but make the judicious grieve". Although of a much later era, Jane Austen describes similar English character traits in *Emma*: "… the true English style … burying under a calmness that seems all but indifferent …". Regardless of the accuracy of physical likeness, portraits always reveal how a person (or their progeny, if posthumous) wished for posterity to remember them.

Architecture plays an important part in the dissemination of images. In the sixteenth century, English patrons move portraits out of the intimate sphere into more visible spaces. The new long galleries in prodigy houses provide large expanses of walls for paintings. Noble line-ups often include not only family members in a dynastic fashion, but also friends of high status, and perhaps the king. The number of portraits, the quality, the sitter, or possibly the artist demonstrate ties to important people and thereby elevate the status of the owner. In 1501, a guest at Richmond Palace for the wedding of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon describes such a display of pictures, “In the wallys and siddys of this halle betwene the wyndowes be the pictures of the noble kinges of this realme in their harness and robis of goolde …”.[97] The best portrait artists in sixteenth-century England came from Northern Europe. Joos van Cleve hailed from the Netherlands. Hans Holbein the Younger, the German painter who entered the court after the king’s divorce, contributed more to the Tudor painting idiom than any other artist. Although a few individual English born artists, such as Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver, achieve fame, more often unnamed English painters belonged to workshops in which painters specialized in parts of a portrait, such as faces, costume, heraldry, or backgrounds, a system that worked especially well for producing portraits in multiples or replicating works of other artists.

Images of the young King Henry

More portraits were painted of Henry VIII than any previous monarch, partly to help validate the Tudor dynasty. A portrait of the king by the Netherlandish painter Joos van Cleve in 1521, presents an early example of the new market for royal portraits and the image of magnificence (see Fig. 7.22). Henry, with his well-cropped reddish beard, high cheekbones, small intense eyes, and small heart-shaped mouth, appears half length holding a cartouche (or a small piece of paper with an inscription). Although his body is full front, Henry twists his head to his right, which gives energy to the painting. His rich clothing receives much attention: a cap with a large white plume, a fur coat, a pearl and jewel encrusted cloth of gold tunic, and a white shirt. A copy of this image, allegedly also by Joos van Cleve but lacking the subtlety of the painting in the royal collection, made its way to the collection of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, advisor to Henry’s daughter Elizabeth.

Portrait artist extraordinaire: Hans Holbein the Younger

More than any other artist at the court of Henry VIII, Hans Holbein the Younger shaped the English the portrait tradition. He achieved sufficient fame to gain posthumous mention by the Dutch painter, poet, and biographer of artists, Karel Van Mander, in his *Het Schilder-*

boeck, or the *Book of Painters* of 1604. Early in his career, before landing on English shores, his broad repertoire of subjects included religious and mythological subjects as well as portraiture. The British market, especially in the Post-Reformational period, transformed his art. His aptitude and flexibility with the portrait caused him to gain popularity in England. Holbein, once established there, all but abandoned any other type of painting and developed portraiture in new ways, particularly evident in his focus on the sitter's identity, which he captured by showing elements of their status and delving into their personalities.

Born around 1497, Hans Holbein began his career in his native Augsburg, Germany with his father, who also was a painter. In 1515, his first "Wanderjahre", or year of travel, led him to Basel, which was the intellectual capital of Europe and the hotbed of the emerging Calvinist branch of Protestantism. He lived there for about ten years. While there he entered the painter's guild, was elected a burger, met Erasmus, and gained an international reputation as a skilled printmaker, versatile painter, and fine and sensitive draughtsman, especially apparent in his portrait sketches. In 1526, he left Basel for a 2-year sojourn, leaving behind his wife and two small children. In 1527, he arrived in England with a recommendation from Erasmus, which gained him an entrée with Sir Thomas More. In 1528, he returned to Basel. In 1532, he left for England, this time with his family. He found England profoundly different, for religious matters had changed much about life and the type of art the market demanded. What Holbein could never have predicted was that with the onset of the Reformation and Protestant scorn for religious images, he was poised for success as a portrait artist. Although neither he nor his pupils founded a school in England, Holbein set the tone for court painting in the sixteenth century.

Holbein's drawings

Holbein excelled as a draughtsman, whether of decorative objects, architectural embellishments, or portraits. Only in recent years had artists begun to finish drawings for a clientele that valued them as an independent art form. The availability of paper, the manufacture of which came into Northern Europe from the east about a century earlier, contributed to the development of the medium. Especially in his preparatory drawings for portraits, many of which survive, Holbein uses a variety of media, including chalks, metalpoint, ink, and ink washes. He often uses multiple lines to define his strong and sensitive contours, offering a more spontaneous and intimate view of his patrons than the finished paintings do. Typically the drawings consist of a detailed study of only the head and shoulders. The paintings based on them include costume and background. The abundance of drawings he left shows that he meticulously worked through his ideas on paper and then transferred drawings to the surface prepared for the painting. Sometimes he pricked the heavy paper of the drawings (also called cartoons) with a pin and, using a porous fabric bag filled with finely ground charcoal, he pounced, or patted, the drawing with it, leaving tiny dots of charcoal as an outline. From such drawings he or other artists made face patterns, which facilitated the transfer to a painting, or multiple paintings.

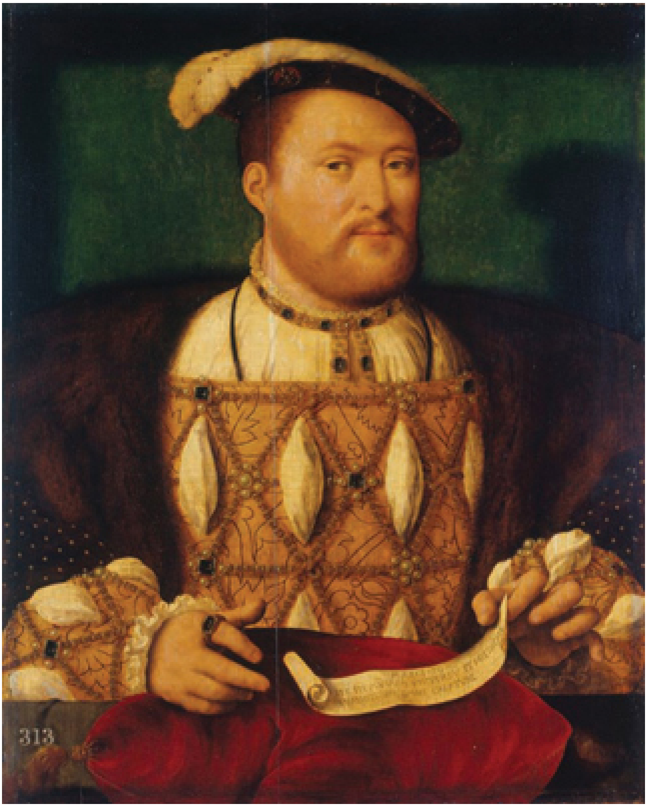

Fig. 7.22 Joos van Cleve: Henry VIII, *oil on panel, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey,* c. *1530–1535. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

One of Holbein's surviving face patterns derived from a drawing shows Bishop John Fisher. Outlines on the pattern, a result of pouncing, match the size and form of the Windsor of Fisher drawing exactly. No Holbein painting from it survives, but paintings of Fisher by others do. No date appears, but Fisher was executed in 1535. This and other examples show that artists regularly used Holbein's drawings to make copies of his portraits. Apparently, from the reign of Edward VI, if not sooner, drawings of Holbein’s royal subjects were kept together to control the dispersion of the images, making them available only to those people whom the monarch deemed worthy of owning a copy of a royal portrait or artists worthy of copying one.[98]

Holbein’s portraits

Holbein most often portrayed sitters in half-length in a tightly compressed space, usually against minimal background. Sometimes he included objects associated with their profession or the family crest. Some hold a cartouche with their name. These conventions began a century earlier in Flanders with artists such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. They extended into the sixteenth century with Italian artists, such as Agnolo Bronzino. Like Holbein, these artists approached their subjects objectively, leaning more toward modeling with line than with chiaroscuro (light and shadow). Whereas van Eyck and the Flemish artists objectively gave intense detail and Bronzino concentrated on clothing and status, Holbein focused on the individual, portraying it truthfully but favorably, with characteristic British sincerity and impenetrable reserve. In his late portraits, he set his figures against flat, solid-colored backgrounds, a distinctive trait that borders abstraction.

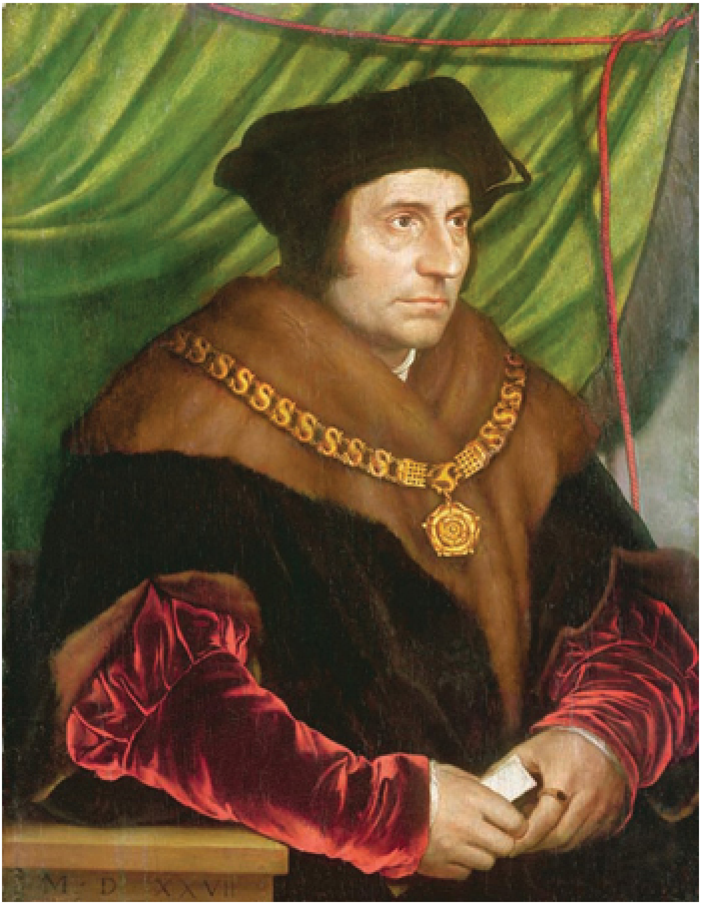

Fig. 7.23 Hans Holbein the Younger (after): Portrait of Sir Thomas More, *oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1527. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

THOMAS MORE

Sir Thomas More gave Holbein his start in England. Upon receiving the recommendation of Erasmus, he immediately hired Holbein to paint his own portrait and a group of his family. Although Holbein did comparatively few portraits before he came to England, and in spite of More being circumspect about career possibilities for Holbein in England, the artist would build a fine reputation among clients in various constituents of English life. He immediately proved his talent as a portrait artist in his 1527 depiction of More (Fig. 7.23). This portrait follows the formula he had used for Erasmus and sets a prototype for future portraits in England, both his own and those of others.

More appears half-length and close to the picture plane. He faces right in three-quarter view. A partially drawn dark green curtain in the background closes the space, which focuses attention on his subject. More brings his hands together as he rests his right elbow on the arm of a chair and holds a piece of paper. He wears rich clothing: a fur-trimmed black velvet cape with the dark red velvet sleeves of his coat visible. Draped around his shoulders and painted in gold leaf is the double-S chain with a Tudor rose medallion, which indicated his office of Lord Chancellor. Along with the detailed depiction of his costume and accoutrements of office, Holbein successfully conveys More's resolute personality and sharp intellect. More, whom Henry pressed to accept the office of Lord Chancellor against his wishes, appears weighed down by the heavy chain, yet dutifully accepts the responsibility.

THOMAS MORE AND FAMILY

In 1527, More commissioned Holbein to paint an informal group portrait of his family. Unfortunately his painting does not survive, but a preparatory study does, which embodies Holbein's delicacy, sensitivity, and gentleness. Nikolaus Kratzer, the astronomer who taught in the More household, noted all names and ages. The family sits in a drawing room, with sketchy details of background, including a clock on the wall in the center. The family seems relaxed and comfortable except for the imposing figure of Thomas More in the center, who wears the same cap, coat, and chain of office as in his portrait, which seem almost out of place. More looks to his left at his father, whose dress is the second most formal. To Thomas's left is young John More, his only son. Beside John, facing frontally and looking out of the picture, is the household fool, Henry Patenson. Behind the group to Thomas's right, is John's fiancé, Anne Cresacre. On the far left is Elizabeth Dauncy, Thomas More's youngest daughter. To her left is More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggs, who discusses a text with the elder Sir John More. Thomas More's second wife, Lady Alice, kneels at a prie-dieu on the far right. In front of her are More's daughters: on the left, Margaret Roper; on the right, her younger sister Cecily Heron, who, in her loosely laced dress, is visibly pregnant, an unusual disclosure in Renaissance portraiture. Whereas in the Netherlands, such display was considered unattractive and indecorous, in England, showing a pregnant woman occurs without taboo in the context of a family group.[99] Rowland Lockey copied this portrait *c.* 1594. He changed the background to include extra family members and added a canopied golden cloth of honor with family crests. To the right, he adds a view into a formal walled garden, which offers a rare glimpse into the symmetrical garden designs of late sixteenth-century England.

William Warham

A second high-ranking patron from Holbein's early period was William Warham, the last Archbishop of Canterbury before the Reformation. From 1505 until 1515, Warham had served as Lord Chancellor, but by 1527, when Holbein made this portrait, he had resigned the office and was replaced by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. Warham, a quiet intellectual and a churchman of principle, opposed the anticlerical policies of the king. Holbein based his portrait of Warham on a delicate silverpoint drawing. As in many of his preparatory studies, Holbein used a pale wash used for flesh tones. Although the drawing was pricked for transfer, Holbein traced it with a wooden stylus, which left slight indentations in the prepared surface.[100]

Holbein follows the format established in the portraits of Erasmus and Thomas More. These portraits owe a heavy debt to earlier Flemish painting, with the figure in a corner space in three-quarter view surrounded by accoutrements of their trade. Warham appears half-length, looking away from the viewer with a slightly upward, unswerving gaze. A dark brocade fabric behind him compresses the space further than in the portrait of Erasmus, but Holbein includes more trappings of his office, including an open service book, a heavily jeweled white mitre, and a jeweled gold processional cross with an image of the crucified Christ. Warham appears to kneel at a prie-dieu with his hands resting on the worn red brocade cover, which separates him from the viewer. Warham's portrait is especially candid. As with Erasmus, Holbein gives an objective, yet powerful, study of old age.

His lined face and heavy features portray him as worn down by the responsibilities of his office, but his kind eyes and resolute jaw reveal his honorable personality.

LADY WITH A SQUIRREL (LADY LOVELL?)

Holbein's drawing technique becomes more elaborate in the late 1520s, although he continues to focus on the face. Probably painted around 1526–1528, Lady with a Squirrel and Starling may depict Lady Anne Lovell. Shown in a three-quarter view facing right and in half-length, she appears even more abstracted than previous Holbein portraits. She wears a black dress with a large, stark white linen shawl and a white close-fitting wooly coif. A hint of a delicate white ruffle appears at the edge of her black sleeve. The solid blue background gives no suggestion of shadow or a balustrade. The branch of a fig tree comes from the left holding a starling perched at attention on the branch with its beak pointing at her right ear, which gives the first impression of sitting on her shoulder. On her right forearm, she holds a pet squirrel on a chain eating a nut. As early as the fourteenth century, squirrels were popular pets in England. Contemporary Italian artists, such as Leonardo da Vinci, use plants and animals as devices to reveal the identity of the sitter. This device could serve that purpose, as squirrels appear on the Lovell coat-of-arms.

GEORG GIESZE

In the first years after Holbein's return to England in 1532, most of his clients consisted of merchants in London, some of whom worked in the German Steelyard. One such example is Holbein's *Portrait of Georg Giesze*, who stands in a corner of his dark green wood paneled office with objects of his occupation, much as Holbein earlier portrayed Warham. His off-center position and sharp gaze to the side – a convention perhaps observed in the work of Jan van Eyck – create tension. Although the space is shallow, Giesze appears inaccessible because a table covered with a richly colored Turkish carpet separates him from the viewer. A cabinet on the right displays implements of his trade. A delicate clear glass vase, probably from Venice, holds carnations and rosemary, which seems out of place in a business workroom, but probably serves to signify his recent betrothal.

THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS

Another painting of foreigners in England, the French Ambassadors of 1533, marks a new direction in Holbein's portraits (Fig. 7.24). As with the paintings of More, Warham, and Giesze, this portrait portrays two wealthy, powerful, erudite young men with the books and instruments of their professions. However, the full length portrayals and the subtleties of their body language delve deeper into their characters. As in Holbein's earlier works, the saturated light, brilliant color, and meticulous detail recall Flemish works. However, the monumentality – both in the relationship between the figures and the picture plane and in the size of the work itself – reveals a greater Italian influence. Jean de Dinteville, the French Ambassador to England at age 29, stands to the left. He turns his head toward the viewer with a confident gaze and stands in a slightly swaggering pose, enhanced by his bent elbows, broad shoulders, heavy coat with fur trim, and the chain of the Order of St Michael. He holds a scabbard with a dagger in his right hand and rests his left elbow on the tall, carpet-covered table in the center. The pose, although relaxed, foreshadows that of Henry VIII in the Whitehall mural.[101] On the right, Georges de Selve, age 25 and the Bishop of Lavaur, also rests his elbow on the table. In addition to his church office, he also served in several important ambassadorial posts, including Venice and the Holy See.

The green brocade curtain in the background limits the space, which brings attention to the Cosmati mosaic floor in the foreground. The design repeats that of the pavement in the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey and perhaps that in the Shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. The objects on the tabletop communicate information about the learnedness and wealth of the two men. The instruments on top, which include a celestial globe, a portable sundial, and an astrolabe, relate to understanding the heavens and measuring time. These interests stirred the minds of intellectuals as explorers navigated new worlds and scientists challenged ancient ideas about the universe. Within a decade, Copernicus would publish his geocentric theories. The lower shelf contains flutes, an arithmetic book, a compass, and a terrestrial globe with continents, cities, and the voyages of Magellan. The place names on the globe reveal Holbein's native south German language. The lute with a broken string, the hymnal, and the crucifix in the upper left corner could refer to the religious discord afoot in England and the hope for a peaceful resolution.[102]

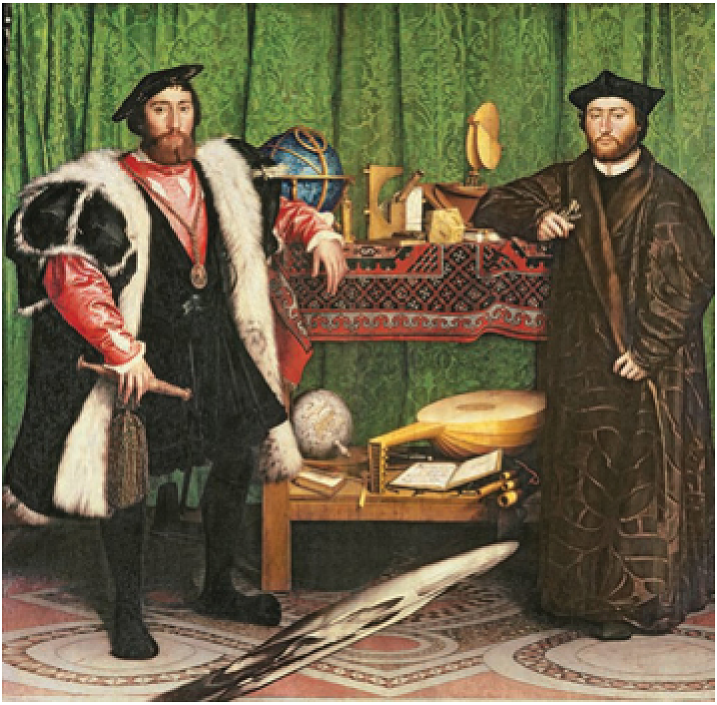

Fig. 7.24 Hans Holbein the Younger: The Ambassadors, *oil on panel, National Gallery, London, 1533. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

The most bizarre feature of the painting is the saucer-like axiomatic form, which tilts precariously on the floor between the two men. When viewed from the right, a human skull emerges. Modern anamorphic depictions, or distorted perspectival representations, appear to have originated with Leonardo da Vinci; they soon gained popularity in the Habsburg courts. Skilled artists self-consciously designed anamorphic images to astonish the viewer and display their talents, which Holbein does with virtuosity. As with other objects in the painting, the skull carries symbolic meaning, reminding the viewer of the vanities of worldly possessions, the imperfections of human knowledge, the fleetingness of time, and mortality itself. Although Holbein had previously served the royal court at Greenwich Palace as a decorative painter, this unusual portrait took Holbein's work to a new level and may have brought his talents as a portrait artist to the attention of Henry VIII. Certainly many of its defining features reappear in the Whitehall Mural of the royal family.[103]

Holbein as the royal artist

In 1536, Holbein's talents attracted the attention of the king. As the emphasis on magnificent display increased, so did the predilection for art as a means of announcing it. Holbein painted murals and designed costumes, jewelry, and various decorative objects for the king, but portraiture quickly became central, as it filled the void left by the sudden demise of religious art. For the first time, in tandem with Henry VIII, Holbein incorporated political symbolism into his royal portraits to develop a new, more authoritative image that supported Henry's idea of a strong monarchy and validated his dynasty. Aided by the printing press, the exploitation and wide dissemination of the official royal image got its start. Not since the Romans had the image of the monarch been produced on such a monumental scale, orchestrated for such overtly political purposes, or made so available to a wide audience, which made royal private life more public than ever before. Contemporary portraits of power in Europe paled in comparison. The tradition continued and strengthened during the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth.

THE WHITEHALL MURAL:
THE ANATOMY OF UNBRIDLED POWER

Holbein executed his largest and most important royal commission, "The Whitehall Mural" (or "The Dynasty Portrait"), for the privy chamber, a relatively private area of Whitehall Palace. Henry commissioned this painting between his marriage to Jane Seymour in May 1536 and her death in October 1537. The huge proportions of the mural, which was approximately 9 ft tall and 12 ft wide (2.75 × 3.65 m), would have commanded the attention of any passer-by, even though only the royal family and courtiers close to the king would have had access to it.[104] Unfortunately the mural, along with most of Whitehall Palace, went up in flames in 1698. Fortunately a life-size cartoon fragment of the king survives, which proves the novelty of Holbein's profoundly influential royal image (Fig. 7.25). In addition, a copy of the mural made in 1667 for Charles II by Remigius van Leemput gives a record of the entire composition and demonstrates its inventiveness (Fig. 7.26). The cartoon, the copy, and written descriptions disclose an original composition of four full length figures that stand on a platform strewn with heavy oriental carpets. The space was closed in by a rich background with classical niches, gilded pilasters and trompe l'oeil friezes in opulent red and gold. The classical bust in the central arch, encircled by a laurel wreath, strongly resembles a print made after a work by Bramante, which Holbein could have known. Although such classical decoration made its way from Rome to France by 1510, it seldom appeared in England at this time.

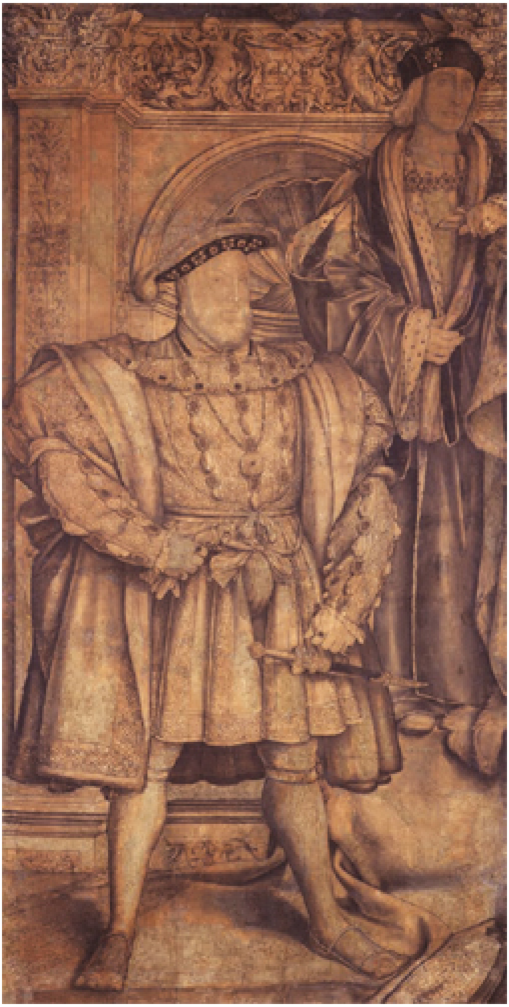

Fig. 7.25 Hans Holbein the Younger: The Whitehall Mural, drawing of Henry VIII, *National Portrait Gallery, London, 1536. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

The first two Tudor kings stand on the left, the younger in the foreground, the elder behind; their consorts appear correspondingly on the right. Holbein may have based the appearances of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York on the tomb images by Pietro Torrigiano. The elder Henry rests his left elbow on a boxy architectural structure that resembles a classical column base. Elizabeth of York demurely folds her hands at waist level. The older royal couple turns slightly inward, but their gazes do not meet either that of each other or the viewer. Instead, they look outward to something beyond. Jane demurely repeats the pose of Elizabeth, as she turns toward her husband, yet looks beyond him.

Henry VIII, age 46, stands in an unforgettable assertive pose of unbridled authority: broad shouldered and barrel-chested with his feet planted firmly apart, his arms bent at the elbow, and his hands resting near his hips. Whereas the gentler figure of Henry VII recalls the posture of Georges de Selve in the portrait of *The Ambassadors*, Henry VIII, who appears full-face with bold gaze toward the viewer, resembles Georges Dinteville. With both figures, the big open coats cause their shoulders to appear even broader. Henry's puffed up torso, enhanced with jewels and his large codpiece to emphasize his virility, sharply contrasts with his father's long coat, which he holds closed. He clutches his gloves in his right hand, while his left is poised near his sword. His fisted fingers are bejeweled with rings, taking on almost the combative appearance of brass knuckles. The royalty of Henry VIII's court could have worn armor or royal robes and crowns. Instead they wear caps of aristocrats and bear no royal trappings, except for Henry VIII's heavy, jewel-laden chain of office. However, his swaggering stance communicates everything about his power, which is reiterated by the Latin inscription, which translates:

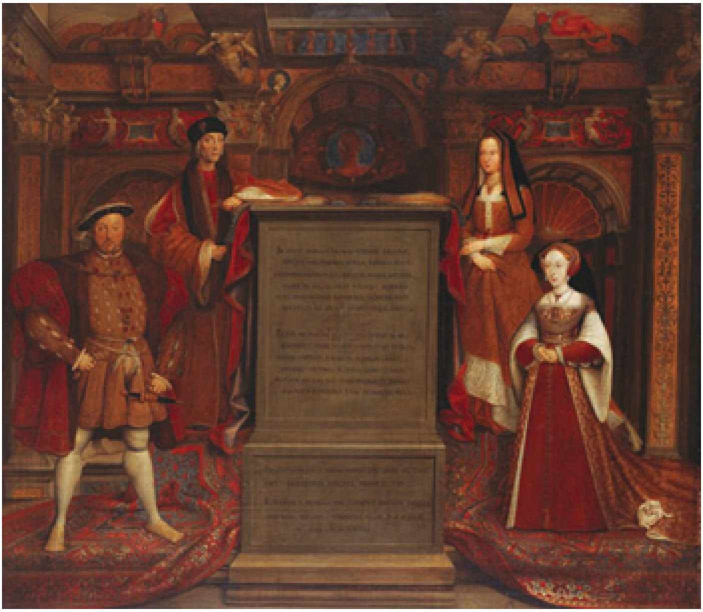

Fig. 7.26 Remigius van Leemput: copy after Hans Holbein's Whitehall mural, *oil on canvas, Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, 1667. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

If you enjoy seeing the illustrious figure of heroes,
Look on these; no painting ever bore greater.
The great debate, the competition,
The great question is whether the father

Or the son is the victor. For both indeed are supreme.
The former often overcame his enemies, and the fires of his country.
And finally gave peace to its citizens.
The son, born indeed for greater tasks, from the altar
Removed the unworthy and put worthy men in their place.
To unerring virtue, the presumption of the popes has yielded.
And so long as Henry the Eighth carries the sceptre in his hand,
Religion is renewed, and during his reign,
The doctrines of God have begun to be held in his honour.[105]

Indeed, the whole point of the image is to communicate Tudor power to the rarefied audience with access to it and to legitimize the Tudor dynasty, the English church, and Henry's offspring by Jane. Holbein created not only a masterpiece, but he also established the iconic image of Henry VIII. Holbein's image of the king is among the first, if not the first, full-length, life size images of a reigning monarch. Among contemporary European portraits, such a blatant image of pure power was unparalleled. With official approval, other artists often copied this image for Henry and for his courtiers in either bust length or full-figure, as confirmed by the many surviving copies. The influence also appears in images of his young son Edward as king.[106]

Henry VIII

The second universally accepted image to survive of Henry by Holbein was probably painted at about the same time as the Whitehall mural, *c.* 1536 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid). This image actually forms a pair with a portrait of Jane Seymour that shows the couple facing each other in a three-quarter view. Although most of Holbein's portraits became increasingly free of extraneous objects and compressed, focusing on the face against a solid background, here Holbein shows his ability to suppress the elements of the painting for an overall display of magnificence.

The familiar face strongly resembles the forceful figure in the Whitehall cartoon, but here, rather than showing power through the swaggering pose, Henry's body fills the shallow picture space, which makes him all the more massive and authoritative. Holbein focuses on Henry's small features – his sharp, beady eyes, tiny, puckered mouth, strangely flat cheekbones, and little chin – clustered together in a rather large face. His clothing is rich. Holbein even uses gold leaf in the chain, jewelry, and embroidered sleeves, but with restraint. Unlike Bronzino, whose the shimmering fabrics overpower his mask-like faces, Holbein never allows the fabrics or jewelry to outshine the individual. Again, no crowns or other symbols of royal authority appear. Even though the portrait is under life-size, the energy of Henry as the imperious and imperial monarch dominates this painting.

JANE SEYMOUR

The companion portrait depicts Henry’s third wife, Jane Seymour, done shortly after their marriage in 1536 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). As with the portrait of Henry, in attitude and expression the queen bears close resemblance to her image in the Whitehall mural. The clothing differs in the display of her bonnet veil – if the Leemput copy can be trusted. This image follows the beautifully sensitive preparatory drawing. The plain, shadowed background calls attention to the increasingly opulent court fashions. Holbein exhibits great skill in portraying the sheen of the precious stones and rich fabrics, especially the silver thread in the queen’s dress. These qualities also appear in the companion portrait of the king. The fabrics, however, never overtake the focus on the individual. Holbein’s portrait reveals little of the queen’s personality, except that she was dutiful, demure, and diffident, quite a strong contrast from the resolute and religious Katherine of Aragon or the feisty and flirty Anne Boleyn. Queen Jane instead stands forever frozen in a position that represents her official queenly responsibility rather than any more personal quality. After Holbein finished these works, his position at court appeared secure. In the late 1530s, when the king’s marriages were frequent, Holbein served as the official court painter and painter-ambassador. Only his later disingenuous portrayal of her successor, Anne of Cleves, would curb his popularity.

THE ROYAL IMAGE DISBURSED

A portrait bust of Henry VIII (Fig. 7.27), called the Barberini Portrait (because of its location in the Barberini Palace, Rome), and a full-length one in Liverpool (Fig. 7.28) are probably the finest of the many paintings derived from Holbein’s Whitehall Palace mural prototype. The Liverpool portrait shows the king in the same swaggering, full-length pose and dress as the mural. At least six copies of the Whitehall image survive, two probably by court artist Hans Eworth. The Barberini portrait shows the king in half-length wearing the clothing he wore for his wedding to Anne of Cleves in April of 1540. It bears a Latin inscription that states his age at forty-nine years. Henrican inventories, which are incomplete, list at least sixteen portraits of Henry; many more once existed, including ones by less talented copyists.[107] Such portraits were traded as diplomatic gifts and coveted by nobles for their galleries.

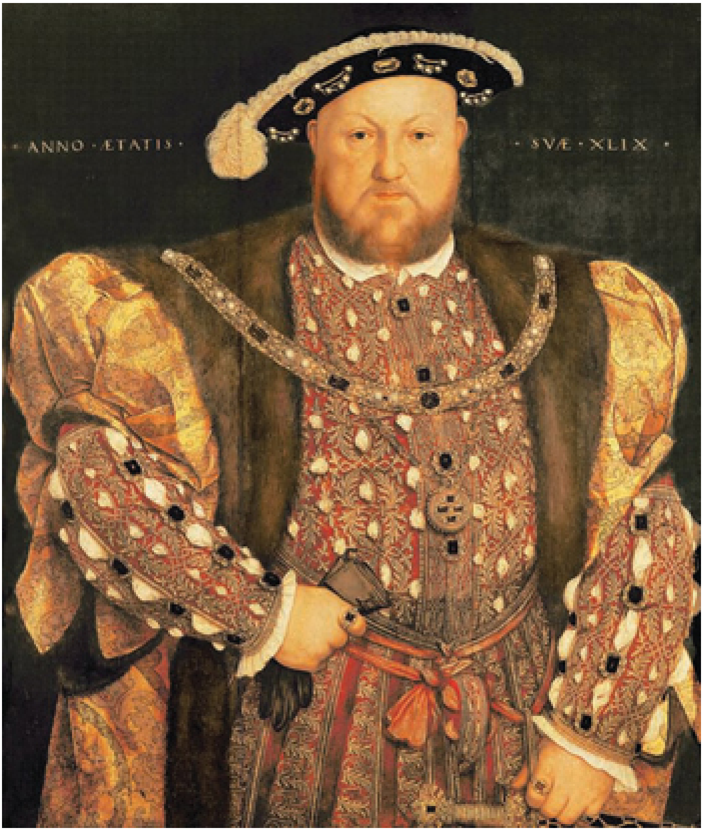

Fig. 7.27 Hans Holbein the Younger: Portrait of Henry VIII at age 49, *oil on panel, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, Italy, 1540. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

CHRISTINA OF DENMARK

In 1538, Hans Holbein, acting as artist-diplomat, accompanied the English ambassador to Brussels to negotiate for the hand of the Danish king's second daughter Christina, the widowed 16-year-old Duchess of Milan. As a part of the marriage negotiation, the duchess granted Holbein a 3 hour sitting for a portrait. Rather than the half-length form and modest three-quarter view that he used for most of his earlier portraits, especially those of women, Holbein depicted Christina full length and full-face, meeting the eyes of the viewer. With hands resting at waist level holding gloves and chin tucked under, she appears appropriately demure, but resolute, even willful. Holbein uses planes of color and a limited palette. The duchess stands in a corner on a golden brown floor and against a deep turquoise background, which closes the space and draws the viewer into her presence. Her body language and the shadow behind gives a slight hint of movement, as if she is about to step forward. Her shimmering mourning clothes – black dress and a black satin fur lined coat – acknowledge the recent death of her husband, Francesco II Sforza, to whom she had been married by proxy in 1533 at age 11. The portrait impressed officials and Henry, who celebrated its arrival with music. Although the marriage did not occur, perhaps because of Christina's better judgment, Henry kept the portrait. At his death, the royal collection held the original and three copies.[108] The confidence and determination that come through in her steady gaze give the story credibility.

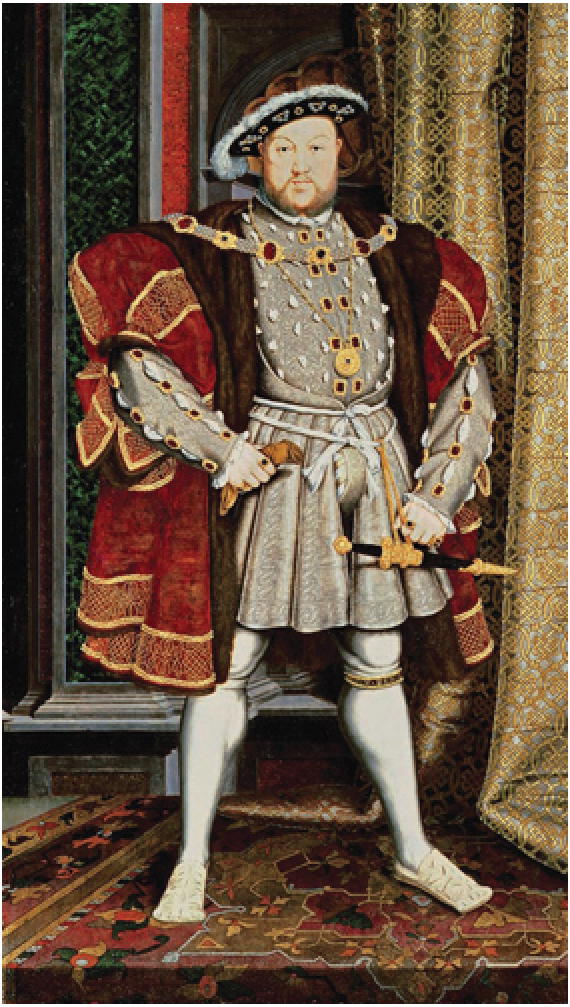

Fig. 7.28 Hans Holbein the Younger (after): Henry VIII, *oil on panel, Walker Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool,* c. *1537. © Bridgeman Images*

Anne of Cleves

In 1539, after the failed negotiations with the Duchess of Milan, Henry sent Holbein to Germany to the household of the Duke of Cleves, a potential English ally, to paint a portrait of his second daughter Anne, whom Henry was considering for his fourth wife. Holbein found himself caught in the no-win situation of balancing honesty and tactfulness, for he found the bride-to-be pleasing but plain, with an unusually large nose. Not only did he have to present his work to the king, but also to officials in Cleves. Holbein diplomatically took a discreet approach by positioning Anne full-face with downcast eyes, which would reveal less of the defect than the usual profile or three-quarter view. Holbein painted two versions: a larger, three-quarter length one on parchment that focuses on her clothing, which probably came first, and a miniature, which gives more attention to the face. Henry married Anne by proxy, based on the painting, but upon her arrival, his expectations were crushed. He disliked her from the start, infamously referring to her as "the Flemish mare." Henry held Thomas Cromwell responsible, however, rather than Holbein. Cromwell was executed in July 1540, the same month in which the marriage was annulled. Anne, like Christina, was no fool. She not only managed to finagle a good annulment settlement, but abided in the quiet comfort of Anne Boleyn's former home at Hever Castle until her death in 1555.[109] Some might consider her final resting place to be more exalted than that of her ex-husband: she is buried among royalty near the high altar at Westminster Abbey.

THE INFANT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES

In 1539, the same year he painted Anne of Cleves, Holbein painted a small panel of Henry's infant son Edward, Prince of Wales, the king's only legitimate son (Fig. 7.29). His mother, Jane Seymour, had succumbed to fever 12 days after his birth. Holbein portrays little Edward full-face with downcast eyes. He gives a gesture of blessing with his right hand and in his left, he holds a miniature scepter, which seems more like a toy rattle. The artist manages to retain the delicate features and the innocent, playful character of a child, while maintaining a regal bearing. In addition to giving an honest likeness, Holbein is never sentimental, which is an especially difficult task when portraying children. The prince's costume, like his pose, modeled after an adult, shows dignity, yet he never appears stilted or stiff. Edward is dressed in a costume of rich red velvet with cloth of gold sleeves. His tight fitting cloth of gold cap supports a stylish red biretta trimmed with gold and a white feather plume. The inscription admonishes the prince to model his life after that of his father and to be worthy of him. This dynastic inscription fits with Henry's more absolute image of kingship in his later years.

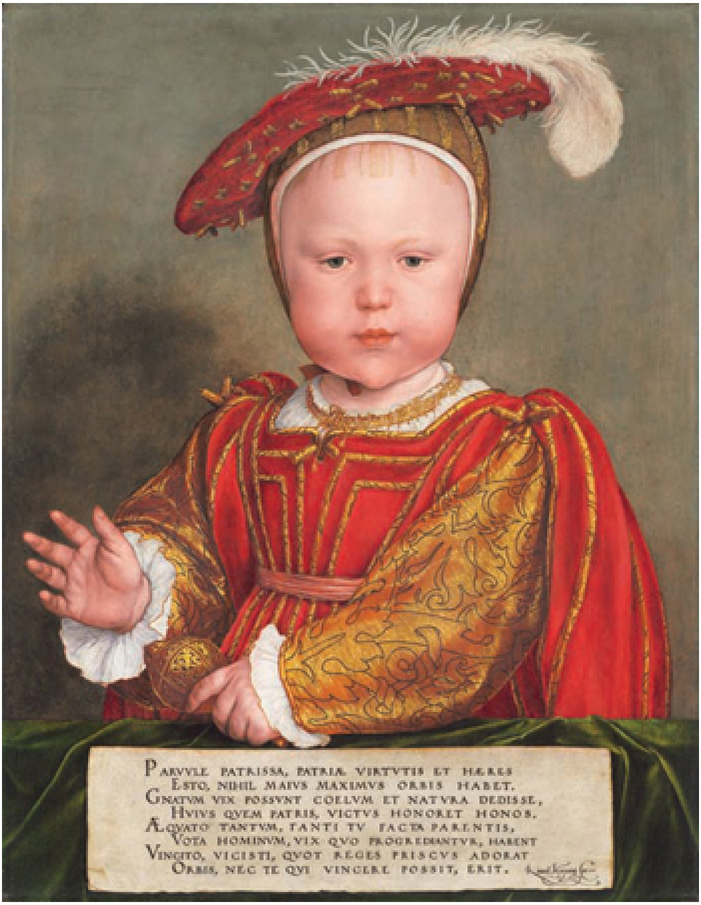
PARVVLE PATRISSA, PATRIÆ VIRTVTIS ET HÆRES
ESTO, NIHIL MAIVS MAXIMVS ORBIS HABET.
GNATVM VIX POSSVNT COELVM ET NATVRA DEDISSE,
HVIVS QVEM PATRIS, VICTVS HONORET HONOS.
ÆQVATO TANTVM, TANTI TV FACTA PARENTIS,
VOTA HOMINVM, VIX QVO PROGREDIANTVR, HABENT
VINCITO, VICISTI, QVOT REGES PRISCVS ADORAT
ORBIS, NEC TE QVI VINCERE POSSIT, ERIT.

Fig. 7.29 Hans Holbein the Younger: Edward VI as a Child, *oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC,* c. *1538. Photograph: courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington*

Other portrait artists at the Henrican court

Holbein was not the only portrait artist at the court of Henry VIII. Many came from Northern Europe, usually Flanders or the Netherlands, including Hans Eworth of Antwerp, will reappear in the reign of Mary. Other noteworthy artists include the Netherlandish painter William Scrots (also called Guillim Scrotes or Willim Stretes), and Master John, an Englishman.

William Scrots

The first record of William Scrots (active 1537–1553) appears in 1537, when he arrived at the court of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. Nothing is known of his early life or training, although he probably trained in the style of official portraiture of the Habsburg courts. By 1546, his reputation had brought him to the attention of

Henry VIII, who hired him as the King's Painter at a salary that was the highest of the time for an artist. He continued in the position until 1553, also serving Edward VI. Only a few paintings, all done in England, can be attributed to him with confidence: two full-length portraits of Edward VI as Prince of Wales and his sister, Princess Elizabeth; the Earl of Surrey; and an odd anamorphic painting of Edward. Although Holbein had used the full-length format against a closed background for the Whitehall mural and the portrait of Christina of Denmark, not until Scrots reintroduced the full-length figure in an interior with furniture and other objects that would identify the person did the format gain popularity in England. Full-length portraits appeared on the continent by the 1540s, most notably by Titian, who painted several members of the Habsburg court.[110]

WILLIAM SCROTS: PRINCE EDWARD

The only existing image of Prince Edward that scholars generally considered an autograph work of Scrots is an odd long and narrow (16.9 × 63 in; 42.5 × 160 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London) anamorphic portrait in distorted perspective dated 1546, the year before Edward came to the throne. Several artists designed anamorphic images to display their talents, but few artists accomplished it with such skill as Scrots does. Holbein had used this device for one object in the aforementioned Ambassadors, but not for the entire work as Scrots does here. As with Holbein's skull, this distorted image, when viewed obliquely from the right side through a special viewing device, comes into proper perspective as a profile portrait of the prince in a circular medallion inscribed with his name. The medallion is set against a lush landscape background with a strong blue sky. Because of differences in pigments and artistic style, scholars believe the landscape is by another hand. Recently, conservators have analyzed the painting and found serious discoloration. The border of the oval containing Edward's head, rather than brown, was painted with purple tint to set off the lettering, which was intended to be outlined in gold leaf. The original appearance would have caused Edward's features to project more strongly when seen in the correct perspective.[111]

A second portrait of the prince in strict profile is one of several versions. Scholars have tied them to Scrots and his studio because such a painting, or a face pattern related to it, is the basis for the anamorphic head. Dendrochronology places the date of this profile painting within Scrots's career and Edward's lifetime. The red-haired prince wears a dark jacket, a cap with a large white feather, a white shirt, and he holds a flower. Like the anamorphic image, time has altered the bust-length version of the portrait. Pigment analysis shows that the blue smalt pigment used for the background has faded from a royal blue to a muddy green and the crimson lake glaze on his shirt from brilliant rose to pale pink.[112]

William Scrots: Edward VI (1547–1551)

Shortly before Prince Edward ascended the throne, William Scrots, like Holbein before him, served as court painter. In 1546, working from the model of Holbein in the Whitehall mural, Scrots established the official image that would define the persona of the young king. This full-length portrait composition of Edward that Scrots seems to have invented survives in at least five variations, although none seem to be autograph. Because of market demand, portraits were often done in multiples, often by the same studio.

In the version of the portrait at the National Portrait Gallery (Fig. 7.30), now associated with the workshop of Master John, Edward appears full-face, lavishly dressed, hands on hips, a pose that clearly imitates the swaggering pose of his father. His right hand grasps his sword and his left rests on his rope-like belt. He stands on an oriental carpet against a decorated Savonarola chair, which is placed beneath a deep green cloth of honor. He wears a rich costume of ermine, velvet, and gold braid. Analysis of this version of the portrait reveals the presence of a high quality of azurite, silver leaf under a red lake glaze in his cloak, and gold leaf trim. Insofar as a nine-year-old boy is capable, Edward, with his powerful stance and sumptuous costume, asserts his kingly authority.[113] The multiplicity of this image reflects both the English people's acceptance of Edward's legitimacy as rightful heir and their commitment to the Protestant faith.

William Scrots: Princess Elizabeth

In the same year he painted the full length portrait of Prince Edward, William Scrots is credited with a full length portrait of Princess Elizabeth (Fig. 7.31), 13 years old and third in line for the royal throne. The motivation is uncertain: perhaps Henry commissioned it or perhaps it was a gift from Elizabeth to her brother Edward. Scrot's technique and the more open background, which is more evident in the portrait of her brother, reflect Netherlandish traits. The three-quarter view of the face derives from portraits of court ladies. However, Scrot's presentation suggests the unusual full-length format that Holbein employed for Christina of Denmark.

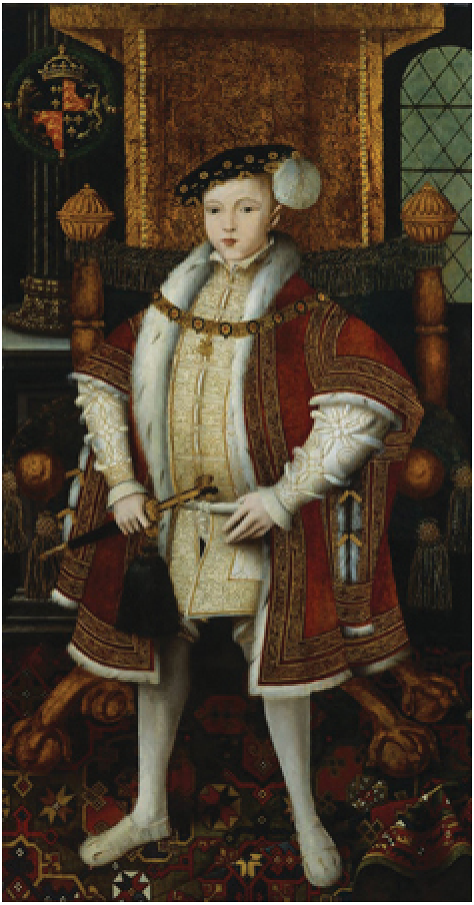

Fig. 7.30 Workshop associated with "Master John", King Edward VI, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London, c. *1547. Photograph: courtesy © National Portrait Gallery, London*

The straight-forward image shows Elizabeth as princess wearing a simple dress of deep crimson dress with a gold brocade underskirt and sleeves. Her only ornament, a gold and pearl pendant with a jewel-studded cross hanging from a heavy gold chain, discreetly indicates wealth. She has the face and lithe body of a teenager, including breasts, the most feminine representation ever to be done of her. This example contrasts with the lavish but flat-chested costumes and angular facial traits of the later post-coronation portraits, as does the lack of overt allegory and symbolism. She does wear pearls, which will appear later in profusion as a symbol for her chastity. Elizabeth appears demure, innocent, and studious: note the open book on a bookstand to the left and the closed book she holds, presumably a prayer book, with her left index finger a marking a page. These personality traits may have saved her head during the tumultuous reign of her older sister Mary.

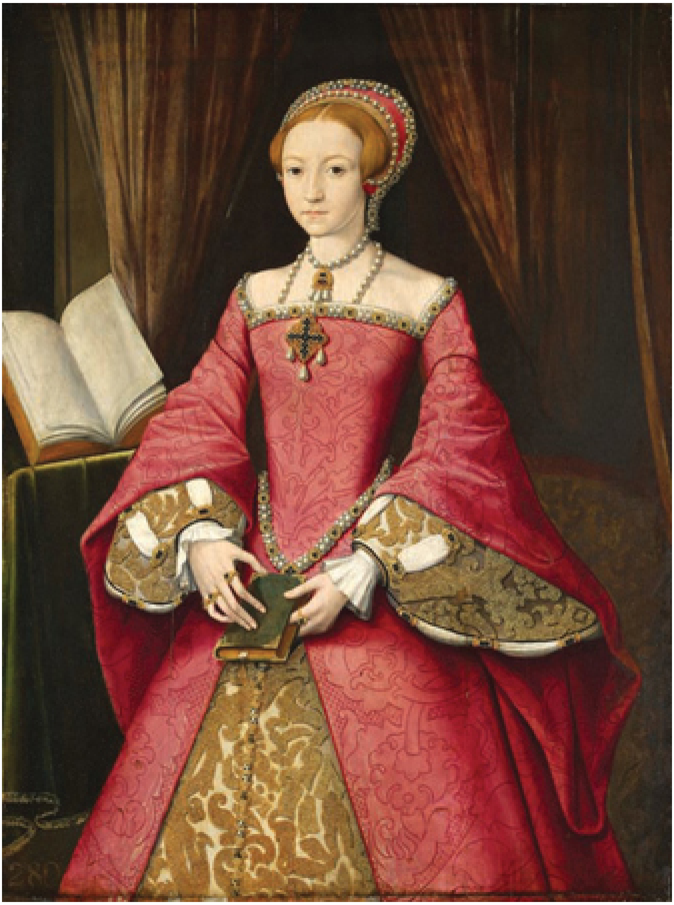

Fig. 7.31 William Scrots, attr.: Elizabeth I when a Princess, *oil on panel, Windsor Castle, Berkshire,* c. *1546. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/ © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

Master John: Lady Mary and Katherine Parr

Based on matters of style and pigment analysis, scholars have long attributed two half-length portraits of Henry VIII's daughter Mary (*c.* 1544) and his sixth and last wife, Katherine Parr (*c.* 1545), to the same English artist, a Master John (active 1544–1545). The portrait of Mary may well be that noted in the Privy Purse expenses of "Lady Mary", paid in November 1544 and recorded: "Item, pd to one John that drue her grace in a table." These portraits share characteristics seen in other paintings produced in English workshops, including the flattened, strongly linear, almost iconic style with hard-edged lines, the characteristically English interest in decorative detail, and the absence of fluid brushstrokes. Both paintings contain the same use of luxurious and expensive materials, including silver and gold leaf, rich red glazes, and a high quality azurite pigment. In each painting, the clothing exhibits a pattern of strict parallel lines and substantial loops of white thread with bits of silver leaf on top. This artist places primary focus on the face with secondary emphasis on strong shapes, fields of color, patterns, and textures that compose the costume. Perhaps less life-like in portrayal than Scrots or Holbein, these paintings have an almost abstract beauty in their geometric emphasis and elegant simplicity, a direction inspired by several late portraits by Holbein.

Each figure appears in a shallow space against a solid blue background, with their solemn faces in slightly more than three-quarter view. The artist gives a good record of the regal bearing, style, and costume components of women of high station. Presumably he also gives accurate physical likenesses. The artist presents Princess Mary as an attractive young woman of marriageable age. She stands frontally, but demurely folds her hands in front and turns her head to the left to avoid an unseemly direct gaze. A minimal use of line defines a serious face, icy blue eyes, and a small, delicate mouth. The deep blue velvet curtain behind her, which limits the depth of field and focuses the viewer on her, has an inscription in gold letters that gives her identity. The artist reveals Mary's well-known love of fine clothing and jewels. Her cloth of gold bodice bedecked with jewels and her rich red velvet sleeves dominate the painting. She wears a heavy gold and jeweled brooch and a jeweled pendant at her throat. A jewel-trimmed red coif that matches the sleeves of her dress crowns her head, revealing wavy reddish hair parted in the center and tucked behind a dark veil. As with most English portraits, the artist transferred the image from a pricked drawing to the panel, verified by the presence of dots of charcoal dust visible in the right sleeve, the headdress, and around each pearl.

Katherine, with her head slightly turned, follows a similar convention, but appears full length – the first English queen to appear in this manner. Rather than following Holbein's model for earlier queens, the artist follows Holbein's portrait of Christina of Denmark. Perhaps Katherine realized Henry's fascination with the earlier portrait and sought to please him. She stands against a dark background with an under layer of azurite on an oriental carpet, a furnishing usually reserved for the Virgin Mary. She wears a dress of deep red, with a pattern made of gold and silver threads. Her gold brocade coat is embellished with silver threads and lynx fur sleeves in fine clothing and adorned with jewels. Her fine jewels, especially the crown brooch pinned to her brocade bodice, leaves no doubt that the sitter is a queen educated in the symbolism of Flemish art.[114]

Anonymous artists of the English school

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey

The early non-royal full length portraits include three of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, all probably made posthumously. Surrey was a soldier, a courtier with important connections to the royal family, and a poet at the court of Henry VIII. As a poet, he is known for having introduced blank verse into England, and, along with Thomas Wyatt, the Italian sonnet form. At one time, he was proposed as a consort for Henry's daughter Mary. Vain and ambitious, Howard came under royal suspicion. The king ordered his execution on a trumped up charge of treason.

The most famous of the three portraits of Surrey, which is at Arundel Castle in West Sussex, gives a nod to the exuberant Mannerist style popular on the continent, which stands in stark contrast to the more staid English taste. Howard stands before a semi-grisaille architectural background featuring a classical niche surrounded by classical putti, grotesque faces, and female herms holding royal shields painted in red, blue, and yellow. He stands in a full front, slightly contrapposto, position with his head to his left. He rests his right elbow on a classical column and his left on his hip. His long, angular face, with a neatly trimmed reddish beard, is set off by a black cap with a white feather. He wears white stockings, a rich brocade costume, and a large, windswept black cape, and a large gold chain with a medallion. The background reveals a shadowy landscape, with buildings and plants in dark silhouette. The format and size (87.5 × 86.5 in; 222.3 × 220 cm) suggest it was conceived as an over-mantel piece. This composition type and energetic style in painting, sculpture, and decorative plaster gain popularity as classicism enters the English architectural vocabulary in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Illuminated manuscripts, documents, and books

The Horenbout family and royal documents

Although printing presses were readily available, artists at court wrote royal documents by hand and often illuminated them. In fact, documents were probably the last written form to embrace printing. Even as late as the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, documents still were handwritten in lavish script, verified with elaborate signatures, and embellished with large, ornamented initials. Among the earliest artists at the English court were members of the Horenbout family (also called Hornebolte), lead painters in the Ghent-Bruges school of illuminators: Gerard, his son Lucas, and his daughter Susanna. The Horenbouts moved to England from Ghent in the early 1520s. Around 1525, Henry established the position of court artist, or "The Kings Painter", first with the Horenbout family, and later with Hans Holbein, all of whom provided illuminated documents and book illustrations. None of the Horenbouts signed their works, so all attributions are based on documents, contracts, and/or stylistic evidence.[115]

Two Letters Patent by Horenbout for Henry VIII illustrate two styles of illumination. The Letters Patent of 1526 for Wolsey's founding of Cardinal College, made either by Gerard, Susanna, or Lucas, is done in monochrome black ink. The first page shows the opening letter H, with a crown in the top of the stem and a full length frontal portrait of the enthroned king beneath the arch of the letter. Whereas the letter itself is formed of squares of cross-hatching made with a wide brush and joined by ribbon-like curves, the rest of the brushwork and pen lines are very delicate. The Letters Patent for Thomas Forster (1524–1528) which appears to have been executed by Lucas Horenbout, is especially rich, with lavish use of gold leaf and ultramarine blue.[116] The first seal of Henry VIII is attached at the bottom with silk and golden threads. The border contains classical grotteschi decoration, along with the royal badges of the Beaufort portcullis, the pomegranate of Katherine of Aragon, and vines of Tudor roses in gold leaf on a reddish field that imitates the finish of velvet. Within the opening of the first letter of the document, which begins with the king's name, is a roundel outlined in gold with a small portrait head and shoulders of Henry. The gilded letter is set against a green background, while the background of the roundel is ultramarine blue. He faces frontally looking slightly to his left. He wears a large hat, a dark coat under which cloth of gold and a white shirt are visible. The Treaty of Amiens of 18 August 1527, another lavish case in point, includes a gold leaf and foliate border and an unmistakable portrait of Francis I in the upper left corner.[117]

Henry also commissioned an especially fine manuscript of Acts of the Apostles and Apocalypse from either Lucas or Susanna Horenbout *c.* 1528–1533.[118] Although an exquisite manuscript, it has only two illustrations, the finest of which is the exotic author portrait of St Luke on the opening page for Acts. A curtain pulled to the right reveals the apostle's study, filled with books and the implements of an illuminator's trade. The window to the left has fifteenth-century Italianate cross-shaped window mullions and large panes of clear glass, a sign of wealth. The apostle, seated behind the desk, looks down at a book as he writes, as if copying. St Luke wears rich clothing: a fanciful Eastern turban, an ermine collared golden coat with boots to match, red leggings, and an ultramarine blue cloak. His attribute, an ox, patiently rests at his feet like a pet. The borders, divided into square and rectangular segments, display flora and fauna as well as badges of the Tudor family and the coat-of-arms of England.

Illustrated secular books and the transition to printing

In the sixteenth century, snobbery for illuminated books gradually gave way to the more practical and less expensive printed book with pages of cotton rag paper, some with wood block print or engraved illustrations. William Caxton introduced printing into England. His translation of *Recueil des Histoires de Troye* in 1473 was the first book printed in English, although on a press in Bruges. In 1476, he set up a press in Westminster. Soon thereafter he printed *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. In 1483, he translated Jacobus Voragine's thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*. This edition, later reproduced in facsimile, continued as the only English translation until 1993. Printed books routinely contained decorative frontispieces and a variety of illustrations, some printed in black and white; some printed colored by hand; and some lavish freehand illuminations.

Hans Holbein, in his post as the court artist, provided woodcut images for several books, ranging from the macabre *Dance of Death* to the Bible. In December 1534, the English Reformational clergy petitioned the king to authorize an English edition of the Bible. The *Coverdale Bible,* published in 1535, was the first complete printed translation of the Bible in English. Holbein provided the frontispiece. King Henry, enthroned in the center asserts his authority over both church and state, with bishops and noblemen at his feet and the authority of King David with his harp and St Paul with the sword of the spirit at his sides. At the top right, a resurrected Christ tramples Sin, Death and the Devil, while Adam and Eve stand to the left. With shameful faces turned aside, they cover themselves with fig leaves. Below, Moses receives the law; above Solomon pronounces the law. To the right, two frames show Jesus sending forth apostles to preach.[119] The political message of the law-giver king as head of church and state could hardly be clearer.

The private audience: portraits in miniature during the reign of Henry VIII

Portraits in miniatures develop out of manuscript illumination, especially the border and initial illustrations. Miniature portraits first appear as an independent art form in the early sixteenth century in England. Both Lucas Horenbout and Hans Holbein, while in the king's employ, receive credit for inventing them. Whether Horenbout executed independent miniatures before coming to England is not known. Karel Van Mander claims that Horenbout taught Holbein the art of "lymning" or illuminating in miniature, but Holbein may well have learned that craft sooner.[120] The term miniature develops not so much from a description of the size as the technique: the Latin term *minium* refers to the red lead often used in manuscript illumination and in the painting of miniatures. The Elizabethans use a second term, *limning*, that also refers to the technique: opaque watercolor or tempera on prepared vellum or playing cards, using fine brushes called pencils.[121]

The miniatures were set in small frames that varied from a simple gold or silver band to elaborate metal openwork inset with jewels. Miniature portraits might be stored in picture boxes; they also could announce one's status by being worn as brooches or lockets. Whereas sometimes a sitter for a portrait might have held a book, some luxury object, or a defining attribute, now a sitter might wear or hold a miniature. The miniature, like the portrait, also was a also status symbol through association with the person it portrayed. The round format looks back to the forms of fifteenth-century commemorative Italian medals and ultimately to ancient Roman coins, cameos, and portraits on glass.

Horenbout's miniature portraits have ultramarine blue backgrounds and inscriptions. The outlines of the roundels are traced with a gold line. He uses diffused light, no distinct chiaroscuro, and depicts his sitters in three-quarter view. Holbein and other masters in miniature, including Levinia Teerlic and Nicholas Hilliard (Chapter 8), worked within the Flemish formulae. The British enthusiastically embraced and perpetuated the miniature tradition.

Horenbout: Henry VIII

Lucas Horenbout is credited with six miniatures of Henry VIII. Scholars base the attributions on comparisons between the technique of the miniature and autograph manuscript illuminations. Although each of the six images varies slightly, the formula Horenbout developed shows the bearded king bust length looking to the right in a three-quarter view against a bright blue background. The earliest of these, which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, dates to *c*. 1525–1527. This portrait has an inscription above his shoulders, written in gold, which identifies the sitter. The king wears a cap with a badge, a fur-trimmed coat, a green brocade tunic, and a white shirt with a black embroidered border. The classically inspired leaf pattern of the gilded frame recalls the leafy frames surrounding the terracotta roundels of the emperors and ancient cameo designs.

Horenbout: Katherine of Aragon

While in the king's employ, Horenbout executed several miniatures of Queen Katherine of Aragon. One miniature of *c*. 1525–1526, the largest extant miniature of Katherine, shows her in a three-quarter view looking to her right, wearing a red dress, heavy pearls, and a large jeweled cross (Fig. 7.32). Whereas all other miniatures by Horenbout focus on the head and shoulders, this one includes Katharine's hands, perhaps as a distraction from her bloated face and tiny features. The Latin inscription states "Katherine, his wife", and implies that this miniature was a pair with one of Henry VIII.

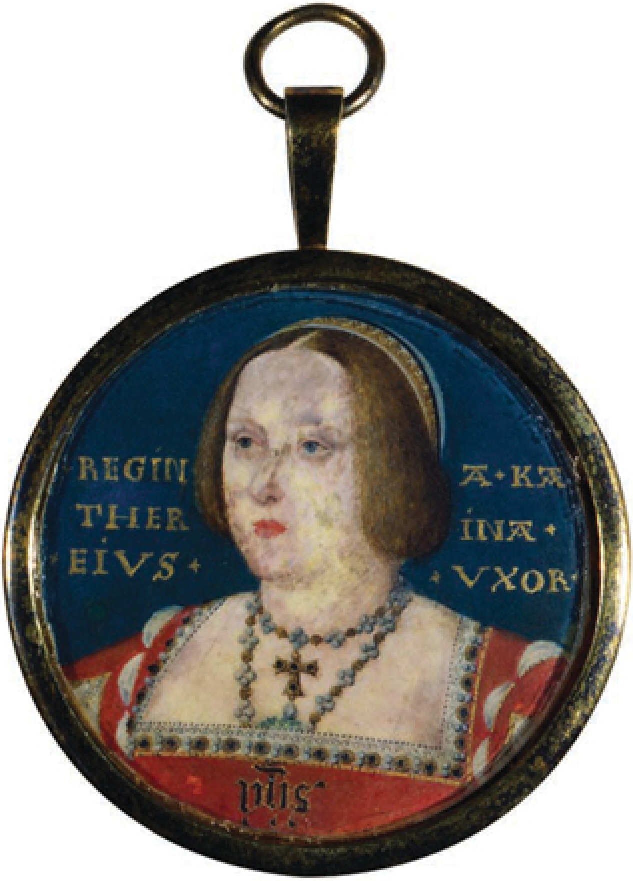

Fig. 7.32 Lucas Horenbout (or Hornebolte), attr.: Katherine of Aragon, watercolor on vellum, National Portrait Gallery, London, c. *1525. Photograph: courtesy © National Portrait Gallery, London*

Hans Holbein: Catherine Howard

Regardless of whether Hans Holbein learned the art of miniature painting from Lucas Horenbout or independently, their formulae and techniques bear strong resemblance. At least fourteen autograph miniatures by Holbein have been identified, among which is a miniature of a lady dated *c.* 1540 and believed by many scholars to be Catherine Howard, the king's fifth wife.[122] She appears almost half length, with hands demurely folded against her waist. Her head is slightly cocked and her eyes look outward, which shows her face in three-quarter view. The square neckline of her dress, which has a cloth of gold bodice, is embedded with jewels. Her brocade sleeves have lace trim and she has a dark fur shawl across her upper arms. Her close fitting black coif with gold braid and pearl trim reveals auburn hair, parted in the center. The most compelling evidence that the sitter is Henry's queen is the heavy, double-strand, pearl, emerald, and ruby necklace, which appears in an earlier Holbein portrait of her predecessor, Jane Seymour.

Levina Teerlinc

In addition to Susanna Horenbout, another woman, Levina Teerlinc (b. 1510/20, Bruges, d. 1576, London), also painted portrait miniatures at the royal court. The eldest daughter of Simon Bening (Benninc or Benninck), another distinguished illuminator of the Ghent-Bruges school, she probably trained as a manuscript painter under her father before her marriage to George Teerlinc. In 1545, she and her husband moved to England, where, after the death of Holbein, she served as royal painter to Henry VIII, Mary I, and Elizabeth I.[123] Although most noted as a miniature portraitist, she painted other works as well. Sadly most of Teerlinc's works have not survived. Some scholars speculate that she trained Nicholas Hilliard, who would achieve the status of the supreme miniature portraitist of the Elizabethan era.

Henry VIII's progeny: Edward and Mary, 1547–1558

On 28 January 1547, Henry VIII died at Whitehall Palace. Although Henry had become obsessive about a male heir and his succession, in the end he left a long and secure legacy. No monarch before or since has had as many of their children ascend the throne. Edward VI, who was nine years old at his father's death, reigned from 1547 to 1553. He was followed by his half-sisters Mary I ("Bloody" Mary), 1553–1558, Henry's only surviving child by Katherine of Aragon, and Elizabeth I, 1558–1603, Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn.

According to royal tutors, Edward was intellectually precocious but not physically robust. He was fluent in Greek, Latin, and French, a keen student of theology, and kept a full journal of his reign. Since Edward was a youth at the time of the coronation, the government was entrusted to a Lord Protector. The king's eldest maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, appointed Earl of Hertford in 1537 and Duke of Somerset in 1547, served from 1547–1552 as the first Lord Protector of the King. He and other nobles used his position for personal gain, which cost Somerset his life. His successor, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, outlived the king.

During Edward's reign, the Church of England became more explicitly Protestant. Certain Roman Catholic practices, including Latin rites, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the long revered ceremonies of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and other religious feasts were forbidden. Clergymen were allowed to marry. Beginning in February 1548, conservative reformers declared religious and devotional images, including altarpieces, sculpture, stained glass windows, rich vestments, illuminated Bibles and liturgical books, to be papist and repugnant, and destroyed all they could. They knocked heads from sculptures, giving birth to a new English word: defaced. Huge library holdings disappeared. They whitewashed murals and banned further production of religious art. Altars often were removed altogether. Ecclesiastical gems and melted down silver and gold plate enriched the royal jewels. Pulpits, which had begun to appear in the thirteenth century, were moved to prominent positions in the churches for preaching.[124] Those who did not conform fled England or risked death. In 1549, Archbishop Cranmer introduced *The Book of Common Prayer*. Although moderate in tone, its imposition led to sporadic rebellions.

As Edward lay dying of tuberculosis, Dudley, in an effort to maintain religious stability by preventing Edward's half-sister Mary, a staunch Catholic, from ascending the throne, tried to induce the prince to alter the succession in favor of his own daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, wife of his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. She was the daughter of Lord Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Edward's first cousin through her maternal grandmother and Henry VIII's sister, Princess Mary Tudor, and a great-granddaughter of King Henry VII. In July 1553, Lady Jane Grey reigned for nine days as the uncrowned monarch, residing in the Tower of London. Her place of refuge soon turned prison. The Privy Council proclaimed Mary queen on 19 July 1553.

For several reasons, Queen Mary, 1553–1558, faced more turmoil than that of her half-brother. As the first woman to hold a European monarchy in her own right and not as a regent for an underage son, she confronted the issue of gender. French Salic Law, for instance, prohibited women from inheriting titles. She also faced issues of succession, although the cause was more religious than gender-related, as the imposter was a woman: her cousin, Lady Jane Grey, whom Mary quickly deposed. Initially she spared Lady Jane's life; John Dudley was executed. However, in February 1554, Sir Thomas Wyatt led a rebellion against Queen Mary's engagement to her cousin Prince Philip, the heir to the intensely Catholic Spanish throne. He and his supporters feared the marriage would not only intensify her aim to reintroduce Catholicism, but also that it would threaten England with Spanish rule. Over a hundred people were executed, including Lady Jane Grey. Although Lady Jane had no part in the plot, her father had been sympathetic. Her final resting place, along with Anne Boleyn and certain other notorious alleged royal traitors, is the Chapel of Saint Peter-ad-Vincula at the Tower of London.

The Queen's harsh policies and Spanish husband gained her no popularity among the people. She continued to enforce Catholic religious practices and persecute Protestants, although the Catholic Church in England, with priests dispersed, monasteries dissolved, and churches stripped of Catholic trappings, never regained strength. Her uncompromising religious policies earned her the nickname "Bloody Mary." To add to her difficulties, Mary's unhappy marriage produced no children. In 1558, after years of declining health, Mary died and was buried at Westminster Abbey. In the end, much blood was shed for little gain, but the monarchy remained secure and passed smoothly to her younger sister, Elizabeth.

Neither Edward nor Mary was a great patron of the arts, partly because of religious and political strife and partly because they had inherited more than they could manage. Moreover, neither inherited Henry's passion or charisma. Those traits were left to Elizabeth. The largest area of artistic patronage, royal and otherwise, was in portraiture, but none reaches the quality or innovation achieved by Holbein and other artists at the court of their father. In architectural patronage, the monarchs had no need of new palaces – upkeep was enough to handle. Instead, nobles would lead the way with innovative residences.

Portraits under Edward and Mary

As tumultuous as the religious world was during the reigns of Henry's first two children, the art world survived and re-emerged changed. Although without the religious market and Henry's great court artists, including Hans Holbein, who died in 1543, painting may have stagnated, but major secular architectural innovations did happen under Edward. Many portraits by contemporary artists reflected knowledge of Holbein's work. His images, especially of the king, continued to be disseminated. William Scrots continued in the service of the monarchy until Edward's death in 1553, when his salary was stopped. He disappeared from the art scene and presumably left England. Other noteworthy artists included John Bettes, an Englishman and two Flemish artists, Hans Eworth, who reflected the style of Holbein, and Anthonis Mor, who had painted at the Spanish court.

John Bettes

John Bettes (active 1531–1570) is the only English-born painter of note during this period. His masterpiece is generally considered to be *A Man in a Black Cap* of *c.* 1545, now at the Tate Gallery in London. The pink under-painting imitates Holbein's technique; therefore some scholars believe Bettes worked in Holbein's workshop. The painting style, however, lacks the tight, precise manner of Holbein. Bettes will remain in royal service into the reign of Elizabeth.

Hans Eworth

When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, royal patronage changed from Netherlandish and German Protestants to Catholic foreigners, usually Flemish and almost exclusively portrait artists. Mary often chose painters from her husband's Spanish court. Hans Eworth hailed from the predominantly Catholic city of Antwerp and immigrated to England. Perhaps he was accompanied by his brother Nicholas and engraver Cornelis Metsys. Eworth served as official royal portrait painter during the reign of Queen Mary. His surviving body of work of about thirty-five paintings, done between *c.* 1544 and 1574, consists mostly of portraits of the English Catholic gentry and nobility, influenced by the works of Hans Holbein. He also painted a few elaborate allegories works in which he incorporated his subjects. The style reflected the influence of the Manneristic School of Fontainebleau. As theatricality and staged drama played an increasingly large part in court entertainment, court artists, beginning with Holbein and including Eworth, also designed costumes, floats, and painted sets for pageants and masques. His religious leanings may have caused his decline from favor during the reign of Elizabeth.[125]

Hans Eworth: Queen Mary

Hans Eworth's chief contribution was as the artist to establish the iconic image of Queen Mary, painted within a year of her accession (1553/4). Hans Eworth painted several portraits, all shown in half to three-quarter length set against a cloth of honor. His earliest portrait of Mary as queen dates to 1554 (Fig. 7.33). Mary stands erect behind a balustrade in a tightly enclosed space and is shown in three-quarter view. She turns her head slightly to her left. Her pursed-lipped expression reveals a serious and severe personality. The pose owes much to the strongly frontal, static images of her father and the style of Holbein.

Dressed in deep red velvet with cloth of gold cuffs and a white collar, she stands in front of a green velvet cloth of honor with a ledge covered in the same material upon which she rests her hands. In place of a crown, she wears a coif, which exposes her red hair, only to be covered by a veil behind. In her right hand she holds a red rose, a personal symbol that makes reference to the Tudor rose and to her Christian name; in her left, a jeweled fan. Her choker necklace, set with gems and a large pendant pearl, which scholars speculate is the famous "La Peregrina", was a wedding gift from Philip. The top left corner of the portrait has a small inscription, HE, the characteristic signature of Eworth, which a recent technical analysis revealed. She appears confident, reflecting the celebration and optimism that greeted her ascension.

A second portrait by Hans Eworth (*c.* 1555–1558) depicts a slightly older and more severe Mary in a black and gold dress. She holds in her hand a paper, which is inscribed "The Supplication of Thomas Hongad." The pattern for her face and pose appear to have been used again in several similar portraits with changes in various details. These portraits exhibit the depth of Eworth's talents not only as a painter, but also as one adept at the study of inner character, a rare revelation in English portraiture.

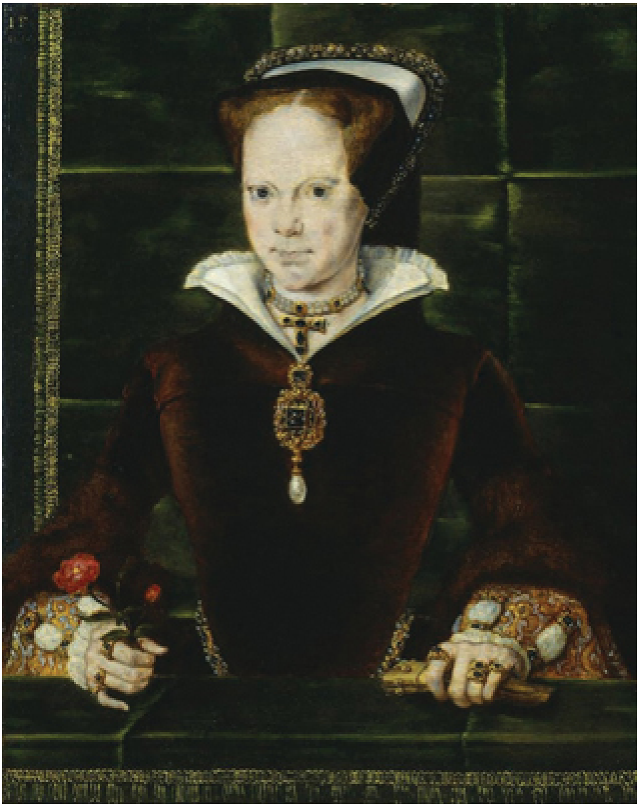

Fig. 7.33 Hans Eworth: Queen Mary, *oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London,*

1554. Photograph: courtesy © National Portrait Gallery, London

Anthonis Mor: Queen Mary

Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (1517–1577), also called Antonio Moro, was the most successful court portraitist of the generation following Holbein. Also a native of the Catholic Netherlands, Mor was a pupil of Jan van Scorel. He took the lead at the Habsburg court as the painter who best displayed the new more formal court etiquette. He appears to have come to England through Philip II of Spain, perhaps accompanying him for his wedding to Mary Tudor in July 1554.

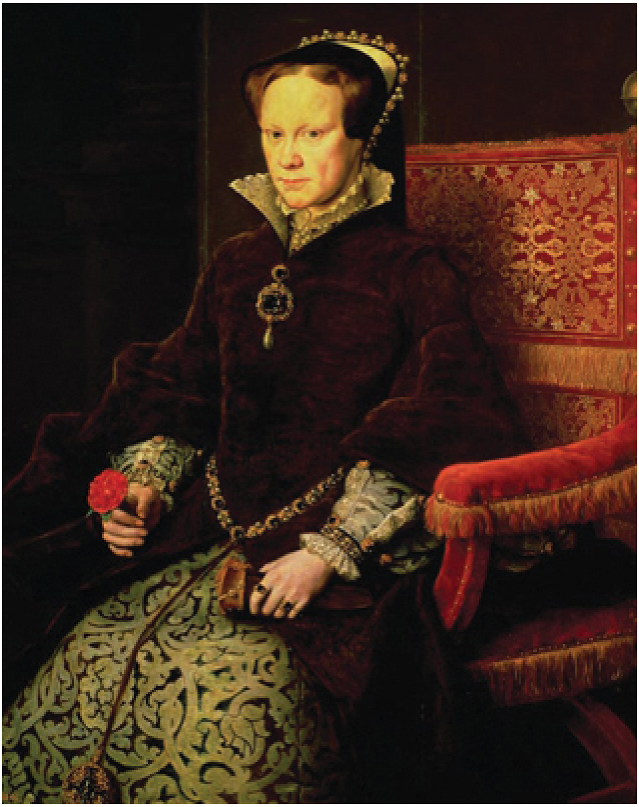

Fig. 7.34 Sir Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (Antonio Moro): Queen Mary I, *oil on panel, Prado, Madrid, Spain, 1554. Photograph: Prado, Madrid, Spain/ © Bridgeman Images*

Mor painted Mary just after her marriage, her first at age thirty-eight and Philip's second. (Fig. 7.34). Stylistically, her pose and the naturalism are softer than the image created by Eworth. The artist portrays her in three-quarter length, seated in a chair covered in rich red velvet, a pose that recurs in other portraits of Habsburg consorts. Her face also appears in three-quarter view, with her features rendered with chiaroscuro, an unusual feature in Tudor portraits, which tend to be strongly linear. Her expression, however, is equally severe. She wears a deep crimson-black velvet fitted coat over a white and gold silk dress. In her right hand, she holds a red carnation and in her left, a pair of gloves. As with portraits of her father, Mary does not wear a crown. Instead she wears a close fitting coif. Only the rich jewelry reveals her royal status: a choker-style pearl necklace, a gem and pearl studded gold belt, coif and cuffs adorned with cut stones and pearls set in gold, and the same large pendant given to her by Philip that Eworth also portrayed.

At the same time he painted this portrait, one of three copies, Mor also painted a companion-piece of Philip. Although Philip had recently sat for Titian, as did least one other anonymous Englishman, the English continued almost exclusively to patronize Northern European artists. Moreover, other than the aforementioned John Bettes, the English produced few accomplished home-grown artists. These trends in taste and patterns of patronage would continue under Elizabeth.

Architecture under Mary and Edward

Edward and Mary inherited over 50 residences of various types from their father, enough tapestries to cover the walls, and an adequate government center at Westminster. The monarchy had little need to build, although they did sponsor some remodeling and completing. More importantly, some of their courtiers built, especially during the reign of Edward VI. Taking the lead was Lord Protector Edward Seymour, who was the first in England to build a residence in a harmonious classical style of the type that had been popular in Italy for over a century.[126] The hallmark of these innovative buildings was the more consistent and complete incorporation of classical elements introduced by Italian Renaissance architects than seen during Henry VIII's reign. A well-conceived sense of classicism appears in Seymour's residence in London, Somerset House, and Syon House, his country estate outside of London, near Kew Gardens. William Sharington was among the handful of Edward's courtiers who followed the lead with his home at Lacock Abbey.

Somerset House, London

Edward Seymour dominated the architectural scene in England only during the first 2 years of Edward's reign. Somerset House was the largest, newest, most fashionable, and most influential residence in sixteenth-century London. Unfortunately Seymour's building no longer survives. Around 1777, the house was demolished and replaced by the present Somerset House, but the earlier house is known through architectural drawings, some of which are attributed to John Thorpe, a surveyor, architectural draughtsman, and possibly an architect for several Elizabethan prodigy houses.

The façade bore consistent Renaissance features, such as the clearly delineated subdivisions of two wings and a central block, pilastered windows, engaged and superimposed columns, evenly spaced pedimented windows, and a loggia in front of the Great Hall. Although some of the craftsmen involved understood classical ornamentation from having worked at Nonsuch Palace, the deeper understanding of classicism and more consistent use of classical elements came to England indirectly, by way of contemporary practices in France, which Lord Seymour and his circle deeply admired.[127] These innovations would set the course for residential architecture in England and inspire architects such as John Smythson in the sixteenth century and Inigo Jones in the seventeenth.

Soon after Edward ascended the throne, his Lord Protector began Somerset House, choosing a prestigious site along the fashionable Strand that gave convenient access to Whitehall Palace, the London residence of the young king. To prepare the site, the duke demolished several buildings, including the Strand Inn (one of the Inns of Chancery), and the Episcopal Palaces of Lichfield and Coventry, Chester, Worcester, and Llandaff. He razed the Church of the Nativity of Our Lady and the Innocents to accommodate the garden. For building stone, he tore down the Charnel House of St Paul’s Cathedral as well as the church and tower of the Priory Church of St John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell.

Although the designer of Somerset House is unknown, Sir John Thynne, steward to Somerset, supervised its construction. While the house followed the traditional English courtyard layout, the new classical façade drew heavily from the treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l’opere d’architettura, et prospetiva*, or *Complete Works on Architecture and Perspective* (1537–1575). While Serlio’s buildings did not exert significant influence, his book, which almost immediately was available in French, had a tremendous audience throughout Europe.

Based on architectural drawings and prints, the street façade of Somerset House appears to have consisted of five bays of unequal size. The two inner bays were flat and built of rusticated stone; the narrower outermost pair of bays and the central block, each with a third story or a third-tier decoration, projected slightly. The central block gateway especially relied on book III of Serlio’s treatise, which had renditions of Roman triumphal arches and gateways. This arched opening employed all three classical orders, which, following Roman-based practice and Italian Renaissance theory, became more ornate as they ascended. The heavy cross-shape of the wooden window mullions and the pediments over the windows followed the design of palaces in Rome, such as Palazzo Farnese (*c*. 1535–1548), the largest and most fashionable residence in Rome, designed by Antonio da Sangallo and Michelangelo Buonarroti. The liberally appropriated classical ornamentation also came from Serlio and other pattern books. The chimney stacks displayed Serlio's motifs intended for ceiling coffering (sunken square panels). The continuous classical balustrade on the roof, also derived from Serlio, helped unify the sprawling façade. This Italian motif, the first of its kind known in England, replaced Gothic façades with battlement crenellations and will be employed by subsequent English builders.[128]

Lord Protector Seymour also confiscated Syon Abbey, which, after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, had become property of the crown. He converted the western foundations of the huge abbey church into a grand country residence that he named Syon House. Alterations in the seventeenth century obscure most of the details of the earlier the Italianate style.

Although he had commissioned one – perhaps two – of the most innovative and influential buildings of the age, Seymour had little time to enjoy the fruits of his labors. In 1551, his political opponents had him arrested and tried for treason. He was imprisoned in the Tower in 1549 and beheaded there in January 1552. Somerset House reverted to the crown; Edward gave it to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who used it as her London residence until she ascended the throne in 1558.[129] Syon House on the other hand, passed to his rival and successor, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, whose family still owns it.

Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire

The Dissolution provided creative building opportunities for nobles who were fortunate enough to acquire them. William Sharington, a relatively minor courtier, began the transformation of Lacock Abbey, a former nunnery, in 1540. It was finished in 1549. He demolished the abbey church but kept the fine Perpendicular Gothic cloister, visible on the east front below the living quarters, and formed the house around it. An early visit to Italy, along with ideas gleaned from Seymour and Italian books, influenced Sharington's rebuilding. The greatest innovations occur along the south front, where he added an octagonal tower, oriel windows, and fine classical detailing. The continuous balustrade across the roofline not only unifies the façade but also reflects ideas from Seymour's Somerset House. The house, especially the east façade, is discreetly understated, a decorum that Baldassare Castiglione recommended in his book, *Il Cortegiano* (*The Courtier)*, published in 1528 in Italian and widely known. Thus, by the end of Edward's reign, Italianate forms, ideas, and decorum had begun to penetrate English architecture. These ideas, led by Seymour, would blossom into a new, classically inspired, but distinctively English, architectural form under Elizabeth.

Conclusion

At the end of the reign of the fourth Tudor monarch, England stood shoulder to shoulder with major European powers. The island nation had transformed politically, socially, economically, religiously, culturally, artistically, architecturally, and in its world view. The monarchy was stronger than before and the country was richer, with many newly ennobled peers. Following the precedents set by William the Conqueror and the Magna Carta, English nobles did not have the independent power to raise armies that European nobility possessed. They also lacked the influence to challenge the monarchy they had exerted during the Wars of the Roses, both of which kept the central government unified and strong. Political stability and economic prosperity also contributed to the growth of the middle class.

Changes in the church stunned all of Western Christendom. For the first time in history, a monarchy had usurped control of religious affairs from Rome. Henry ushered in a moderate Protestantism, which, under Edward, became more radical and more distinct. Although Mary briefly returned England to Catholicism, it was never again as widespread as it had been nor were the practices as orthodox. As a result of the changes in Christian practice, art no longer served the church. Therefore, church art disappeared, as did church patronage. With royal and noble patronage, most art and architecture generated under the Tudors served secular purposes. Artists shifted their production from religious works to portraits and temporary decorative objects, such as banners, parade floats, costumes, and stage sets. Moreover, the art no longer exhibited a decidedly Gothic flavor. For the first time, Italians made decisive inroads into the English market. Although the Italian presence suffered a hiatus after the break with the Roman Catholic Church, early in Edward's reign, his Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, reintroduced a more fully understood classical Italianate style and artistic theory.

Royal patronage in art and architecture reached its height under Henry VIII. In fact, his accumulations were so vast that his children spent a good deal of time during their monarchies divesting themselves of parts of it, especially the residences. Moreover, the new ideas of residential architecture that the king had embraced, both in form and in embellishment, changed forever how his peers built their homes and the purposes that these prodigy homes served. These traditions continued through the reigns of his successors and flourished under Elizabeth. At his death, Henry had inherited, built, or escheated over fifty residences from Scotland to Southern England. He even had a house in Rome (which he never visited). He accumulated rich clothing, personal items, silverware, over 150 panel paintings, 1800 books, and 2000 tapestries – the largest tapestry collection ever known, outshining even the renowned holdings of the papacy.[130]

Housing may have developed fairly quickly, but the Dissolution of the Monasteries caused a long hiatus in the visual arts that once nourished the visual sensibilities of the English people. Portraits, especially royal ones, replaced altarpieces as the most common form of painting. However, much of the visual imagery that once breathed life into England's religion, such as altarpieces and sculpted rood screens, vanished in waves of iconoclastic destruction, both in the 1530s and 1540s under Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Seymour, and then in the next century, under Oliver Cromwell. Chantry chapels, which regularly filled the aisles of cathedrals and some large churches, ceased to be built; those that survived did so because of the hesitancy some henchmen had for desecrating a tomb. The building of churches in general, so much a part of earlier English artistic and architectural traditions, all but ceased. Some former monastic holdings, however, were adapted for use as parish churches. The few new churches were, by and large, parish churches built in the perpetually English Perpendicular style.

The churches and their religious services were transformed. No longer would the congregation stand for services and participate in the recitation of the familiar liturgical texts, see the stories on walls, in altarpieces, on rood screens, or in stained glass windows, or experience the tolling of church bells sounding the liturgical hours. With the emphasis on the word, Protestants began to add stationary pews to church naves so the congregation could sit for lengthy sermons. Religious information that was once transmitted through visual means shifted to auditory methods, and, as literacy increased, to the written word. With printing, a wider variety of books became more affordable for a broader market. The art within the books also changed from hand illumination to prints, sometimes hand-colored, some refined, some crude. The demise of a strong, publically accessible, visual arts tradition and the trappings of religious ceremony coincided with the rise of monarchial pageantry, masque entertainment at royal banquets, and secular theater. Could these parallel developments be more than coincidental? The stage was now set for further development along the lines established under Henry and Edward as Elizabeth ascended the British throne.

Notes

1 Tatiana String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, 2008), 3 and *ad passim*; David Starkey, “The Young Henry”, in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, David Starkey, ed. (London, 1991), 8–13; David Starkey, *Man and Monarch: Henry VIII* (London, 2009), 13–16.

2 Requesting a papal dispensation for a strategic marriage was not new to Henry VII. In 1486, Pope Innocent VIII had granted a dispensation for his own marriage to Elizabeth of York. Other papal alliances, intrigues, and interventions followed that helped cement Henry Tudor’s rule. C. S. L. Davies, “Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII”, *The English Historical Review* 102(402) (1987): 14–15 and *ad passim*; John Guy, *Tudor England* (New York, 1988), 81–3; Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (New York, 2002), 174, 192–3.

3 Margaret Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII: A Study of Anglo-Papal Relations as reflected in Papal Gifts to the English King”. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 178–82.

4 Peter Gwyn, *The King’s Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), 1–3, 207; D. S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509 to 1514* (New York, 1965), ad passim and 170–8; Guy, *Tudor England*, 83–9; Simon Thurley, “The Domestic Works of Cardinal Wolsey”, in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State, and Art*, S.J Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds (New York, 1991), 78–9; *Hampton Court: A Social and Economic History* (New Haven, CT, 2003), 30–4, 43; Roy Nash, *Hampton Court* (London, 1983), 20.

5 Clement VII, first cousin to Leo X and nephew of Lorenzo de’Medici, lived in Orvieto from 28 February–17 May 1527. Tommaso Piccolomini-Adami, *Guida Storico artistica della Città di Orvieto* (Siena, 1883), 293–4.

6 John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, Shelley Lockwood, ed. (New York, 1997), chap. 5, 92–3 and chap. 7, 97–9; Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 52; Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (New York, 1983), 51–65; Roy Strong, *The Spirit of Britain* (New York, 1999), 111–20; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485–1649* (Berkeley, CA, 1997), 11.

7 Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 13–18; Maurice Howard, “Sutton Place and Early Tudor Architecture”, in *The Renaissance at Sutton Place: An Exhibition to Mark the 450th Anniversary of the Visit of King Henry VIII to Sutton Place*, A. L. Rowse, David Starkey, Maurice Howard et al. eds (Sutton, 1983), 25–6. English architectural historian Maurice Howard states that Early Renaissance buildings in England (*c.* 1500–1530) consisted of a veneer of foreign building styles on

well-established construction methods, but that the English, unlike contemporary Italians, held little interest in theoretical discussion of the visual arts. Howard also states that for the English, antique meant a species of fashionable ornament. I would agree that "antique" usually meant surface ornament, but not exclusively so. I also agree that basic construction methods changed little. I would argue that some English builders applied an unwritten and perhaps unspoken theory of art and architecture, or controlling idea, based on classical plan, decorative elements, and meanings. Howard does offer a stronger acknowledgement of theory in late Tudor England in his more recent book, Maurice Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven, CT, 2007), 95–100.

8 When he needed to stay in London, the king borrowed Lambeth Palace from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Simon Thurley, *The Lost Palace of Whitehall* (London, 1998), 12.

9 Fortescue, *Laws and Governance*, *ad passim* and Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, 1–5. Neville was born in 1433 and died at Blithfield in Staffordshire in 1476.

10 Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D'Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's "De Cardinalatu"* (Rome, 1980), 79–91 and *ad passim*; C. W. Westfall, "Chivalric Declaration: The Palazzo Ducale in Urbino as a Political Statement", in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*. Henry Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds. (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 20–45 at 28. The Vatican Palace dates 1450 and after.

11 Weil-Garris, and D'Amico, *Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 71, 77–97; Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, 13–18; Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 120–2; Howard in Rowse *et al. Sutton Place*, 25–6; Howard, *Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 95–100; *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics, 1490–1550* (London, 1987), 120–2.

12 Although the appointment of papal legates increased in the fifteenth century, the pope usually appointed a person legate *or legatus a latere* for a specific task. The title was usually withdrawn after the assignment was completed. To retain the permanent status of papal legate *a latere* was rare. Mitchell, "Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII" 181, 196–201.

13 Rosalys Coope, "'The Long Gallery:' Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration", *Architectural History* 29 (1986): 47–8; Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, 19–22. Wenceslaus Hollar's and Antony van den Wyngaerde's views of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show this structure.

14 Jonathan Foyle, "A Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace", *Architectural History,* 45 (2002), 135; Jonathan Foyle, "Hampton Court: The Lost Palace", http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/hampton_court_01.shtml (accessed 9 March 2015); Simon Thurley, "The Lost Palace of Whitehall", *History Today* 48(1) (January 1998), 47; Simon Thurley, *Lost Palace of Whitehall*, 9–20; and *Whitehall Palace*, 13 and 19–36; pls 41 and 44.

15 Each roundel measures 3.3 ft (1 m) in diameter. The choice of figures appears to be based on Suetonius: Julius Caesar, Caesar Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Titus, Trajan, and Hadrian. Augustus alone is glazed; others were painted and gilded. Original placements are not known, but in the eighteenth century George Vertue made engravings and descriptions of the gates at Whitehall (York Palace) before they were razed. Nero and Tiberius, who are on the west front of Hampton Court, were moved there in 1845 by

Edward Jesse after being found at Windsor Park. Cinzia Maria Sicca, "Giorgio Vasari and the Progress of Italian Art in the Early Sixteenth-Century England", in Cinzia Maria Sicca and Louis A. Waldman eds *The Anglo-Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors* (New York, 2012), 360–3 and n. 39, p. 389; P. G. Lindley, "Playing Check-mate with Royal Majesty? Wolsey's Patronage of Italian Renaissance Sculpture", in Gunn and Lindley eds, *Cardinal Wolsey*, 34, 280–1; Maurice Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, 26–7, 32–3. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 24; A. Higgins, "On the Work of Florentine Sculptors in England in the early part of the Sixteenth Century", *Archaeological Journal* 2nd ser. L1 (1894): 129–220; M. Howard and E. Wilson, *The Vyne: a Tudor House Revealed* (London, 2003), 26–8 and 32–3; Sophie Julien-Lees, "Recording and investigation of the De Maiano terracotta roundels, Hampton Court Palace". *Historic Royal Palaces Conservation Department Bulletin*, Issue 25, November 2005, available online at "Terracotta roundels: Analysing the Emperors at Hampton Court Palace", http://www.hrp.org.uk/learninganddiscovery/caringforthepalaces/conservethis/conservationscienceprojectprofiles/terracottaroundels#sthash.6L5X1OBh.dpuf (accessed 30 January 2014); Weil-Garris and D'Amico, *Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 71–91; Alberti, *Art of Building*, 117; Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington IN, 1985) 29; Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, 13 and 36.

16 Gwyn, *King's Cardinal*, xxi–xxii; Greg Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (New York, 1988), 158–9.

17 Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 105; Jonathan Foyle, "Some Examples of External Colouration on English Brick Buildings, c. 1500–1650". *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*, 2002, posted online 12 June 2008, http://crcv.revues.org/125; DOI : 10.4000/crcv.125 (accessed 29 January 2014).

18 Simon Thurley, "Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court: A Reconstruction of the Tudor Palace". *Architectural History* (31) (1988), 1–2; Paolo Cortesi cited in Weil-Garris and D'Amico, *Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 79–91 and *ad passim*; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 21; Jonathan Foyle. "Hampton Court: The Lost Palace", http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/hampton_court_01.shtml (accessed 9 March 2015).

19 Foyle, "A Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall", 128–58, especially 135 and n. 15, 155; Thurley, "Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court", 1–2. For example, Eltham Palace, Lambeth Palace, and Penshurst Place have ground floor halls. Among the few English precedents for the hall located one flight up is John of Gaunt's hall at Kenilworth Castle or those in castle keeps, such as the Tower of London; Simon Thurley, Historic Royal Palaces, "Hampton Court Palace: Thomas Wolsey at Hampton Court, 1514–1528", and "Wolsey's Palace: A New Perspective", http://www.hrp.org.uk/ (accessed 8 February 2005); Cortesi quoted in Weil-Garris and D'Amico, *Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 87 and 91, ns 94 and 95, pp. 112–13; The arrangement of the staircase at Hampton Court concurs with the placement of the staircase near the courtyard at the Ducal Palace of Urbino, which served as Cortesi's model.

20 Coope, "'The Long Gallery'", 48; Higgins, "On the Work of Florentine Sculptors", 129–220.

21 Higgins, "On the Work of Florentine Sculptors". In fact, a roundel of a woman is in storage at Hampton Court. Julien-Lees, "Recording and investigation of the De Maiano terracotta roundels", 2.

22 Sicca, "Giorgio Vasari", in Sicca and Waldman eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 360–3 and n. 39, p. 389; Julien-Lees, "Recording and investigation of the De Maiano terracotta roundels", 1–2; Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 89 and 81, 87, and 91. Sicca notes that Kent Rawlinson, curator of historic buildings at Hampton Court Palace, believes the original roundels represented "martial worthies." Julien-Lees notes in the conservation report that the identities were established by at least 1600, but that the plaques could have been moved around. The surviving ten roundels include six of the Twelve Caesars about which Suetonius wrote (*De vita Caesarum*, 121 AD, during the reign of Hadrian): Julius, Augustus, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Titus. Suetonius's *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* was and remains a primary source for Roman history. A program at either Hampton Court or Whitehall based on Suetonius would explain the inclusion of emperors who are not revered.

23 Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540–1640* (New Haven, CT, 2009), 259 and fig. 311; Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 52; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance: 1485–1649* (Berkeley, 1997), 12–14.

24 Weil-Garris and D'Amico, *Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace*, 158–63. Campbell, *Majesty*, 136–40; 157–159; Thomas Campbell, "School of Raphael Tapestries in the Collection of Henry VIII", *The Burlington Magazine,* February 1996, 69; Thurley, *Hampton Court*, 30–34.

25 Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven, CT, 1983), 3; Jennifer Loach, "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII". *Past and Present*, 142 (February 1994): 43–68.

26 John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1993), 132–6; "City of London Gardens, 1500–*c.* 1620". *Garden History* 27(1) (1999), 73–88; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 40–4; Coope, "'The Long Gallery'", 46–8.

27 Gladys Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden, 1960); Joycelyne Gledhill Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London, 1969); Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V* (London, 2002); Steven Gunn, "Anglo-Florentine Contacts in the Age of Henry VIII: Political and Social Contexts", in Sicca and Waldman eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 33; Sicca, "Giorgio Vasari", in *ibid.*, 373–5; Erna Auerbach, "Vincent Volpe, the King's Painter". *Burlington Magazine* (August 1950): 226; Campbell, *Majesty*, 145–7; Roy Strong, *Spirit*, 119–20. James Fitzgibbon constructed a paper model of Henry VIII's temporary palace for the Field of Cloth of Gold. A photograph, *c.* 1976, in the James W. Fitzgibbon Papers, Missouri Historical Society Archives, is available on the Missouri Historical Society website, www.mohistory.org/content/Fitzgibbon/scope.aspx (accessed 8 December 2007).

28 Resident painters worked at European courts, including those of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I, and his daughter, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands. Francis I of France had attracted Leonardo da Vinci to his chateau at Amboise and invited Michelangelo, who, in the face of political turmoil, gave the invitation consideration but never left Italy. Later Michelangelo did, however, work on retainer for the pope.

29 Auerbach, "Vincent Volpe, the King's Painter", 222–8; Susan Foister, *Holbein in England* (New Haven, CT, 2004), 121–3.

30 Whereas the temporary palace at Guînes was razed after it served its purpose, the structures at Greenwich and at Whitehall, built in 1581 by

Elizabeth I, continued to function for years. Roy C. Strong, *The Spirit of Britain: A Narrative History of the Arts*. New York, 2000, 151–4; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 48; Foister, *Holbein*, 68–9, 121–5.

31 Foister, *Holbein*, 18; C. Galvin and P. Lindley, "Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust of King Henry VII". *Burlington Magazine* (December 1988): 900 n. 31; R. F. Scott, "On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of Henry VII, and Foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge; with some illustrations and documents". *Archaeologia* 66 (1915): 365–76.

32 Sicca, "Giorgio Vasari", in Sicca and Waldman, eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 366–8; Frederick Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets* (Woodbridge, 1986), 150–69; Peta Motture, "Bust of an Ecclesiastic", in *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547*, Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds (London, 2003), 151, cat. 8. Busts of Fisher, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Some scholars debate the identity of the sitter in the Fisher portrait, although the resemblance to Holbein's painted portrait is striking. A contemporary bust thought to be by Torrigiano of Henry VIII is at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Scholars debate the identities of both artist and sitter of the New York portrait.

33 B. H. Meyer, "The First Tomb of Henry VII of England". *Art Bulletin* 58(3) (September 1976): 365; Edward Chaney, "Henry VIII's Tombs: plus catholique que le pape?". *Apollo* 134 (1991): 234–5; Lindley, "Checkmate", in Gunn and Lindley eds, *Cardinal Wolsey*, 262, 270–6; Alan Darr, "Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrican England: Sources and Influences", in Sicca and Waldman eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 50–3; and Alan Darr "Reconsidering Italian Sources for Pietro Torrigiani's Sculpture in England", (unpublished paper delivered at the Renaissance Society of America/Society for Renaissance Studies joint meeting in Cambridge, England, 8 April 2005). Darr notes that the artist's father is properly called Torrigiano and the artist, "Torrigiani."

34 Alan Darr, "Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrican England", 53.

35 R. F. Scott, "On the Contracts for the Tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, and Foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge; with some illustrative documents". *Archaeologia* 66, 1915, 365–76; Galvin and Lindley, "Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust of King Henry VII", 892–902.

36 Phillip G. Lindley, "Sculptural Functions and Forms in the Chapel", in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, UK, 2003), 259–94; Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 156–7.

37 Sara Nair James, "Cardinal Wolsey: The English Cardinal Italianate", in *Renaissance Papers 2008*, Christopher Cobb, ed. (Rochester, NY, 2009), 1–15; Chaney, "Henry VIII's Tombs: plus catholique que le pape?", 236; and Mitchell, "Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII", 187. Louis A. Waldman, "Benedetto da Rovezzano in England and After: New Research on the Artist, His Collaborators, and His Family", in Sicca and Waldman eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 81–147; Francesco Caglioti, "Benedetto da Rovezzano in England: New Light on the Cardinal Wolsey– Henry VIII Tomb", in Sicca and Waldman, eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 177–202; Giancarlo Gentilini and Tommaso Mozzati, "'142 Life-size Figures – with the King on Horseback': Baccio Bandinelli's Mausoleum for Henry VIII", in Sicca and Waldman, eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 203–33.

38 *Ibid.* Little is known of Torrigiani afterward, other than in 1528, he died in a

Spanish prison. Waldman, “Benedetto da Rovezzano in England and After”, 90; Alan Darr, “Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrican England”, 56; Phillip G. Lindley, “Sculptural Functions and Forms in the Chapel”, 271.

39 Darr, “Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrican England”, 73.

40 Darr, *ibid.*, 53–6; Phillip Lindley, “The ‘Artist’: Institutions, Training and Status”, in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, Tim Ayers, ed. (London, 2008), 165; Phillip Lindley, “Effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d. 1439)”, in *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547*, Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds (London, 2003), 224–5, cat. 87; Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 158–9; and Christopher Wilson, “Henry VII’s Chapel, Westminster Abbey”, in *Gothic: Art for England: 1400–1547*, Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds (London, 2003), 168, cat. 28.

41 Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 185–8.

42 Gentilini and Mozzati, “‘142 Life-size Figures’”, 205–8.

43 Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 161–2; Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 185–8. For additional contemporary descriptions and drawings, see Gentilini and Mozzati, “‘142 Life-size Figures’”, 209–26.

44 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vitae de’più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, Enrico Bianchi, ed. (Florence, 1930), vol. 5, 344.

45 Sellaio cited in Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 186–9; Chaney, “Henry VIII’s Tombs: plus catholique que le pape?”, 236; and in Sicca, who notes two letters to Michelangelo. In the second, Sellaio states that he doubts the tomb will ever be built: Cinzia Maria Sicca, Consumption and Trade of Art between Italy and England in the first half of the Sixteenth Century: the London House of the Bardi and Cavalcanti Company”. *Renaissance Studies* 16(2) (2003): 171–2; Gentilini and Mozzati “‘142 Life-size Figures’”, 209–25.

46 Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 161–3.

47 S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley (1991), “Introduction”, in Gunn and Lindley eds, *Cardinal Wolsey*, 36–7; Lindley, “Checkmate” in Gunn and Lindley eds, *Cardinal Wolsey*, 264, 279; Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 191; Higgins, “On the Work of Florentine Sculptors”, 152–3.

48 Lindley, *ibid.*, 271–6. For Julius’s tomb, see Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (Cambridge, 1985), 168–70. In 1516, Pope Julius’ heirs reduced Michelangelo’s design to a wall monument in Julius’s titular church, S. Pietro in Vincoli.

49 Thomas Cocke, “‘The Repository of Our English Kings’: The Henry VII Chapel as Royal Mausoleum”. *Architectural History* 44, *Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman* (2001): 212–20, at 213; Lindley, “Introduction” and “Checkmate”, in Gunn and Lindley eds, *Cardinal Wolsey*, 270 and 279.

50 Lindley, “Checkmate”, *ibid.*, 267–8; Sicca, *Consumption and Trade*, 171–2; Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 190–2; Martin Biddle, “Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII”. *Journal of the British Archaeology Association* 29 (1966), 111 and 115 regarding continuing work on Henry VIII’s tomb.

51 Caglioti, “Benedetto da Rovezzano in England: New Light”, 177–202; Gentilini and Mozzati, “‘142 Life-size Figures’”, 203–33; Sara James, “Cardinal Wolsey: The English Cardinal Italianate”; Mitchell, “Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII”, 185–8; Chaney, “Henry VIII’s Tombs: plus catholique que le pape?”, 234–8. Leicester Abbey lies in ruins following the Dissolution and Puritanical purge. Wolsey’s supposed burial site is marked by a plaque that was installed at a later date. The monument to Pope Julius at St. Peter’s in Chains in Rome is empty. Julius is buried at St. Peter’s Basilica beneath a marble slab

simply marked 1513.

52 Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 58–63.

53 Cinzia Maria Sicca, “Giorgio Vasari and the Progress of Italian Art in the Early Sixteenth-Century England”, in Sicca and Waldman eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 360–3.

54 Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 58–60; Lost Whitehall, 11–17.

55 Simon Thurley, “The Early Stuarts”. *History Today* (November 2003): 17; *Royal Palaces*, 53–6; *Lost Whitehall,* 12–14; Starkey, “Young Henry”, 104; Strong, *Spirit,* 156–8.

56 Thurley, *Royal Palaces,* 80–81.

57 Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 51.

58 Thurley, *Royal Palaces,* 52; Howarth, *Images of Rule*, 12–14.

59 Thurley, “Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court”, 3; Thurley, *Royal Palaces,* 52–4.

60 Howarth, *Images of Rule,* 14–15; Historic Royal Palaces, “Hampton Court Palace: A Building History: Magnificent Henry”, http://www.hrp.org.uk/HamptonCourtPalace/HenryMagnificent.aspx (accessed 29 December 2007).

61 Martin Biddle, “Nonsuch, Henry VIII’s Mirror for a Prince: Sources and Interpretation”, in Sicca and Waldman, eds, *Anglo-Florentine Renaissance*, 307; Thurley, *Royal Palaces,* 60–3; Geoffrey Quilley, “The Image of Nonsuch Palace: Mythology and Meaning”, in *Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain,* Maurice Howard, ed. *(*1995), 17–23.

62 Howard, *Papers*, 21.

63 Biddle, “Nonsuch”, 307–24; Howard, *Papers*, 18–21; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 63; “Revealed, Henry VIII’s lost pleasure palace: Amazing scale model recreates Nonsuch Palace more than 300 years after it was destroyed”, Daily Mail. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2050919/Henry-VIIIs-lost-Nonsuch-Palace-recreated-300-years-destroyed.html#ixzz40jsePAV5 (accessed 20 February 2016).

64 Maurice Howard, ed. “The Image of the Building”. Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (London, 1995): 18–22; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, ad passim; John Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (New York, 1967), 177; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT, 1999), 25; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 33–35.

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66 Biddle, “Nonsuch”, 336–50; Campbell, *Majesty*, 270–74; Bendor Grosvenor, ed. “A Rare Tudor Survival”, *Art History News*, 15 March 2012, http://arthistorynews.com/articles/1149_A_rare_Tudor_survival (accessed 17 March 2012).

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68 Biddle, "Nonsuch", 342–44; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830*, 44.

69 Tatiana String, "Henry VIII and the Art of Royal Supremacy", (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1996), *ad passim*; David Starkey, "The Legacy of Henry VIII", in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England,* David Starkey, ed. (London, 1991), 8.

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71 David Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens, GA, 1990), 11.

72 David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History* (London, 2001), 65, 82–4.

73 Christopher Wilson, "'Excellent, New and Uniforme:' Perpendicular Architecture *c.* 1400–1547", in Marks and Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England*, 286, cat. 148; Howard and Wilson, *The Vyne*, 8.32.

74 Coope, "'The Long Gallery'", 49–50; Howard and Wilson, *The Vyne*, 36–7; n. 17, chap. 2, 130; Howard, *Tudor Country House*, 120–32. Though the styles and sizes are closely related, the youthful face of this emperor does not match any at Hampton Court.

75 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 87.

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79 Campbell, *Majesty*, 157–58, 162.

80 *ibid.,* 132–4, 149–55 and figs 8.8, 8.9, and 8.10.

81 *ibid.*, 103–7; String, *Communication*, 19.

82 Campbell, *Majesty*, 103–7.

83 Campbell, *ibid.*, 162.

84 Campbell, *ibid.*, 177–82 and figs 10.1–2, and 10.5–10.

85 Campbell, *ibid.,* 185–8.

86 Campbell, *ibid.*, 264–7.

87 Campbell, *ibid.,* 272–3.

88 Campbell, "School of Raphael Tapestries", 70–5.

89 Projects by Raphael in Rome included painting and stucco work in the Loggia of Raphael in the Vatican (1517–1519), the Loggia di Psiche at the Villa Farnesina (1515–1518), and Villa Madama (*c.* 1520–1525).

90 Campbell, *Majesty*, 267–71.

91 Campbell, *ibid.*, 267–75; Campbell, "School of Raphael Tapestries", 77–8.

92 Foister, *Holbein*, 76. Norwich Castle Museum, inventory number 46.983. Recently a replica was placed at All Saints Church in Ashwellthorpe in South Norfolk, England.

93 Foister, *Holbein*, 78 and fig. 85, National Gallery in London inventory number 646647; Catherine Reynolds, "England and the Continent: Artistic

relations", in Marks and Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England*, 84; Susan Foister, "The Withypool Altarpiece", in Marks and Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England*, 275, cat. 135; Steven J. Gunn, "Anglo-Florentine Contacts in the Age of Henry VIII: Political and Social Contexts", in Cinzia Maria Sicca and Louis A. Waldman, eds, *The Anglo-Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors* (New Haven, CT, 2012), 19–47 at 30.

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105 String, *ibid.*, 6.

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Chapter 8

Gloriana and her court: the art and architecture of Elizabeth I, 1558–1603

On 17 November 1558 at Hatfield House, 20 miles (32 km) north of London, Princess Elizabeth Tudor, the 25-year-old daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, received the news that she had ascended the throne of England. She was crowned on Sunday 15th January 1559 and reigned for 45 years. Few monarchs have reigned longer. Although her reign may have begun somewhat tentatively and even skeptically, Elizabeth proved to be one of the strongest monarchs in English history. Although wars did happen, they were few, brief, and victorious. She ushered in an era of religious reconciliation, domestic peace, economic prosperity, civility, and colonial expansion abroad of remarkable proportions, especially when compared to the recent past or to what was happening elsewhere. The flourishing of the arts – especially in literature, theater, and architecture of the nobility – arguably has never been equaled.

Under Elizabeth's watchful eye, the character of England changed dramatically. Medieval London blossomed into a thriving modern metropolis. Between 1550 and 1630, the population increased from 80,000 to 200,000, making London one of largest cities in Europe. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, London, like Paris, had developed into a fashionable destination place. The nobility would come for a "season" for events such as the theater, which early in her reign was still considered plebian and taboo. They acquired the palaces along the Strand where the bishops had once lived, especially those nearer Whitehall and Westminster. With smaller households than those of the ecclesiastics, the nobles adapted the designs of their houses accordingly.

The balance of power between parliament and the monarch continued to be debated. What developed in the end were peculiarly English national systems of governance and law that became vital to the sovereignty and identity of the nation as well as to the public image of the monarch. In 1600 Edward Coke published his *Reports and Institutes,* which glorified the reign of Elizabeth and the unique and distinctly English legal tradition. Later scholars, such as Thomas

Starkey and Francis Bacon, continued to elaborate on the tradition of English law. This sense of nationalism and independence also manifested itself in English art and architecture.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, the religious strife that defined the reign of Elizabeth's half-sister, nicknamed "Bloody Mary," mellowed into a clearly Protestant restructuring of the church in England, blending Protestant theology with Catholic ceremony purged of some of its medieval trappings. Once and for all, Elizabeth stripped the Roman Catholic Church in England of its authority, its real estate, and its substantial income. Although the Catholics and other non-Anglican religious groups lacked state sanction and support, overt persecution ceased. Some privately practiced their religion; over time, these sects were openly tolerated. To most of the English, the furor of the Dissolution seemed far away; ruins of religious buildings and desecrated images, however, would serve as bitter reminders for ages to come.

The final and full break with the church in Rome also forever changed the focus of the Tudor interest in the arts. The production of altarpieces and other religious paintings vanished, and with it, acuity to the power and purpose of images. With the Protestant focus on the Word, England embraced literature and theater, but the visual arts received lower priority. The building of grand cathedrals abruptly ended, for they existed in sufficient numbers, albeit often in disrepair. Although some parish churches were built, church construction during the Elizabethan period mainly focused on repair, renovation, and refitting. Many ecclesiastical properties were converted into schools or hospitals, predictable and appropriate reuses, as at St Albans and Reading. Sometimes abbey churches, such as at Malmesbury, Gloucester and St Albans, or parish churches, as at Tewkesbury, were converted into an Anglican cathedral.[1]

Initially after the break with Rome, only the small circle surrounding the English court took serious and significant interest in art and architecture. During Elizabeth's era, however, the circle widened and the interest in classicism reawakened, accompanied by a new understanding of its elements and its underlying theory. England entered the Renaissance art movement late. One could reasonably argue whether the English and artists they favored, outside of a handful of Italians and Holbein, were even cognizant of a Renaissance, if it was defined in terms of a classical revival. Like Rip van Winkle, architecture, painting, and sculpture seemed to have slept and reawakened to a totally different world. Europe by then stood in the throes of the post-Renaissance and Counter-Reformational responses to Renaissance art, now labeled Mannerism and Baroque. Unlike the order, symmetry, calm, reason, and naturalistic representation that characterized art of the Renaissance, these movements responded with diametrically opposed values of compositional complexity, emotional exuberance, dramatic energy, tension, and virtuosity. The English ran to catch up in the arts, and especially in architecture, catch up they did. Especially remarkable was the prodigy house. This uniquely English architectural form, which had its beginnings in the reign of Henry VII with his newly ennobled supporters, took on a new grandeur in the reign of Elizabeth. In painting and sculpture, portraiture reigned. As in architecture, English portraiture assumes unique characteristics, some of which are tied to prodigy house architecture. The driving force in all the arts, however, rested in English traditions of long standing rather than in rules of classicism.

As in the reign of Henry VIII, art under Elizabeth continued to promote the monarch, and to a lesser degree the nobility, through literature, ceremony, architecture, and portraiture. The reign of Elizabeth provided a more settled political situation and improved economic prosperity. With prosperity came a cultural revival, first in literature. Theater would follow, thoroughly divorced from the church and elevated to a high level of artistry and respect. As during the reign of her father, the revival of the chivalric tournament ultimately affected the sense of national identity and the ideological depiction of the queen in portraiture. Symbolic content and metaphors once reserved for religious art and ceremony transferred into chivalry, literature, and art, especially in the service of the monarchy. In the absence of universally celebrated religious festivals, Accession Day in particular, the anniversary of the queen's accession to the throne, celebrated on 17 November, became a jubilant national holiday to celebrate the strength of the nation and pay obeisance to the virtues of the queen.

As discussed in previous chapters, Fortescue's *The Governance of England* (1470) codified the display of magnificence, which helped to maintain power, as Elizabeth well understood. Such courtly decorum was reaffirmed and extended by Baldassare Castiglione's book, *The Courtier*. Although first published in Italian in 1528, its popularity increased in England after 1561, when Sir Thomas Hoby translated and published the first English edition. Castiglione's idealized picture of society, based on fictional conversations at the court of Urbino, introduced the broad values of Italian humanism throughout Western Europe – the idea of the polite, courtly, well-rounded, broadly-educated gentleman, which, in turn rested on the foundations of humanism and classical ideals that extended to art and architecture.[2]

Power bases in English society continued to rest on bloodlines, titles, and land in the country rather than in education or prosperity in trade or banking, as they did in the Netherlands and to a lesser degree, in Italy. The self-aware and class-conscious English nobility maintained disparities between classes. Class barriers, however, could be penetrated with loyalty and service to the monarchy. With the age of castles and monasteries long gone, the gentry and especially the peerage, some made rich from the benevolences of the queen, began to build their prodigy houses on an increasingly grand scale to announce their positions to the world and to house and entertain Her Majesty and her court when on progress. These annual extended summer excursions through the countryside allowed the queen to be more visible to her subjects, although she never traveled north of the River Trent or west of the River Severn. These houses inspired the most important Elizabethan innovations in art and architecture, both in building and furnishing them.

Although the prodigy house emerged with the rise of the Tudors, under Elizabeth the architecture of the court and the nobility became a manifestation of the cult of the sovereign – an ironic twist, since the queen built nothing of note, and allowed many of her own residences to fall into disrepair. Although the architectural style could not be called a court style, nor was it consistent, the impetus for building was to please the queen and to house her court. Perhaps more than any other art form, the prodigy house and its furnishings, distinctly English in form and purpose, defines what is unique about the English society and government. The transformation that occurred under Elizabeth would set a precedent for centuries to come. The country house symbolized the owner's wealth and social status. Well into the nineteenth century, English power continued to lie in rural landholdings, where the estates, grounds, and furnishings were expected to conform to certain standards of luxury and elegance.

Architecture under Elizabeth: the prodigy house

As previously noted, prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, rural royal residences, bishops' palaces, and monasteries had provided lodging for the monarch when traveling on progress. Following the Dissolution, nobles and their new prodigy houses supplanted this need and sustained the expense. No other monarch exploited the royal progress to the degree that Elizabeth did. These prodigy houses would provide the stage set for Elizabeth's theater of pageantry. For this purpose they included new and influential features, such as lavish accommodations, long galleries, and grand staircases. The houses introduced a greater compactness and a more grandiose outward orientation.

Elizabeth, burdened with so much residential architecture of her own, along with crown-held monastic properties, selectively divested herself of certain holdings and, as a matter of policy, encouraged her courtiers to build. Only in the 1570s and ’80s did the dissolved monasteries begin to be fully exploited. First, with the death of Queen Mary and the reinstatement of Protestantism under Elizabeth, it seemed certain that the church would not repossess the lands. Moreover, since many of the nobles were in at least the second generation since their ancestors had acquired their land and title from the Tudor crown, they felt more secure in their position and more willing to use the buildings. These estates did not serve principally for farming, as secular country homes usually had in the past. Instead, they existed primarily to show position and magnificence through collectables, such as antiques, furniture, tapestries, and porcelain, and to glorify the family dynasty through art, especially through portraits of family members, noble and notable friends, and royalty with whom they were acquainted and from whom they had permission to display their portraits.[3]

English patronage also widened to include lesser nobility, some of whom led the way in developing the prodigy house, including regional bureaucrats, such as Sir Francis Willoughby, Sheriff of Nottingham; the newly ennobled, such as William Cecil, created Lord Burghley by Elizabeth; and the queen’s favorites, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Sir Christopher Hatton, who served her as Lord Chancellor. And for the first time a woman, the remarkably shrewd and wealthy Elizabeth of Hardwick, Countess Shrewsbury, known as Bess, took a lead role in architectural patronage.

The early part of Elizabeth’s reign saw considerable innovative experimentation in architecture. To review the past, medieval houses, almost without exception, were often irregular in shape and style, arranged around a courtyard facing inwardly, and no more than two stories. Staircases were functional, usually located in towers to lessen winter drafts. In these houses, form followed function. During the Henrican period, houses had begun to become more regular in form, but continued to embrace the inwardly focused courtyard plan and functional layout. External appearance remained fortress-like with towers and crenellations, although defense was no longer an issue. Classical ideas appeared either in layout, theory, or applied ornament. During Edward’s brief reign, overt and extensive classical architectural elements first appeared at Somerset House via continental Mannerism, with the inwardly focused courtyard form.

Under Elizabeth, beginning with architect Robert Smythson and his contemporaries, the use of classical architectural elements transformed from random applications into a consistent, obsessively symmetrical, well-understood system. Often Italian-inspired gardens, symmetrically arranged, were incorporated into the overall plan. These changes gave rise to the term "English Renaissance." Even so, although the Elizabethans embraced the classical ideals, they never completely abandoned their own Gothic inventions. Once more they synthesized and did so successfully. More innovative, however, was that the plans of the houses de-emphasized and finally abandoned perimeter walls and inner courtyards in favor of an outward focus. That is, the exterior of the house, like the west façade of a church, developed a distinctive presence that focused on arrival. External appearance was everything. Houses became more compact, rising to three stories as the norm (as in Italy) with extensive flights of interior stairs. The grand staircase, which was less space and energy saving than medieval stair towers, made for great show and facilitated ceremony. Construction practices changed, aided by more sophisticated tools and complex symbolic meaning. "Devices" in ornaments and oddly-shaped floor plans, such as H and E letter-shapes for the footprint of a house, sometimes led to peculiarly shaped rooms and less practical arrangements. Such devices followed similar artificial contrivances also popular in literature. Now function followed form.

Moreover, in the 1560s, England and Europe rediscovered each other. The Reformation repugnance for things Catholic, and especially Italian, had faded. Cultural and artistic exchange accompanied intellectual and economic interaction. Workshop drawings, printed texts, itinerant architects, and travelers – both foreign and English – brought continental ideas to England, but advances in the printing industry made the most dramatic difference. Printed architectural pattern books by Flemish, Dutch, and German authors proliferated, each giving their version of the Italian models. Treatises on architecture, again by foreign authors, began to circulate as well. In 1543, Walter H. Ryff translated the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius' (d.15 BC) *Ten Books on Architecture* into English. French architectural theorists included Philibert de l'Orme, Pierre Lescot, and Jacques Antrouet du Cerceau. Italian theorists such as Leon Battista Alberti, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Sebastiano Serlio, Daniele Barbaro, and Andrea Palladio were especially revered even before English translations were available. In 1537, Serlio published the first book of his *Regole generali d'architettura*, or *General Rules of Architecture*, which was one of the most frequently read books in the sixteenth century. It was translated into English from Dutch in 1611. Other of the important printed texts included those of Michelangelo's assistant Giacomo Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* or *Rules of the five orders of architecture* of 1562 and Venetian Daniele Barbaro's *Commentary on Vitruvius*, published in 1556, with a second edition in 1567, illustrated with architectural drawings by fellow Venetian, Andrea Palladio.

In 1570, Palladio published his own treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (*The Four Books on Architecture*), which would become the most influential source for classical ideas throughout the western world. Although also based on the classical principles of Vitruvius, Palladio's book was practical. Aimed at the agricultural villas of the Venetian aristocracy, Palladio's book emphasized the flexibility and adaptability of classical designs and presented clear, easy-to-follow rules and diagrams. His designs omitted the courtyard and instead promoted an outward facing center block for the living quarters and symmetrical side wings for support facilities. The English nobility quickly adapted Palladio's designs for their country estates even though it was not until the reign of James I that architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652) would first translate Palladio's *Four Books* into English. English designers, aided by such foreign texts and examples, absorbed Italian ideas into an English system, as they had once done with the French Gothic. Thus, ideas from the Italian Renaissance not only came late to England but also second-hand and selectively.

In 1563, John Shute published the first English treatise on architecture, *The First & Chief Groundes of Architecture,* the only theoretical work on the visual arts in England before the late sixteenth century. This treatise was the culmination of a project begun under Edward VI. Members of the group surrounding the Duke of Somerset and Edward VI's household had dispatched Shute to Italy (in spite of the Reformation) to study Classical and Renaissance architecture firsthand. There he met Michelangelo, Vignola, and Palladio. Shute, like Palladio, wrote his book in imitation of Vitruvius, by way of Vignola and du Cerceau. He introduced the word "architecture" into the English language, although the term remained rare in Elizabethan England. Shakespeare and Spenser never used it. Sidney did, but always italicized, as if a foreign word or a proper name. In general, the language the Elizabethans used to describe architecture was more literary and descriptive in its vocabulary than theoretical. Shute was also the first in England to clarify the meaning of "architect," to define it as something beyond a master builder and to place theory above craftsmanship. He defined an architect as a designer whose skills in the technical areas were driven by architectural theory. The architect, by his definition, was an intellectual as well as an artisan; as such, architects also enjoyed a higher social status.[4] Indeed, the Elizabethan period gives rise to the first English architects, with pioneer and innovator Robert Smythson at the head of the group.

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, as the political and religious situations became increasingly secure, these houses took on a new grandeur. The reason for these houses to exist was to give an appearance, a façade; living practicalities were secondary. Like the mask-like portraits dressed in finery inside, the prodigy houses, entered through conspicuous gates and/ or porches and surrounded by elaborate gardens, announced the owners, their positions in society, and the personae that they wished to project. Nothing quite like these houses had existed before anywhere, but neither had the purpose they served: to display wealth and position of the nobility and to graciously serve the monarch. The prodigy houses, so distinctively English in purpose, were then and remain uniquely English.

The architectural styles also underwent change during the course of Elizabeth's long reign. As in English medieval church architecture, one of the most defining features occurred in the windows. The first period, up until the early 1570s, predominantly projected a nostalgic Gothic essence with towers, turrets, and crenellations. The tide turned early in Elizabeth's reign, as classical trimmings gradually were accepted. The Great Hall on the ground floor increased in size, especially after the 1570s. In Italian fashion, the Great Chambers and other rooms of state stood on the "piano nobile", the first floor. Access to these important chambers caused the staircase to increase in size and importance as a focal point. Examples of classical ornament appear in additions to Penshurst and at Charlecote House, Burghley House, and Theobalds. This change marked a classical period, which continued for a decade, ending around 1580. A central design with axial geometry, classical orders, and logically applied classical surface ornamentation that was subordinate to the whole began to be blended into substantially English buildings with increasing frequency, as seen at Longleat.

Classical elements were sometimes incorporated into houses with E and H-shaped plans, as seen at Hill Hall and Wollaton. Gradually classicism receded in favor of austere grandeur and nostalgia inspired by the indigenous Perpendicular Gothic, with its great areas of glistening glass and comparatively spare, but severely angular, supporting stonework. As with the churches, the prodigy houses incorporated walls of large windows as the dominant feature. Hardwick Hall and the later parts of Burghley House represented the extreme of this trend. By the end of the sixteenth century, architectural ornamentation became more profuse and diverse, with elements of Dutch and Flemish design, as at Montacute House.[5]

In the end, the English of the sixteenth century approached their architecture far more eclectically and experimentally than the Italians or the French, who sought copiously and often pompously to emulate the grandeur of classical Rome in theory, appearance, and ornamentation. Although the English applied classical ideas more decoratively and superficially than their continental counterparts, they consolidated the new into the indigenous Perpendicular Gothic, a style that once they developed it, they could not abandon any more than the Italians could give up the classical. Even today, the English draw upon the Perpendicular Gothic, albeit with fresh innovations – note the post-1834 fire architecture of Charles Barry for the Houses of Parliament and the post-1994 fire architecture at St George's Hall in Windsor Castle. In the final scenario, early sixteenth-century architectural experimentation and late sixteenth-century consolidation produces a fresh and original systematic architecture, a comfortable synthesis, which above all stands out as uniquely English.

Penshurst Place, Kent

Renovations and additions at older houses helped meet the new demands of noble life. Penshurst Place, discussed in Chapter Five, for the size and engineering of the roof of the medieval great hall, was enlarged in the fifteenth century by the Duke of Bedford and again after 1552, when Edward VI granted the house to Sir William Sidney (1482–1554), one of his father's courtiers. Sir William remodeled and increased the living quarters to suit his lifestyle, display his wealth and social position, and to accommodate visits from the queen. He divided the Great Chamber into two rooms, lowered the ceiling, and added apartments above. The garden he added still survives, although not in its original configuration. By 1601, his son Robert and his wife, Barbara Gamage, had completed the long gallery for exercise and for a display of portraits, including an image of the queen holding a white feather fan by an unknown artist and a portrait of Barbara and six of her children attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (*c.* 1578). Although the exterior reflected the old style, the new interior of the gallery embraced current trends, with wood paneling, a high wainscot, classical motifs, elaborate plasterwork on the ceiling, and classical pilasters set on high bases framing doorways and windows.

The Sidneys also added a parallel wing of suites built in stone and brick in the Tudor style. To hark back, rather than to build in the more current classical fashion, touted the ancient lineage of the family. In the early seventeenth century, Ben Jonson encapsulates in a lengthy poem the essence of these venerable prodigy houses. He notes that they were built for display of position and leisure rather than for practical and agricultural purposes. In the first few lines, cited below, he contrasts the venerable house and ancient noble lineage of the owners with the classically inspired homes of the newly ennobled. In the latter part, he paints an idyllic picture of courtly life, the heart of which is the fruitful family set in the aristocratic house with its manicured gardens, abundant fruits and foods, and expansive park filled with wildlife.

> Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show,
> Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
> Of polish'd pillars, or a roofe of gold:
> Thou hast no lantherne, whereof tales are told;
> Or stayre, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
> And these grudg'd at, art reverenc'd the while.[6]

Charlecote Park, Warwickshire

Just as Elizabeth ascended the throne, Sir Thomas Lucy completed construction at Charlecote Park (*c.* 1551–1558) along the River Avon near Stratford (Figs 8.1 and 8.2). A staunch Protestant and an ardent supporter of the queen, Lucy entertained Elizabeth here in 1572 for two nights. The architecture of Charlecote reflects traditional Tudor building practices: a Gothic-inspired style of brick and stone, but with early instances of Elizabethan experimentation. The lower walls and the gatehouse give the east-facing façade a distinctively outward focus. Throughout, the exterior shows scrupulous sensitivity to symmetry. Perpendicular wings project forward from both ends; a two-story entrance porch repeats the rhythm. The third floor is topped with gables filled with windows with family crests below. A pair of gables flanks the entrance; the wings also project gables of the same design. A stone balustrade runs between the gables, and as at the gatehouse, the design matches the wall around the garden. The windows are trimmed in stone with long and short stone quoins on the corners. The house has towers that repeat the design of those on the gatehouse, and, as at Hampton Court Palace, the roofline abounds with decorative chimney pots, a favorite Tudor device. The proximity of the house to the riverbank allows for a terrace, but not a courtyard.

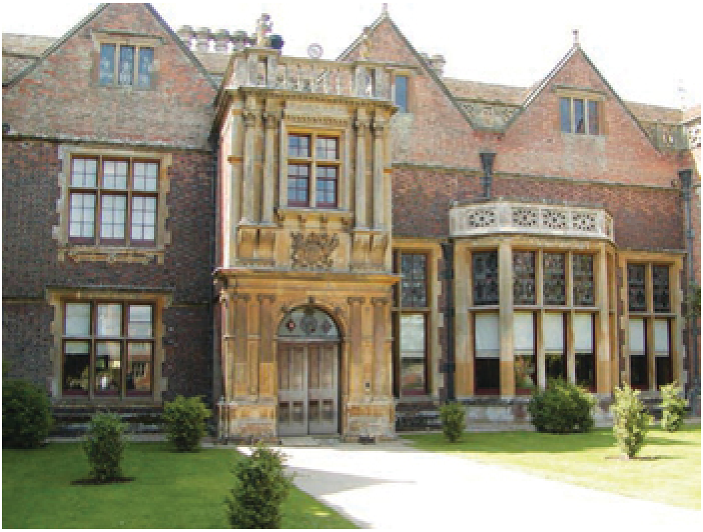

Fig. 8.1 Charlecote Park, Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, c. *1551–1558. Photograph: author*

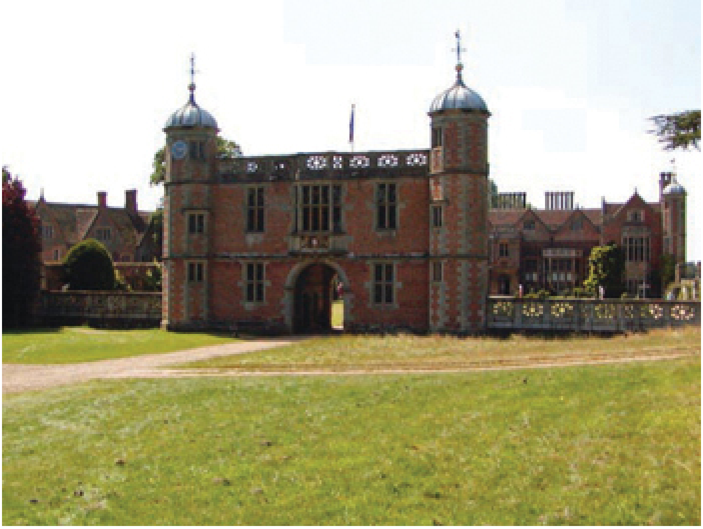

Fig. 8.2 Charlecote Park, Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, gatehouse c. *1551–1558. Photograph: author*

The entrance porch, built of honey-colored stone, demonstrates the new and remarkably well-understood interest in classical motifs. The application follows classical and Italian Renaissance application: pairs of Doric pilasters flank the arched entrance while on the second story, engaged Corinthian columns border a window with a coat-of-arms below in stone relief. In the tympanum of the arched doorway, a stained glass window repeats the family coat-of-arms. The shape of the porch and its classical elements resemble the Tudor-era Holbein Porch at Wilton House in Wiltshire.[7] Whereas the Holbein Porch has shell-shaped motifs topped by sculptures crowning the second story, at Charlecote the classically inspired balustrade that runs along the peak of the roofline repeats the design of the balustrade above the gatehouse and the pattern of the stonewall. Inside, the house features a great hall that, as is typical, runs parallel to the entrance façade. The barrel-vaulted ceiling, made of plaster, is painted to resemble timber. The rear-facing façade is terraced down to the riverbank. It is still symmetrical, but plainer than the front.

Gardens and gatehouses, joined by walls, as they had been since medieval times, formed an essential feature of the Elizabethan house. Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the orientation of gatehouses changed from the imposing vertical tower or double tower, such as that at Kenilworth, to a more welcoming horizontal form. Since they served no defensive purpose, walls evolved into a decorative feature, often with openwork or balustrades, to set off the house and its front garden. Aesthetically pleasing, the new Elizabethan forecourt enclosed a lawn garden with border plants that framed the main façade of the house, usually with the gatehouse on a central axis.

The low and open walls that frame Charlecote connect to the broad two-story brick gatehouse. The pair of flanking three-story octagonal towers topped with ogee domes on the front of the gatehouse shows this transition. Gatehouses still had a purpose beyond the decorative, however, which was, in Thomas Hill's description in *The Gardener's Labyrinth* of 1577, to protect the garden and the house from "robbers and thieves, foules and beastes."[8] The gatehouse reflects the symmetry and architectural detail of the façade of the house as well as current fashion. Double windows on the upper and lower stories of the central block flank the entrance. Directly over the entrance is an oriel window, which looks back to Henrican motifs. The sides of the tower closest to the entry have windows on three levels. On the inner side, the gatehouse has symmetrical windows, but no oriel. Throughout the gatehouse, corners and windows are trimmed in stone with long and short quoins while string courses divide the stories. In places, the architecture shows a rather comical blend of Tudor forms and classical motifs. For example, the decidedly Gothic ribbed vaulting inside the entry looks down on rounded-headed niches backed with shell-shaped motifs. Charlecote House, inside and out, bridges the move away from inwardly facing Tudor Gothic manor houses to outwardly facing

Elizabethan prodigy houses.

Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire

The renovations of Robert Dudley to Kenilworth Castle, like those at Penshurst, look back romantically. Unlike Penshurst, however, it maintains the original building material of dark red sandstone and the original imposing style of architecture. Kenilworth came into Dudley hands through the graces of Tudor monarchs. It was royal property until 1553, when it was acquired by John Dudley, First Duke of Northumberland and Lord Protector to Edward VI. In 1563, after his execution for supporting Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne, Elizabeth I gave Kenilworth to his fifth son, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who was her favorite suitor. Between 1570 and 1574, Robert Dudley embarked upon a transformative campaign on a scale similar to that of John of Gaunt two centuries earlier. Dudley's renovations focused on two areas: a new range of apartments on the southeast corner (Fig. 8.3) and a new gatehouse on the north (Fig. 8.4). William Spicer (*c.* 1530–1603/04), Dudley's builder, had worked as a mason with Robert Smythson at Longleat, Wiltshire. From 1597 until his death Smythson served as Surveyor of the Royal Works. The magnificent and architecturally influential range (1570–1572) probably reflects Spicer's design.

Dudley had several pre-existing buildings to consider. The imposing entrance gate was on the south. On the north part of the range inside stood a square Norman keep much like that at the Tower of London: three stories high with taller square corner towers. A range and three kitchens joined it to the northwest and connected on the west to John of Gaunt's impressive Gothic hall (1364 ff.). Along the south stood another range from John of Gaunt's era consisting of the White Hall, the Presence Chamber, and the Privy Chamber. Henry VIII's lodgings stood on the east.

Dudley not only modernized, but transformed the appearance, orientation, and character of the castle buildings inside the walls by building a tall, square three-story mansionsized residential range on the southeast corner over a high undercroft (Fig. 8.3). This range ran parallel to the great hall and on line with Henry VIII's two-story lodgings (most of which no longer survive) and the Norman keep on the north. The entrance into the inner court stood between these buildings. The shafts of oriel windows on the east front echo the towers and boxy design of the original Norman keep and bring to mind innovations in window design initiated by Wolsey at Hampton Court and continued by Henry VIII. The height appears to have been about the same as the Norman keep. The uniformity both in color and austerity of design and the complementary towers at either end of the east range, accompanied by the new shafts of windows, changed Kenilworth from a castle fortress to an outwardly focused prodigy house built around a courtyard. Views from the house on the south and west sides – a new concept in house design – must have been spectacular, as they overlooked a large man-made lake that also served as a moat. This range, called "Leicester's Buildings," was designed specifically for the queen to use and indeed she did. She visited Kenilworth four times.

To suit the taste of Elizabeth, Dudley shifted the main entrance from south to the north, toward Coventry, a change that gave the new living quarters more privacy. On the north, east of the residential complex, he built a commanding gatehouse with a three story central block (Fig. 8.4). Four-story octagonal towers with Italian-style cross-shaped windows framed the corners, topped with crenellations, echoing the towers on the newly reformed residence inside. The space inside the tower provided more intimate, private living quarters. The former entrance on the south served a new purpose as the entrance to the tiltyard and sporting areas.

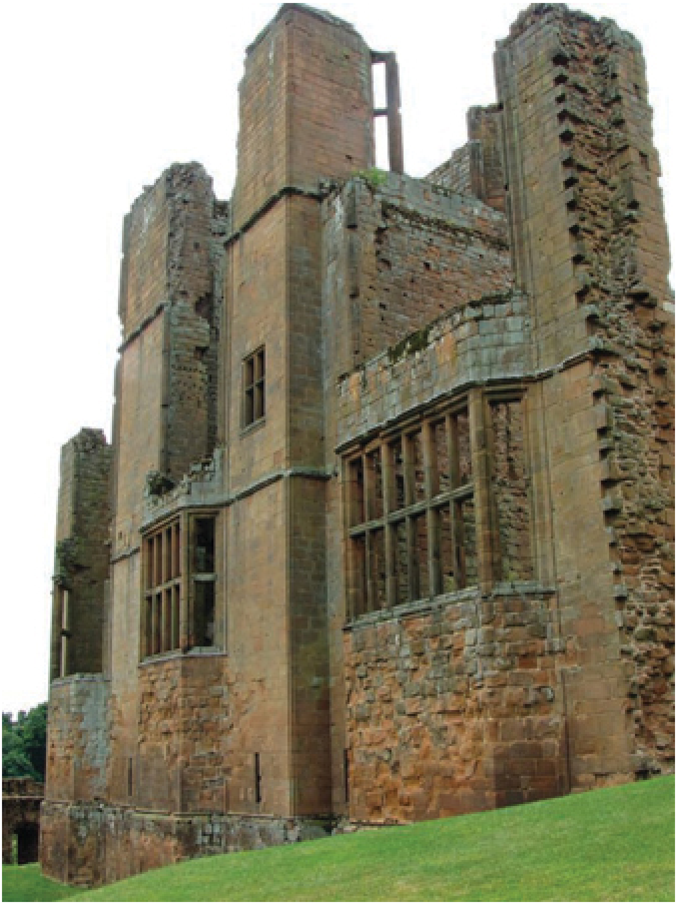

Fig. 8.3 Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, Elizabethan addition, 1570–1574. Photograph: author

Dudley filled the space adjacent to the gatehouse between the north wall and the Norman keep with an Italianate formal garden. Usually gardens, like monastic cloisters, occupied the south side, but here the lay of the land and the south range of buildings prevented that arrangement. Furthermore, by placing the gardens on the north, they could be admired from inside both the new gatehouse and the Norman wings. A letter written in 1575 by Robert Laneham describes the queen's visit and the appearance of the gardens. He explains that a large rectangular area of an acre or more was subdivided into sections of 10 × 12 ft (3.0 × 3.6 m) with 10 ft (3 m) walls and embellished with obelisks and spheres, and white bears, the Dudley emblem. He states that the gardens and arbors pleased all senses: cool trees of shade in summer, pleasing fragrances of herbs and flowers, sweet tastes of various fruits, music of birdsongs, and beautiful vistas.[9] The recent garden restoration loosely follows the design shown in a seventeenth-century map by Wenceslaus Hollar, which also concurs with these contemporary descriptions.

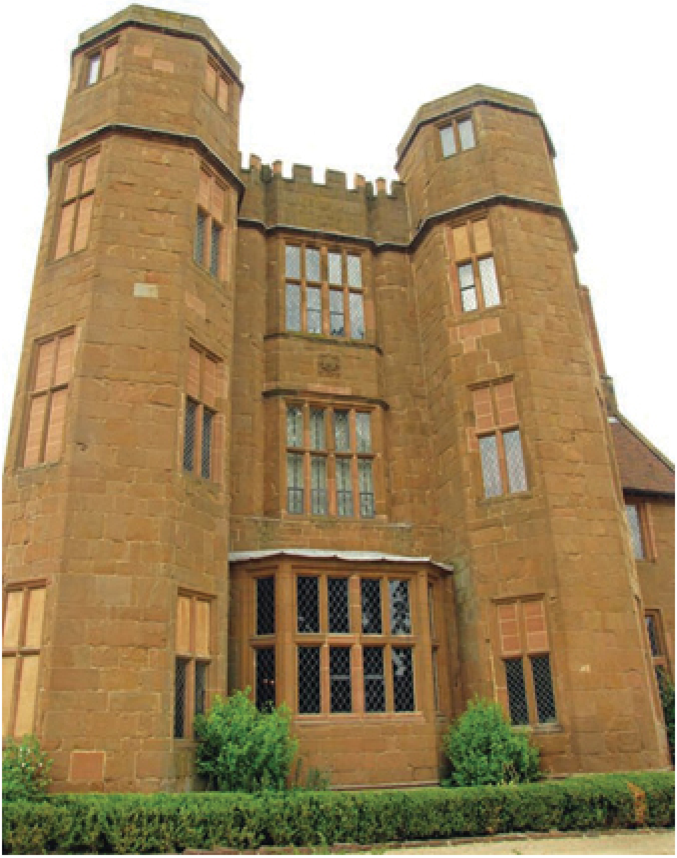

Fig. 8.4 Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, gatehouse, 1570–1574, Kenilworth. Photograph: author

In addition to renovations to the castle, Dudley built stables into the east wall to accommodate the needs of an enlarged household. Convenient to the new gate house and to the tiltyard outside the old gate, the stable also faced Leicester's new wing, which stood directly uphill. Built primarily of stone, the stables have a vernacular-style timber frame lower story. In an age when romantic variations of the Perpendicular Gothic still appeared and chivalric games were played with great ceremony, Dudley may have intentionally sought to invoke the ideals of chivalry by using archaic architecture for his stable and including a new tiltyard nearby. Overall, the residence at Kenilworth gives an early example of an outwardly facing house with an austere but handsome design that incorporated shafts of windows as the primary feature.

Hill Hall, Essex

Hill Hall, located near Epping in Essex, features some of the earliest uniform classical architectural detail in England, meticulously implemented with an intellectual approach by Sir Thomas Smythe. As ambassador to France 1562–1566, Smythe had been impressed by the Ècole de Fontainebleau and other Renaissance buildings he encountered. He acquired new architectural books, including the aforementioned *Regole generali d'architettura* by Sebastiano Serlio, which influenced his taste and the ultimate design for the new house, which he built on the site of an earlier house that had come to him through his second wife, Philippa Wilford. As was typical of medieval and early Elizabethan houses, Hill Hall features two stories plus an attic. However, the design shows innovations in its outward facing orientation and its H-shaped plan consisting of a central block and two protruding wings. Built of rich red brick, the white stonework around the windows features long and short quoins. The most distinct and influential feature is the early uniform use of the monumental classical order. That is, the engaged columns classical column reach two stories high to frame the façade and the corners, uniting the entire vertical axis of the façade. This late Roman motif, which could also employ columns or pilasters, was first adopted in the mid-fifteenth century by Leon Battista Alberti and in the sixteenth century by Mannerist architects, including Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Palladio, and Vignola.

The courtyard side of the house displays a uniform use of the classical elements in the columns and in the strong cornices above and between the two stories. The lower Doric cornice, with typical triglyphs and metopes, complements Doric engaged columns flanking the ground level windows. On the floor above, an Ionic cornice with dentil work complements Ionic engaged columns flanking the windows. The attic level in the central block has a pair of pedimented dormers with engaged Corinthian columns flanking the windows. This ascending arrangement of the classical orders reflects both ancient Roman and Italian Renaissance architectural theory.[10]

The original interior decoration also reflected the new interest in classicism. Following a fire in 1969, renovators discovered rare sixteenth-century wall paintings beneath later renovations. Scholars now consider these paintings to be among the best surviving figurative murals of the period, albeit badly ruined. The five identifiable paintings are based on contemporary engravings, probably by

Agostino Veneziano. Themes varied from classical mythology to the Bible. The manner of presentation varied as well. Murals illustrating the story of Cupid and Psyche covered the full height of the walls, much as tapestries would have done, with almost life-size figures. They even have decorative borders with birds, flowers, and fruits in imitation of tapestry designs. The murals illustrating biblical stories, on the other hand, formed a decorative frieze on the upper parts of the walls above the paneling, complemented by decorative plasterwork and *trompe l'oeil* architectural painting.[11]

The emergence of the architect: Robert Smythson

The rise of the architect in England was a seminal development in the Elizabethan age. Robert Smythson (1535–1614), the first English architect known by name, led the group. Almost singlehandedly, Smythson altered English architecture forever and set the course for a unified Elizabethan style. He likely spent his youth in London apprenticed with the London Mason's Company, although the first record of him occurs in March 1568 as a stone mason at Longleat. He arrived with a letter of recommendation from the queen's master mason, Humfrey Lovell, who also worked at Somerset House, stating that Smythson had been working for Sir Francis Knollys, the vice-chamberlain. At any rate, Smythson had already moved in illustrious circles and had had good training in masonry and architectural drafting before he arrived at Longleat. Robert Smythson was married by 1572 and had three daughters and a son, John, who worked with him at Wollaton and elsewhere. Robert, however, was the innovator. Robert was buried at St Leonard's Church in the village of Wollaton, as were the members of the Willoughby family who hired Smythson. The grave monument, erected by his son John, notes that he was "Architector (*sic*) and Survayor (*sic*) unto ye most worthy house of Wollaton with divers other of great account." As mentioned earlier, the term "architect" was rare in England in 1614. The meaning, nonetheless, was clear to both the son and father: that, in conformance with the ideals of Alberti and other architectural theorists, Robert Smythson was a designer, whose ideas and skills were guided by theoretical principles, making him an intellectual as well as a craftsman.

The features that characterize the work of Smythson are an outward focus, order, unity, clarity, and harmony. He achieved his balance through a systematic – if freely interpreted – use of classical orders, entablatures, large grids of windows, towers at corners, bay windows, and a strong interplay of recessions and projections. However, rather than being homogeneous or formulaic, his buildings are diverse and daring. Smythson looks to actual works that show innovation, such as Mount Edgcumbe in Cornwall and Somerset House in London, as well as publications by Serlio, Du Cerceau, Dutch architect and author Vredeman de Vries, and Palladio. Some of Smythson's drawings are copies of printed handbooks. Others display original designs, revealing an artisan who works through ideas and theory to define his own individual style. Smithson seems to have pondered Palladio's ideas for his classically-inspired Italian villas, creating variations that work in the English countryside and for English society. In fact, Smythson's oeuvre consists almost exclusively of country estates surrounded by walls and entered through gates, often with porters' lodges set into the corners. In some designs, most notably Wollaton, he incorporates formal gardens. Although gardens had formed an essential part of estate architecture since the reign of Henry VIII, Smythson developed them in innovative ways.

English builders have always gravitated to surface detail, ornamentation, and color. Smythson reinterprets these traditions in terms of classicism and local needs, making the designs relevant to his time and place. His use of windows transforms façades into shimmering patterns of light. His rooflines, rather than being smooth and regular, as advocated by Italians, become displays of balustrades, variously shaped chimneys (another English fascination), pointed gables, and complex carved ornamentation. In order to increase the visibility of these roofline embellishments, he makes roofs flat, covered in lead, to serve as places to walk for exercise and from which to view the gardens.[12] He applies classical designs to his architecture, but at the same time he interprets them inventively, creating architecture that is distinct, and above all, uniquely English in form and function.

Longleat, Wiltshire

The earliest surviving great monument to Elizabethan architecture, Longleat, the Wiltshire home of Sir John Thynne, steward to Thomas Seymour and overseer of construction at Somerset House, gave John Smythson his start (Figs 8.5 and 8.6). As seen at Hill Hall, under Elizabeth, noble country houses gradually become outward facing and obsessively symmetrical on all sides, but Longleat, more than any other early Elizabethan structure, demonstrates the successful blend of new classically inspired ideas into the native English tradition of building. The exterior remains much as John Thynne built it over a period of 30 years.

Thynne acquired the property, a dissolved Carthusian monastery, in 1540, and developed his house in four stages, with the present building preceded by three buildings with Gothic inspiration and ornamentation. In 1567, the house burned. In March 1568, the rebuilding attracted English master mason Robert Smythson. Four years later, Thynne began another complete reconstruction of the house, during which he wrapped its exterior in a classical façade. Smythson and his close associate on the project, French stonemason Alan Maynard, likely had little responsibility for the plan, as it was set in 1567 as nearly square and compact with a pair of small courtyards remaining from the previous monastery. Smythson and Maynard did, however, exert considerable influence in the classical design, symmetry, and ornamentation. An undated letter, probably of around 1574–1575, from Maynard to Thynne confirms their involvement, stating, "… the ordenanse thereof came frome us as yore worship douthe knowe." This letter, in fact, gives the most specific record of the source of architectural design in Elizabethan England, but who did what remains vague.

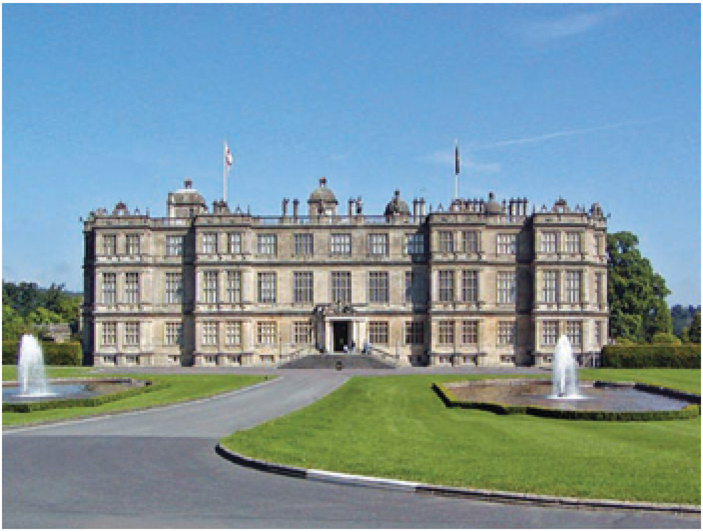

Fig. 8.5 Longleat, Warminster, Wiltshire, Robert Smythson, main entrance façade, c. *1567–1575. Photograph: author*

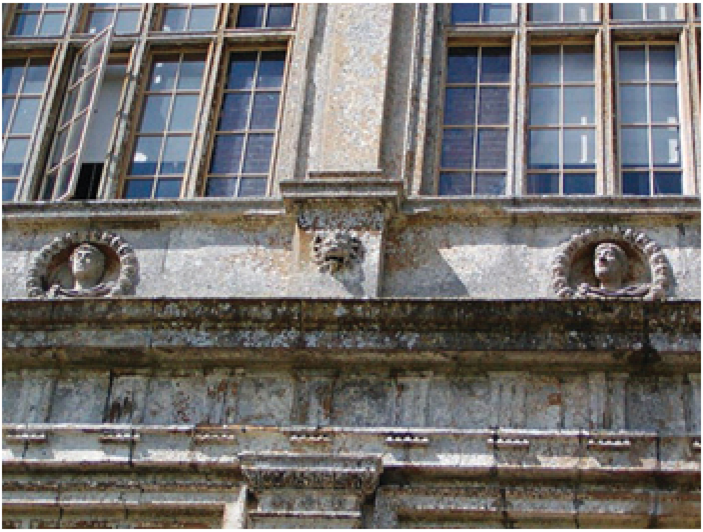

Fig. 8.6 Longleat, Warminster, Wiltshire, Robert Smythson, detail of façade with classical busts c. *1567–1575. Photograph: author*

The overall design of Longleat shows more coherence and understanding of classical elements than Somerset House in London. Unlike Hampton Court, Nonsuch, and Somerset House, but like Mount Edgcumbe, the focus of Longleat is outward with no walls or other allusion to medieval defensiveness (Fig. 8.5). On the exterior, unlike Somerset House or Hampton Court, which had prominent central arched openings large enough to accommodate riders on horseback and even wagons drawn by pairs of dray horses for access to a service area within, the entrance at Longleat, like the houses of Palladio, is reached by stairs and is calculated to the scale of people rather than horses. Unusual too is that the courtyard at Longleat is private, pedestrian, and mainly for interior light. Service vehicles accessed Longleat discreetly at rear service areas.

The raised entrance also accommodates the new innovation of a semi-basement in which the walls extend sufficiently above ground level to hold high windows for light and fresh air. Smythson is the first to incorporate semi-basement kitchens into English designs. The idea, however, originates in France and probably comes to Longleat either with French masons who worked there or through Thynne's and Smythson's knowledge of current practices in France. Whereas in the early 1540s, Andrea Palladio incorporates a full ground floor, or rusticated basement, containing the service rooms into his villa designs, the semi-basement appears first in 1547 at the château of Montceaux-en-Brie near Paris, Catherine de'Medici's earliest building project, designed by architect Philibert de l'Orme and subsequently recommended in his *Le premier tome de l'Architecture* of 1567. The architectural innovation of basement services, rather than a separate wing or building for the kitchen, gives a more compact design. The upstairs-downstairs hierarchy of servitude that developed from it allows the household more privacy. The high windows would keep servants on task by preventing them from viewing distractions outside. Moreover, the main reception rooms would be a shorter flight up, yet still sufficiently elevated for panoramic views through the abundant large windows. This design innovation appears in Smythson's subsequent houses and continues in country estate design into the first quarter of the twentieth century, when live-in servants became obsolete.

Longleat is symmetrical on all sides with each façade receiving equal treatment. Palladio had designed the Villa Rotunda near Vicenza (*c.* 1552) in such a fashion. The building material at Longleat is a uniformly smooth cut stone throughout rather than brick with stone trim, which Tudor buildings had often used. From the design at Somerset House, he adapts bay window units, considered a sign of affluence since Wolsey and Henry VIII. At Longleat, however, the bay units fit smoothly into the overall design, joined by continuous classical friezes and a balustrade at the roofline. Moreover, classical pilasters uniformly arranged in ascending orders flank the bay windows: Doric on the first level, Ionic on the second, and Corinthian on the third, following the Roman-turned-Renaissance canon previously used at Hill Hall. Between the projecting bays, the windows are free of pilaster decoration, but friezes appropriate to the classical order of each level join the intervening spaces. Classical busts in roundels appear below each window, flanked by pilaster bases, which contain reliefs of lions' heads (Fig. 8.6).

The roof retains the gables, which are hidden by the balustrade. Smythson probably added the four square "banqueting houses" on the roof, which are stepped back from each corner around the west courtyard. Each has double-light mullioned windows and is covered with a domed roof with fish-scale shaped slates, topped with a classical cupola. From there, guests could view the gardens. Three octagonal stair towers around the east courtyard exhibit similar detail.

The interior of Longleat retains the Elizabethan great hall, the only Elizabethan room in the house. The flat ceiling, which displays the arms of Sir John Thynne and his immediate family, is supported by ten hammerbeams. The minstrel gallery has the coats-of-arms of the Thynne's patron, Protector Somerset, and his colleagues at the Battle of Pinkie, Thomas Radcliffe (3rd Earl of Sussex), and Sir William Cecil

(Lord Burghley). The house also retains at least three chimneypieces by Alan Maynard.[13] Each presents a different variation on a temple front, incorporating a free and sumptuous, yet coherent, use of classical motifs. For example, one chimneypiece has herms, or rectangular tapering stones post bearing a carved bust, on the outside supporting a "cornice." The frieze is decorated with leaves, with dentil work below. Another taller chimneypiece displays crests in the flanking pair of pilasters topped with cornucopia-type clusters of fruits and vegetal swirls inset over the fireplace opening. The plain frieze above extends across the entire width, with dentil work underneath the mantel.

New concepts at Longleat include the basic understanding of classicism, the outward orientation, the human scale of the entrance, and the lack of garden walls. Longleat, in fact, is the first house in England to be completed according to a uniform plan of classically inspired external decoration, rather than a fundamentally Gothic building with classical ornament. The overall design and classical ornamentation are unified, understated, and all-embracing, and exhibit a full understanding of Italian Renaissance principles and theory. The majestic yet restrained design contrasts with the heavy-handed ornamentation used at Somerset House. The final incarnation of Longleat, the result of 20 years of experimentation by Thynne and Smythson in tandem, must have seemed oddly modern to contemporary Englishmen.

Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire

Wollaton Hall, built 1580–1588 near the city of Nottingham, was Smythson's first independent venture (Fig. 8.7). There he established his reputation as a fine architect. The most remarkable feature of Wollaton is the sheer novelty: it blends elements of the gentleman farmer's house and a castle into a unified whole. The basically centralized plan with a great hall and tower reflects the romantic notion of English chivalry and nationalism, drawing its design from medieval-inspired buildings, yet it is designed for vistas rather than for defense. The design was probably inspired by a four-face, circular house set into a square and surrounded by gardens found in Jacques Andre de Cerceau's *Livre du Architecture* of 1559. Such integration of the house and landscape, first seen here in England with Smythson, continues to be an important feature of English country estates.

Smythson's patron, Francis Willoughby, sheriff of Nottinghamshire and a wealthy provincial, received a fine classical education at Cambridge. He collected books on architecture, including Vitruvius, Alberti, and various architectural pattern books. He sought to incorporate ideas from these books into the architecture that he patronized. Although Willoughby was reputed to have been a difficult taskmaster (as was Thynne), he and Smythson made a good team: Smythson had the skills, knowledge, and interest to satisfy the demands and desires of Willoughby. Based on surviving documents, Smythson was clearly more of a "surveyor" than a stonemason, and directed the overall construction.

Smythson devised a revolutionary design for Wollaton. The site, a leveled hilltop overlooking Willoughby's gardens and the surrounding countryside, offers sweeping views and can be seen from afar, much as Palladio's Villa Rotunda and Mount Edgcumbe. The H-shaped house, with a recessed but raised central block, is completely outwardly oriented with no courtyards within or walls beyond. In contrast, Lorenzo Bernini's H-shaped design for Palazzo Barberini (1630) in Rome was the first outwardly facing, courtyard-free palace (as opposed to a villa) in Italy. Wollaton precedes it by half a century.

The symmetrical plan Smythson proposed for the house and grounds survives, which places the house in the center of a grid of nine squares. The eight surrounding squares contain formal gardens or ancillary buildings as a complement, including stables, a bake house/ brew house, and dairy/ laundry. The square to the north, immediately in front of the house, shows a courtyard accessed through a gatehouse, with flanking arms of a covered walkway on each side of the court. The south side contained a formal garden with a central fountain. The flanking squares also features formal gardens of slightly less complex designs. The east and west squares were to have long, narrow outbuildings. Another surviving drawing by Smythson showing a projecting corner tower of the main block of Wollaton and part of the terrace may be the earliest perspectival elevation drawing (a drawing using linear perspective that gives an illusion of depth) by an English architect.

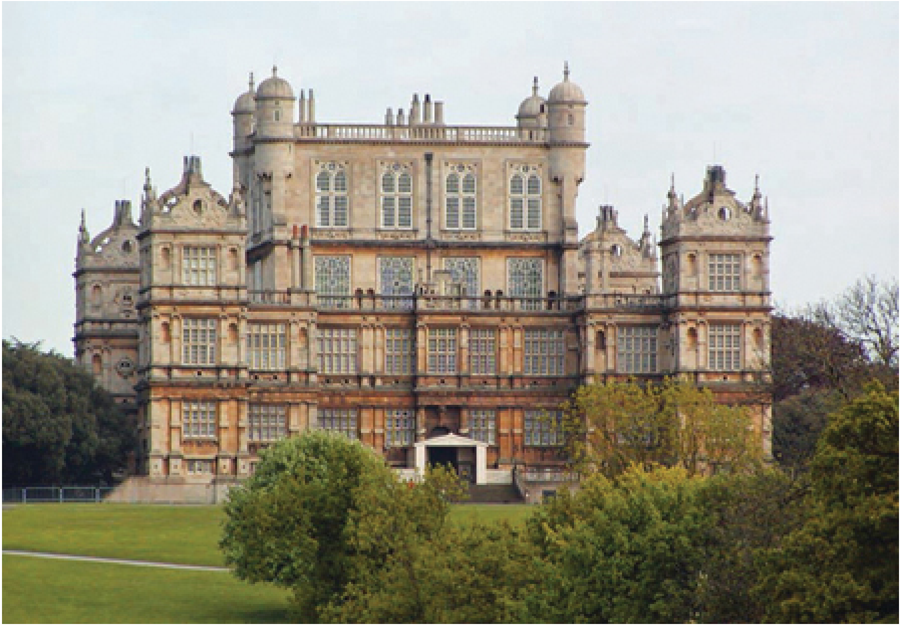

Fig. 8.7 Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire. Robert Smythson, main entrance façade, 1580–1588. Photograph: author

The exterior of Wollaton, like Longleat, is built entirely of stone, but this creamy yellow Lancaster stone conveys a warmer tone than the grey of Longleat. The main body of the two-story house has two step recessions. The four boxy three-story corner towers are crowned by elaborate Dutch gables. A classically inspired continuous frieze separates the two floors. The new profusion of large, rectangular windows, a necessary part of Elizabethan prodigy houses, not only for light, but for opulence, gives texture and pattern to the surface. Classical pilasters with high pedestals flanked the windows. Again, in using the classical orders, he employs the classical canon by placing the Doric on the lowest level, Ionic in the middle, and Corinthian at the top. At the bases of the columns on the front are forward-facing busts in high relief encircled with classical wreaths, each individualized and some labeled, unlike the generalized busts at Longleat. The raised center portion, two stories above the main body of the house, reaches beyond the height of the corner towers. A bartizan – a projecting, wall-mounted turret – finishes each corner.

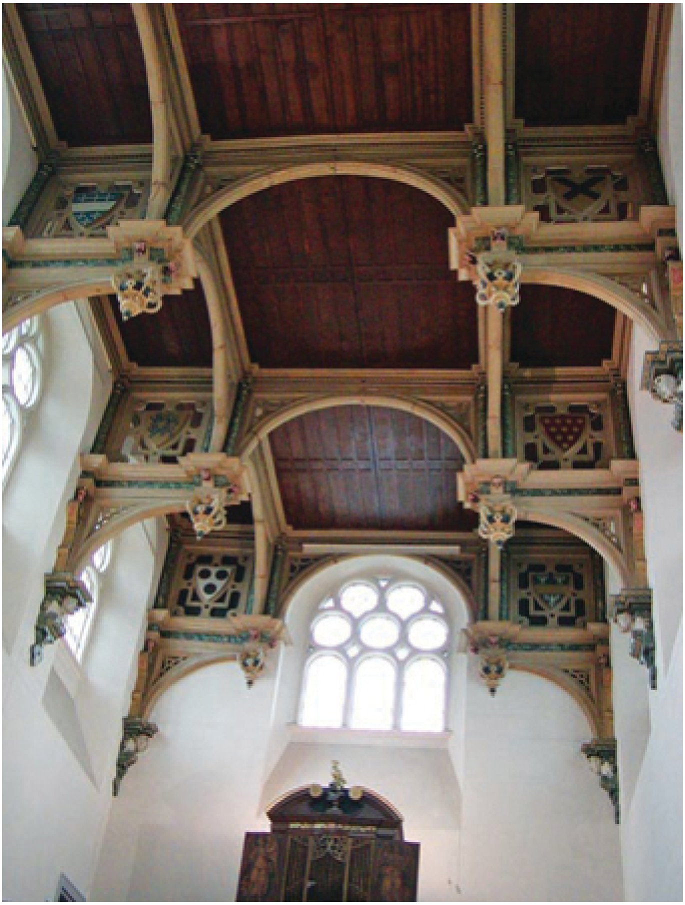

Fig. 8.8 Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, Robert Smythson, Great Hall, 1580–1588. Photograph: author

Whereas earlier houses were entered through gates and great halls were at ground level, the entrance at Wollaton, like Longleat, is raised to accommodate the basement kitchen. A grand double staircase leads to an open porch, an embellishment of the treatment at Longleat, reminiscent of Vignola's work at Caprorola, and a foreshadowing of Wimbledon House. Service wagons arrived at a separate entrance. The basement, which is divided into two sections, encircles the central core. The vaulted kitchen, well, reservoir tank, cellars, and servants' quarters remain virtually unaltered. Two underground drainage systems on the east and west sides of the house facilitated sanitation.

The inside also reveals innovations. The central core containing the great hall, which lies parallel to the entrance and is the largest room in the house, measuring 60 × 30 ft (18.2 × 9.1 m), dominates the house inside and out (Fig. 8.8). With this ingenious placement of the hall, its gallery, and its towers, Smythson not only replaces the courtyard of an Italianate house but he reinterprets the defensive tower of the medieval castle into a hunting tower from which the lord could survey his lands and his gardens. Inside, the great hall is visible from the entrance and from the grand open staircases – another feature derived from Longleat. The profusion of windows on upper walls provides ample light to the interior space. Although the size and number of windows, as well as their design, reflect new architectural motifs, the hammerbeam roof, with extensive painted decoration, and the minstrel gallery overlooking the room hark back romantically to the Gothic past.

A long gallery, 16.5 ft (5 m) high and 121.4 ft (37 m) long, occupied the entire east side of the upper floor (divided in the nineteenth century into small rooms with lower ceilings) with light on the inside shared with the great hall. Above, the nearly flat leaden roof doubled as a place to exercise and view the gardens in good weather, a practice that developed among Elizabethan nobles. The space even contained a garderobe (toilet), while turret staircases at each corner provided access. For longer and even better views, Smythson turned the idea of the roof-walk (or "walking the leads") into a permanent room above the great hall called the Great Prospect Room. It was lit by double round-headed, traceried, lancet windows set into rectangles, four on the long side and two on the short. A recent precedent for incorporating vistas existed at the royal hunting lodge at Nonsuch, where the gardens could be surveyed from the galleries. Stair towers for accessing the roof also existed at Chatsworth and Worksop, country houses of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, but nowhere did a center tower dominate a prodigy house as it did at Wollaton, which gives the house its unique personality.

As with many nobles, Willoughby had an ulterior motive when he built his new house. As a loyal subject, he had entertained the queen at his former house. Not only size and magnificence of Wollaton, but also the grandeur of guest suites verify that rather than to build a family home, Willoughby built an extravaganza to entertain the queen and provide a seat for the court. Smythson drew ideas from many varied sources – both books and actual buildings – and synthesized them successfully. The fireplace in Wollaton Hall, for example, was copied from Serlio's designs. Some scholars suggest the flamboyance reflects Smythson's inexperience and his having received his education not through architectural theory but by learning on the job. However, Smythson worked in tandem with a demanding, well-educated, whimsical patron who may have driven the plan, for Longleat and later Hardwick Hall are both more restrained.[14]

Bess of Hardwick: patroness extraordinaire

Another of Smythson's notable patrons was Elizabeth (Bess) of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury (1527–1608), the most celebrated builder of her age. Born at Hardwick in Derbyshire to a minor gentry family, she concentrated her architectural programs in that area. Bess acquired her wealth through four successive marriages, each husband wealthier and further up the social scale than the previous one. Each predeceased her and left her an inheritance. Her marriage to the elderly, twice married Sir William Cavendish, her second and most beloved husband, produced her only children and his only sons. They had eight children in all, six of whom survived infancy – three sons and three daughters. With Cavendish she built Chatsworth, which has been altered since their time, and Worksop, which later burned. In 1567, with much of the property of her late third husband in her hands, Bess made a final and financially powerful marriage to George Talbot, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. The union provided the means for Shrewsbury to become the wealthiest noble in England. When the marriage collapsed in 1584, Bess bought back Hardwick, her family home. For the next 6 years, with no preconceived plan and presumably no architect, she constantly enlarged and upgraded the existing Old Hardwick Hall, designed for a gentry family, to accommodate a household befitting her new aristocratic position. When her husband died in 1590, Bess became the richest woman in England, second only to the queen. She hired Robert Smythson for her final architectural statement and his masterpiece, a grand house that would confirm her status. They planned for the two adjacent Hardwick Hall houses to function as one. The Old Hall accommodated the majority of the household. In the New Hall, she built two large suites for people of high status, one on each of the two upper floors. In addition to changes in living arrangements, both residences contain interesting and influential architectural innovations.[15]

Old Hall at Hardwick, Derbyshire

Account books indicate the rebuilding of the Old Hall began 24 July 1587, although since the first page may be missing, it could have been begun earlier that summer. In spite of the lack of overall planning, the tall ruinous remains of the Old Hall still show Bess's innovative planning, extensive use of large windows, and decorative plasterwork, especially for overmantels (Figs 8.9 and 8.10). The most interesting innovations are in the arrangements of the gatehouse, the great hall, and the stairs.

In the late sixteenth century, with a greater sense of security, some of the most pioneering builders gave up the traditional statement of importance incorporated into the gatehouse for a more extravagant façade. The Old Hall, which faces south from the crest of a hill, was preceded by a low walled forecourt with an arched opening. Instead of a gatehouse, the Old Hall had porters' lodges in the front corners, which allowed the façade to receive the primary attention.

As with many late medieval English manor houses, the Old Hall never had a symmetrical plan and contained the predictable component parts, including a ground level great hall. Traditionally, a great hall extended along the length of the building and was accessed through a door on the long side; short end entrances, if they existed, were for service. One short end had a dais, or raised platform, for the owner's high table. At the Old Hall, the great hall, which is central, runs the width of the building and is accessed on the short end through a porch, which serves as a small entrance chamber. The facing wall had two windows flanking a fireplace with a large raised plaster over-mantel that contained Bess's crest and a stag, the Hardwick emblem (Fig. 8.10). The earlier house, which may have had a hall on the long side, in being swallowed up by the new construction, may have determined the new orientation. Regardless, Bess liked the new and innovative arrangement enough to repeat it in her later mansion. Function, too, had evolved. Bess and her family would not have eaten at high table there. Instead, they ate in the Forest Great Chamber above, accessed by the grand staircase and decorated with forest scenes in raised plaster, made more realistic by taking casts from actual tree branches.

By the early sixteenth century, an alternative to spiral stairs in towers had evolved: the wooden grand staircase, which rose around a newel post. The grander the stair, the grander the owner; contemporary written accounts of the Old Hall indicate largeness, lightness, and grandeur. The Old Hall, in fact, once had two interior staircases; only the west one remains. The grand staircase on the east side of the hall was built around a newel post. The more innovative stone west stair, which would have served more as a service staircase, doubled back on itself with a large landing, occupying less space without making the risers narrow and steep. It led up four floors to the roof, where guests could walk the leads.[16] The renovated Hardwick Old Hall proved innovative, stately, and especially notable for its height. However, Bess had grander ideas that could not fit within the constraints of the existing building.

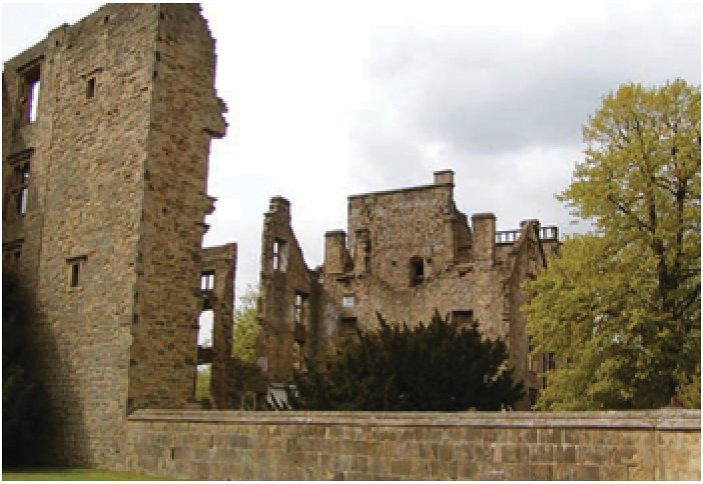

Fig. 8.9 Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, Old Hall, 1580, 1587 ff. Photograph: author

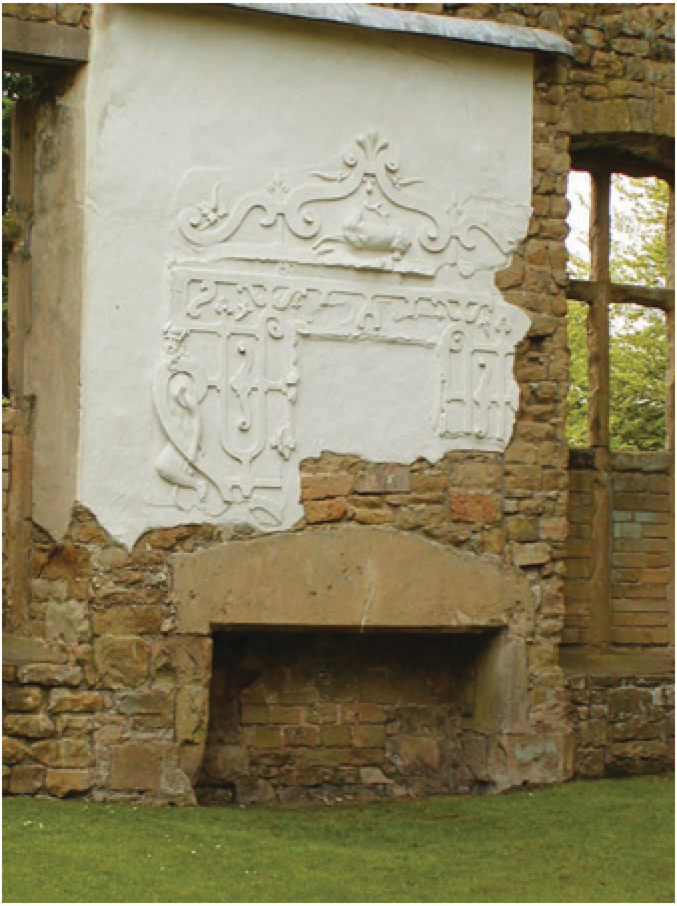

Fig. 8.10 Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, Old Hall, Great Hall and overmantel plasterwork, 1580–1587 ff. Photograph: author

Hardwick New Hall, Derbyshire

By mid-1590, unencumbered by a contentious husband and her income safely assured, Bess could exercise complete control. She decided to build a new, more fitting house that would promote the Cavendish dynasty, her progeny. She hired architect Robert Smythson who created for her one of the greatest of all Elizabethan houses and his masterpiece. The new Hardwick Hall, a magnificent success of symmetry and detail, features an unusual plan, a stunning façade with a profusion of large windows, and interior innovations.

Bess sited the New Hall to face west from the crest of a hill overlooking a broad vista of Derbyshire and at a right angle to the Old Hall. The proximity would allow the New Hall to conveniently coordinate with the old for services and overflow guest quarters. In seeking fine artisans, Bess sought recommendations from Sir Francis Willoughby. She had visited Wollaton, where she likely met Smythson; she also hired Thomas Accres, Willoughby's master mason. Smythson's level of involvement is not entirely clear. He apparently surveyed the property, provided floor plans, elevation drawings, and garden concepts, but probably supervised little, if any, of the construction, which began 5 December 1590. John Balechouse served as overseer, but appears to have carefully adhered to the Smythson design.

The façade of Hardwick Hall appears much plainer than previous Smythson buildings, in part because the profusion of windows leaves less surface area to decorate (Fig. 8.11). The overall plan is roughly rectangular, but the setback three-bay core with a slightly projecting central oriel gives the E shape that certainly pays tribute to both the patroness and her queen. The main block of the house is three-stories, with six square, four-story projecting towers. On each long side, two towers occupy the second and third bays from each end. Two additional towers stand at the centers of each short end. A continuous balustrade encircles the core, interrupted only at the center to accommodate heraldry. The parapets of the six towers prominently feature the monogram "ES," for Elizabeth, Countess Shrewsbury, an ostentatious indication of the owner's wealth and power.

Although Palladio may have inspired the complex symmetrical interior planning, clearly this original design reflects Smythson's ingenuity. As with Palladio's Villa Valmarana at Lisiera (near Vicenza, Italy), the plan includes two staircases on the back of the house, one to serve each end of house. Also like Villa Valmarana, the great hall lies in the middle of the house, perpendicular to the entrance, which also repeats, perhaps coincidentally, the perpendicular axis at the Old Hall. Unlike the Old Hall layout, however, the New Hall configuration is clearly deliberate.

Unlike Longleat and Wollaton, the main entry into the house is at ground level; the kitchen and services are also located at ground level on the north side. The central doorway is accessed through a recessed porch and leads into a slightly longitudinal foyer, lit by two bay windows above. A half-height screen with Doric columns separates the foyer from the hall, which gives privacy yet admits light. As was typical of late sixteenth-century English halls, the hall is large, measuring 70 × 30 ft (21.3 × 9.1 m). Although enclosed on the long walls, the large windows on either end stretching from floor to the ceiling of the floor above, provide ample light. A gallery above also serves as a passage, joining the dining room to the drawing room. The primary service access was from the southeast corner, near the kitchen, pantry, cellars and service stairs, whereas the opposite side gave convenient access to the main staircase and overlooks the gardens.

The wide stone staircase, fit for processional occasions, leads upstairs to the High Great Chamber, the Long Gallery and the important bedrooms. Like the innovative stair at the Old Hall, this one also doubles back on itself with a landing. Many of the interior details come from Flemish pattern books or reflect Italian or French ideas. As with the great hall and with what can be gleaned from the Old Hall, fireplaces, often with elaborate overmantels in plaster, are the focal points of every room. Some chimneypieces are made of alabaster or colored marble; some include classical columns or allegorical figures.

The little-altered High Great Chamber was designed as a unified program to honor the queen. The spectacular painted plaster frieze along the upper wall, the special set of Brussels tapestries, and the chimneypiece complement each other in color, design, and allusion. An important feature of the decoration is the use of “devices,” or symbolic literary references, a popular conceit with the Elizabethans. The plaster frieze, probably made by Abraham Smith, depicts hunting scenes of the virgin goddess and huntress Diana, an allusion to Elizabeth as the Virgin Queen. The eight mid-sixteenth-century tapestries, bought by Bess a few years before the building began, depict the story of Ulysses (Odysseus). The relatively plain chimneypiece, probably by Thomas Accres, includes the queen’s coat-of-arms. A chair of state, reserved for the queen, sits at the short end facing the windows.

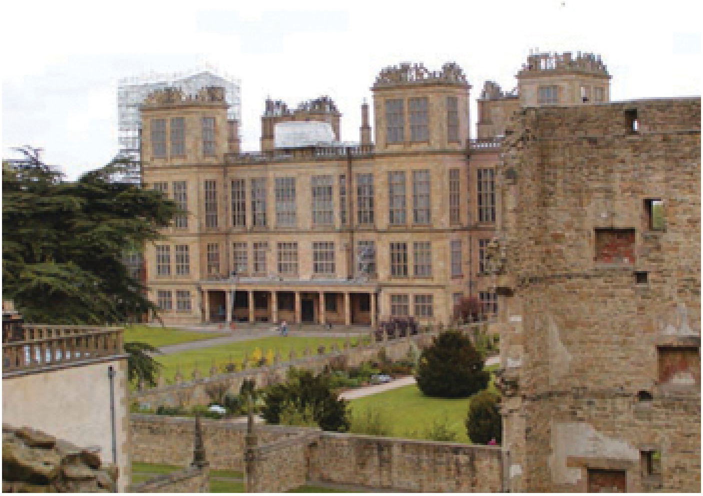

Fig. 8.11 Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, New Hall, Robert Smythson, 1590–1597. Photograph: author

The Long Gallery occupies the entire length of the first floor on the east front. Measuring 167 feet long, 26 ft high, and varying from 22–40 ft wide (51 × 8 × 6.7–12 m), it is the largest gallery in area (although not the longest) in an Elizabethan prodigy house. It also is among the few galleries to be largely intact. The space was heated by two fireplaces, which are decorated with paired pilasters. The chimneypieces were likely carved by Thomas Accres. They contain alabaster statues of Justice and Mercy set against black touchstone. The friezes above the fireplaces were probably painted by John Balechouse in 1598. Bess's series of 13 tapestries of *Gideon Overcoming the Midianites* still hang in their intended location. Moreover, many of the original portraits remain, including three of Bess, two of Mary Queen of Scots, two of James I – one as king and one at age 8, and one each of Elizabeth I, Lord Burghley, and Bess's granddaughter, Lady Arabella Stuart. On the east side, large windows bathe the space in light even on gloomy days, which dazzled the guests. The gallery also allows views of the garden – another imported but anglicized feature of British country houses.

The architecture of the New Hall unites three distinctive characteristics of Elizabethan architecture that reach their zeniths here. First, the house exhibits careful attention to symmetry throughout, a valued trait in all of Smythson's buildings. Second, several rooms, most notably the Great High Chamber, contains symbolic literary allusions, or "devices," cleverly incorporated into the overall design. Like their medieval English forbearers, Elizabethan art and architecture often contains symbolic meaning, sometimes even bits of humor. Finally, the great expanse of glass, which begins with Wolsey and Henry VIII and increases in the architecture of Smythson, culminates at Hardwick, which deservedly is known as "Hardwick Hall, more glass than wall."

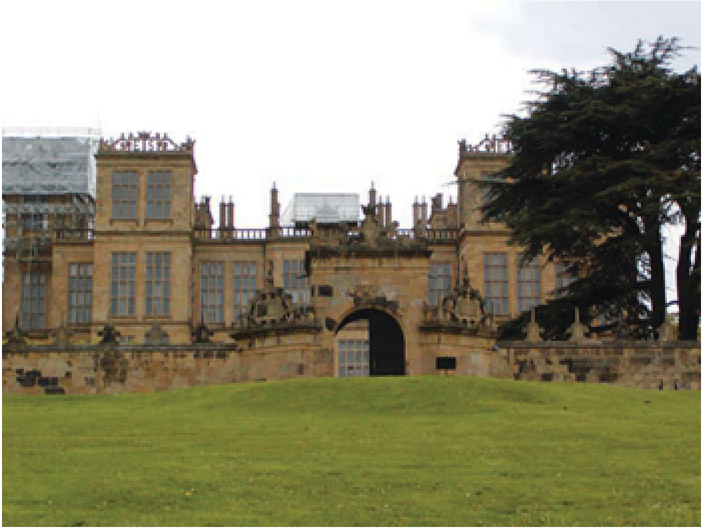

Fig. 8.12 Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, New Hall, Robert Smythson, gate house (porter's lodges), 1590–1597. Photograph: author

As is typical of Smythson's projects, the conceptual plan for Hardwick Hall incorporates the grounds around it. The forecourt is surrounded by walls with a central gatehouse (Fig. 8.12). The gatehouse consists of a tall, one-story, vertical central block with an arched opening. Two lower square blocks, placed at right angles, join the sides as porters' lodges. Across the tops are ornate balustrades of stone openwork similar to those on the house, which give the gatehouse an almost ornamental appearance. South of the New Hall and east of the Old Hall is the framework of an extensive symmetrical garden; the orchard was situated to the north of the New Hall (now the car park). The garden still follows the seventeenth-century layout, but not the plantings. Beyond the formal gardens, near the south entrance, is Hardwick Inn, built *c.* 1608 as a residence by John Balechouse, overseer of the New Hall. Built of irregular stone of the same origin as the New Hall, the gabled house is built in the shape of a cross, with the unassuming entrance tucked in the long side near the crossing of the gables. A service court was to the south, hidden from view from the main house; to the southwest, below a steep slope, was the west range, consisting of a brewhouse, laundry, and dairy. The house, gardens and support facilities were surrounded by a rolling, wooded park, all once a part of monastic lands.[17] As with Wollaton, the house is sited on a hill, has a view of the countryside and the gardens, and is visible at a distance. Together with its forecourt, and gardens, it forms a unity. Outside the confines of these strictly planned elements, the surrounding area becomes increasingly informal. Such planning will continue in English houses.

Fountains Hall, North Yorkshire

At Fountains Abbey, for a few months after the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, buildings stood empty in the hope of being the site for the cathedral for a new Dales-Yorkshire bishopric. This was not to be, and by 1540, glass and lead from the dismantling of the twelfth-century buildings had found their way to Ripon and York. Then the crown sold over 500 acres (202 ha) of land and what remained of the buildings. By the late 1590s, Stephen Procter had acquired the property and, using stone from the ruins, built Fountains Hall (*c.* 1598 and 1604). The house incorporates many elements typical of Smythson designs: the preferred elevated site, consistent symmetry, shafts of windows, and an innovative plan. Fountains Hall most closely resembles the dignity and simplicity of Hardwick (less the heraldry), but on a compact scale. The architect is not known for certain, but Fountains Hall has many hallmarks of a Smythson design. Perhaps his son Robert was involved.

Fountains Hall is unusually tall and narrow, as it is set on a hill against a steep bank for dramatic effect from the road below and for the vista from the house. The shallowness of the site, however, demanded an ingenious design. The plan is a variation on the letter E, with no courtyard. The central block is narrow and slightly lower than the two sets of projecting outer wings, which are four stories. The focus is entirely outward. The façade has the three-step recession: boxy corner towers with crenellations; a setback section of roughly the same width as the towers but with triple-level oriel bay windows topped with gables; and a recessed center entrance with a cornice above and a semi-circular bay window projecting from the upper story. As at most houses by Smythson, Fountains Hall is set above a basement, which accommodated the kitchens and servants. The rear has no façade or extensive gardens because of the bank; however, the trees behind it dramatically frame the strong lines and light colored stone of the house.

Inside, stairs are tucked into towers. The great hall, one flight up, remains central, but because of the configuration of the stairs, it is entered at the end rather than the side. The Great Chamber features a magnificently carved stone chimneypiece. Pairs of herms supporting columns frame an overmantel relief sculpture depicting the Judgment of Solomon. The circular oriel window, attributed to Bernard Dininckhoff, a renowned glass painter of the late Elizabethan period, has painted and stained glass with the coats-of-arms of the builder, Stephen Procter and his family.

The façade is preceded by steps from a lower terrace of the hill and a low stone wall. Statues of Worthies appear on the balustrades and the entrance gate. The worthies comprise three groups of warriors: the Biblical, with David, Joshua, and Judas Maccabeus; the classical, with Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar; and the medieval, with Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne.[18] This motif of medieval origin gained popularity in the late sixteenth century and appears in a variety of ways at subsequent houses.

Robert Smythson: a summary

Robert Smythson is both eclectic and original: he constantly borrows, yet he unites seemingly disparate designs in original ways. What drawings survive facilitate the understanding of his conceptions. One house develops from another, quite apparent on a deeper chronological study of Smythson. He keeps the needs of the English country nobility in the forefront of his mind and is always aware of the need of his clients to project their persona through the architecture of their houses. To better achieve this goal Smythson turns the basic medieval courtyard house inside out, with an interesting, individual façade. He achieves symmetry, harmony, and unified designs through a consistent use of a variety of elements, including uniform windows, oriels, friezes, and balustrades along with balanced projections, unusual shapes, and variations in height. Smythson also appears to be the first to devise the non-courtyard design and raised basement, as seen at Wollaton, Hardwick, and Fountains. Advantages are many: they are impressive from the exterior, yet compact and convenient. With Smythson the outward presentation comes first and dictates the interiors. Requisite rooms are always included, such as halls, galleries, offices, parlors, and great chambers, and support facilities, but the arrangements can be unexpected and creative.[19] Smythson is one of the founders of the Elizabethan style – and in spite of its experimentation, eclecticism, and synthesis, a distinct Elizabethan style does exist. His houses influence much that happened elsewhere in England and lead the way for the late flowering of the “English Renaissance” in architecture in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley: *pater patriae* and his patronage

William Cecil (1520/1–1598) a loyal and trusted advisor to the queen, was the founder of the most powerful newly noble family in England and the nation's greatest patrons of the arts. Earlier in the sixteenth century, Lord Chancellor Cardinal Thomas Wolsey had unabashedly used art and architecture to tout his position, but until the Cecils, no English subject dared promote themselves and their families on such a scale. The residences of the Cecils, however, unlike those of Wolsey, while sufficiently grand to accommodate progresses, did not exceed the holdings of the monarch.

William Cecil entered royal service under the Duke of Somerset in the reign of Edward VI. He managed to avert danger during the reign of Mary. The Duke of Northumberland appointed him Master of Wards to Princess Elizabeth, or manager of her real estate holdings. Through this advisory relationship he developed rapport with her, earned her trust, and unlike Wolsey, Burghley remained in royal favor. He owed all of his social status, tremendous political power, and enormous wealth to her. From the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth looked first to Cecil for advice. She retained him as Master of her Wards, from which he gained his wealth and power over the nobility and appointed him Secretary of State (1558–1572), as had her brother Edward VI. In 1571, after some hesitation because of his descent from minor Welsh nobility, the queen created him the first Lord Burghley. Soon after, she appointed him Lord Treasurer (1572–1598) and inducted him into the Order of the Garter (1573). He was her chief spokesman in Parliament and her Chief Minister. His death in the late years of her reign was a crushing blow. No other advisor, even his son Robert who followed him, would receive the same trust, favor, and affection.

As his power and political position increased, Cecil used art and architecture to reflect his political power and to advance his family's social position at court. By his death in 1598, Lord Burghley was known throughout England as *pater patriae* (father of his country), a designation usually reserved for monarchs. Lord Burghley built two country estates, Burghley House and Theobalds, and a city house, Cecil House, along the fashionable Strand in London.

Lord Burghley's two sons also would enter royal service. Thomas (1542–1623), a son by his first marriage to Mary, received the title of first Earl of Exeter. Later James I elevated him to the position of second Lord Burghley. Robert (1563–1612), his son by his second wife Mildred, was made first Earl of Salisbury by James I.[20] During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, Robert simultaneously held the two highest civil offices in England, which eclipsed even his father's illustrious career. Robert and Thomas also fostered the arts and architecture.

Burghley House, Lincolnshire

Burghley House in Lincolnshire (formerly Northamptonshire) was William Cecil's flagship residence and the home with which he most closely identified. He would take the name of his lordship from this residence (Fig. 8.13). After the Dissolution of the Monasteries, William Cecil's father had bought Burghley, which had belonged to Peterborough Abbey. From 1552 till his death in 1598, William seems to have had an ongoing building project there. This house, the most important of three houses he built, marks his elevated positions in the royal court and national politics. He built Burghley House in five main stages, making it grander and more up-to-date as his position at court increased. Cecil began in a conservative style with an inward facing house surrounding a courtyard, as a plan drawn before 1585 by surveyor and architectural draughtsman John Thorpe shows. After 1577, he began to change the orientation to the outward facing house that stands today.[21]

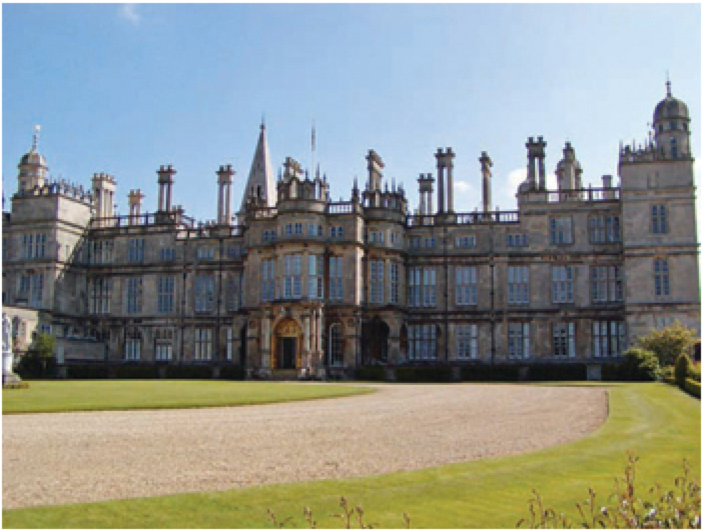

Fig. 8.13 Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire, John Thorpe (?) and others, exterior, c. 1556–1587. Photograph: author

Construction from 1556 to 1561 included a great hall, kitchen, and a staircase. Mark Girouard has convincingly suggested that the original hall and kitchen were replaced with larger structures in the last stage of building to accommodate the increased capacity for entertaining. The locations of the original hall and kitchen are uncertain, but the daringly new formal Roman staircase may lend a clue. Built of stone with a coffered barrel vault overhead, resembling those at the Ducal Palace in Urbino, the Uffizi in Florence, and the Louvre in Paris, this type of staircase had no precedent in England in the 1560s. Perhaps the design came from Italy by way of France and was the work of French masons. The location in the northeast corner follows the directive of Cortesi for a staircase in the north corner. Wolsey had followed Cortesi's dictate at Hampton Court Palace, but his northern stair was not covered with a barrel vault. Such an important staircase would have connected important rooms. Perhaps the first great hall was on the ground floor of the north range with the great chamber above on the first floor; then the staircase would have connected the dais end of the great hall to the great chamber above. Kitchens typically adjoin the hall opposite the dais.

Cecil stood on the cutting edge of fashion with the classically inspired design of the great courtyard and its loggias, the focus of the second phase of construction (*c.* 1561–1564). His remarkably consistent and well-understood language of classicism perhaps gives the most splendid surviving examples of the era. Henry VIII had first used loggias at Whitehall Palace around the outdoor "Preaching Place," which Cecil would have known from visits to the royal palace in Elizabeth's era. Here, however, for the first time (as far as is known), an open classical loggia with rounded arches (glazed in the seventeenth century) is fully integrated into the four sides of an English courtyard façade. The loggia is crowned with a uniform architrave, frieze, and cornice. Engaged columns support the arches along the walls; on the north pavilion columns flank the arches and reach to the cornice. Between the arches are roundels, recalling the architectural motifs of Italians Donato Bramante, Leon Battista Alberti, and Giovanni da Maiano, who had worked at Hampton Court. These roundels, however, are filled with classical heroes, famous Trojan heroes, such as Paris and Aeneas, and more contemporary political leaders, such as Charles V and Suleiman I. Another loggia on the south front originally overlooked a garden.

A boxy, projecting three-story pavilion forms the centerpiece of each range. The most prominent pavilion stands opposite the main entrance on the east side. This three-story structure features pairs of engaged classical columns, which not only represent the three classical orders that again, in compliance with Renaissance decorum, become more ornate as they rise. Between the columns, empty classical niches add the desired play of light and shadow. The lower and center stories have arches; the upper story has a bay window. The north and south sides display less imposing pavilions with loggias on the lower level and central arches on the second story supported by engaged columns that reach through the third story.

Burghley House also had multiple galleries. One gallery, constructed *c.* 1556 on the side of the house occupied by women, appears to be the first gender-specific gallery outside of royal lodgings. After Burghley, Italianate loggias would become a defining feature in prodigy houses, although the gender-specific gallery did not recur.

Many of the classical designs come second and third hand through interpretations in France and Antwerp rather than directly from Italy. The hierarchical arrangement of the classical orders, which recurs in later English buildings, indicates that Burghley was familiar with current Italian architectural theory. Other additional elements, especially for the east pavilion, reflect Philibert de l'Orme's Château d'Anet (1547–1552), built for Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II of France. Its detail reflects architecture in Antwerp.[22]

The third phase of construction, from 1577 to 1578, initiated the transformation of the orientation of Burghley House to an outward facing structure. It also exemplifies the yearning for certain features of the anachronistic Perpendicular Gothic. Cecil added a new west range to the west end of the courtyard with an imbedded four-story gatehouse and a long gallery that ran across the entire front. An elevation drawing of 1575 supplied by Henry Hawthorne, a carpenter by training, may have outlined the design. In 1572, Hawthorne had made drawings for the inner court at Theobalds and in 1576 he made drawings for a new wing at Windsor Castle, both structures that harked back to the Perpendicular Gothic. Thus, in making the primary façade on the old model – and in fact Burghley would be the last great house to have an entrance façade in the old style – Cecil both asserted English tradition and paid homage to royal architecture. The house, In fact, bears a striking resemblance to the drawings of Richmond Palace (1501). However, as in his innovative courtyard, Cecil reflects current trends. As traditional and castle-like as the public face may appear, all details, including the window design – a primary marker of style – reflect current practices. No Gothic detailing appears.[23] As with the contemporary southeast tower of "Leicester's Buildings" at Kenilworth, the façade of Burghley displays elements that hark back to earlier days, yet are thoroughly up to date.

Burghley House simultaneously depends on Somerset House and reflects changes that occur at Longleat under Robert Smythson and reasonably so: Cecil had served as a secretary to Somerset. The outward orientation, symmetrical design, and even fenestration reflect Longleat, as does the disappearance of a gatehouse as a separate structure. Instead, the gatehouse is incorporated into the four- story central block. This centerpiece, built of the grey Barnack stone and dated 1577, is taller than the wings and projects forward. The arched entrance has a triple tier of oriel windows projecting above flanked by a pair of octagonal towers with stone-capped domes. Crenellations joined by arches and capped with little obelisks and crests crown the top.

The form of the three-story set back wings of the building echoes that of the central block, with alternating columns of flush and oriel windows and projecting block-like corners with towers. The spare walls and the focus on the windows reflects the essence of the perpetual English Perpendicular Gothic. The roofline, filled with obelisks, cupolas, and chimneys in the shape of Tuscan columns grouped together beneath entablatures, offers a delight of diversities to please the eye from above and below.[24] The flatness of the leaden roof facilitates "walking the leads" for exercise and garden views.

Cecil gradually transformed the exterior of the house to have an outwardly oriented façade on each face. In 1585, he added an east range and remodeled the north and south ranges. In 1587, he added the center feature to the north façade: a cluster of five projecting towers, alternating between round and square, with an arched entrance. The large windows dominate the façade. These extended ranges stretched a quarter mile. Moreover, like contemporary designs of Smythson, the plan of the house evolved into an interesting shape: the letter E in honor of Queen Elizabeth (although its northwest wing no longer exists). Inside the south wing, a new broad open staircase that measured 39.3 × 23 ft (12 × 7 m) gave access to the new grand chamber on the first floor, which was without precedent in England.

In 1587, Cecil also heightened the three-story pavilion on the east side of the courtyard with a spire in the shape of an obelisk. The base held a clock framed by a pair of lower obelisks, mirroring the design of the spire. This late period may also be when the present great hall and kitchen were added. By the 1580s, great windows, austere walls, tall towers, turrets, and picturesque rooflines, features that looked back to the Perpendicular Gothic style, began to overshadow the fascination with classical motifs of the two previous decades.

The magnificent great hall at Burghley, decidedly Gothic in style with buttresses and tracery, and the adjacent groin vaulted kitchen may also reflect the return to the indigenous Gothic. The hall measures 60 × 30 ft (18.2 × 9.1 m) and has a handsome high-roofed, oak hammerbeam ceiling with carved pendants. The original chimneypiece remains, with a design modeled after Serlio. The roof and traceried windows have been compared to Middle Temple Hall in London of the 1560s. However, Middle Temple Hall is not part of a residence. Moreover, Wollaton Hall, which would be roughly contemporary (1580), exhibits many of the same features: hammerbeam ceiling, pendants, and traceried windows, not to mention the size. In fact, prodigy houses before 1570, such as Theobalds and Kirby Hall, measure less than 50 ft long and 27 ft or less in width (15.2 × 8.2 m). After 1575, however, great halls suddenly nearly double in size, especially in length. Among major houses, the hall at Burghley is exceeded only by those at Longleat (*c.* 1575), Holdenby (*c.* 1575), and Hardwick (*c.* 1590). The size alone lends credibility to its being part of renovations made during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, after William Cecil had risen in power and prominence as Lord Treasurer and peer of the realm, positions that would require larger spaces for accommodating guests. Furthermore, the vaults of the kitchen concur with contemporary vaulting in the undercroft at Drayton House (Northamptonshire), thought to be a medieval remnant until the date 1584 was noticed. Finally, since the roof of the hall superseded the height of the east range, perhaps Cecil added the tower in 1587 to regain the prominence of the porch.[25] In the end, the overall result at Burghley House, outside and in, reflects a harmonious, magnificent, outward, and typically Elizabethan eclectic blend of many ideas. For all of his obeisance, obsequiousness, and financial outlay, however, Elizabeth never visited Cecil at Burghley House.

Theobalds House, Hertfordshire

Theobalds, located about 10 miles (16 km) north of London, was William Cecil's other great house, which he acquired in 1564 for his second son, Robert. Unlike Burghley, it was easily accessible from London and the queen visited often. Although Theobalds House was the most magnificent prodigy house of its age and probably the most influential, it is the least studied of Elizabethan houses. In the next century, it came into royal hands under James I, but by 1650 the Commonwealth government had demolished much of it. Documents, descriptions, and drawings, however, give much information about its sixteenth-century appearance.

A moated manor house was already on the property when the queen called at Theobalds on 27 July 1564 but did not stay the night. Soon after, Cecil began an ambitious building campaign on a new site, chosen for convenient access to roads to St Albans and London. As with Burghley House, Theobalds incorporated many new elements and grew in size with Cecil's rise to power. From the beginning, the new house was conceived less as a noble residence than as a place to entertain the queen. As Cecil stated, "… it was begun by me with a mean measure, but encreast [*sic*] by occasion of her Majesty's often coming."[26] As far as is known, the queen's first residential visit was in 1571, by which time the fifty-one-year-old Cecil was at the peak of his career and the house was far from "mean." In all she visited thirteen times, sometimes for long stays, treating her minister's home almost as a royal palace. The house expanded from one courtyard in 1564 to three by 1567 to five by 1585. Visitors often described the house and gardens as spectacular.[27]

The outwardly facing house was preceded by a low wall and a gatehouse. The main part of the house, which ran for a quarter of a mile, was three stories with towers at the center to set off the entrance and corners, and embellished with turrets and large windows. This unusual feature perhaps was picked up from Palladian designs. Through the arched opening was the Middle Court, where a service range framed the symmetrical façade. A similar arrangement once existed at Burghley House and remains still at Blickling Hall in Norfolk.[28]

Among important features of the lavish interior were the many galleries in which he displayed his position and which influenced contemporary builders. The Privy Gallery was built 1567–1573 in the upper floor of the south wing. There he displayed paintings of the Caesars, kings of England from Henry V to Henry VIII, and Protestant leaders in Europe. A lower gallery displayed the genealogy of Cecil and his forebearers, some invented, and gave access to the gardens. Two more galleries displayed portraits of lesser notables and a mural of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth. The Green Gallery, which stood over the entrance into the Middle Court (1572–1574), measured more than 100 ft long by 12 ft wide (30.5 × 3.7 m) and was lit by large windows. Three galleries, surely part of his later decoration, displayed maps of English counties, complete with villages, natural resources, and the arms of the key families. Cecil's interest in maps may have reflected knowledge of two fascinating Italian map programs by Dominican geographer Egnazio Danti (1536–1586). He designed the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican Palace for popes Pius IV (1559–1566) and Gregory XIII (1572–1585). Between 1563 and 1589, Danti designed fifty three painted maps for the Hall of Geographical Maps in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence for Medici Duke Cosimo I.[29] Together these galleries reflected Cecil's rise to power, his status, and his source of wealth.

Formal gardens at Theobalds were well integrated into the overall plan. A garden filled the Middle Court between the service ranges; others flanked both sides and the rear. These gardens were described as "planted with choice flowers," exotic plants, and ornaments: topiary animals, labyrinths, large water features, obelisks, Caesars, heraldic posts, to name a few, and splashed by white marble fountains. The park beyond was reached by an evenly laid out long avenue of trees, one of Cecil's several influential innovations.[30]

With its size, magnificence, and proximity to London, Theobalds took on a public role beyond that of any other non-royal residence as the most preferred house in England for entertaining the monarch. Because Theobalds was expanded so many times without obliterating previous construction, it lacked the architectural unity of Hardwick Hall, Kirby Hall, Audley End, or Holdenby – its greatest competitor for patronage and size – but the scale, architecture, gardens, and innovations inspired much in contemporary and subsequent noble houses.

Cecil House, London

In the early 1560s, at about the same time as he began building Burghley House, William Cecil purchased property along the Strand to serve as his London residence during law terms. The Strand, of course, was prime real estate, stretching along the waterfront with the former "inns" of bishops – their residences in London – now turned into city mansions for members of the court and diplomatic embassies. Cecil's property had formerly housed the bishop of Exeter. It stood on the north side, adjacent to Covent Gardens and across from Savoy Hospital, Henry VII's last great building project. Cecil would build the grandest residence in the area, overpowering its surroundings. John Norden, in his *Speculum Britanniae* of 1593, describes it as "… a verie fayre howse raysed with bricks, proportionablie adorned with four turrets placed at the four quarters of the howse; within it is curiouslye beautified with rare devises, and especially the oratory placed in an angle of the great chamber."[31]

The house no longer exists, having been demolished in 1909 to build the grand Art Deco Strand Palace Hotel, but it appears on period several maps. The maps of John Norden (1593) and Claes Visscher

(1616) label it Burghley House. Wenceslaus Hollar (1658), who gives more detail, calls it Essex House. These maps are the chief sources for the appearance of the house, but in 1999, the archivist at William Cecil's only surviving house, Burghley House, discovered a plan for Exeter House when Thomas Cecil acquired it. This plan shows two courtyards, although the angle from which Hollar depicts the house shows only one. Although Hollar is sometimes inaccurate, the lower rear courtyard may not have been visible from his point of view. Hollar depicts the house as a gabled, three-story structure with dormers at the attic level and an austere street façade that extended 150 ft (46 m). Weighty engaged columns stood on either side of the central entrance, flanked by plain walls with few windows. The four-story turrets at the four corners also appear in Visscher's map.

The broad, lower, and outwardly facing rear elevation, with an open loggia and gallery on the ground floor, appears to have been more appealing and more innovative than the severe façade. The loggia led to the extensive garden, which, for the early 1560s in London, was quite novel. Although such gardens existed at Hampton Court and would occur soon after at country estates such as Hardwick Hall, Wollaton, and Montacute, they were exceptional for a city house and verified William Cecil's life-long interest in horticulture. The garden once opened through an arched gate into the open fields of Covent Gardens. This entrance may also have opened onto a road leading to Theobalds, thus probably was preferred, especially for visitors from the north.[32]

Cecil's city garden was divided into several smaller areas by brick walls, clipped hedges, and gravel walkways. Nearly all of the types of divisions that a country estate garden would have existed here, including orchards, kitchen gardens, a sunken garden, a privy garden, and a mount for viewing. Garden buildings, for which Cecil was famous, included a banqueting house in the center, two viewing platforms seventeen steps high, and towers along the garden wall. In summary, the houses built by William Cecil show innovative reinterpretations of the classical style, as every age does, to meet the needs of his household, his legacy, and the expectations of his queen and her court. In form and iconography, Cecil's houses exhibited the latest styles and proclaimed his status as an ideal Renaissance courtier in the manner of Cortesi and Castiglione.

Late Elizabethan prodigy houses

Between 1570 and 1585, English architecture appears more consistent, more confident, and more original, with a better understanding of the possibilities of classical elements, as already witnessed in the late designs of Robert Smythson. The colossal order (that is, classical columns or pilasters that extend more than one story) gains favor as a more vigorously mannered interpretation of classicism occurs, as at Kirby and Wimbledon. Then, after 1585, Elizabethan architecture shifts from classical experimentations to the seemingly indigenous love of the handsome severity of the Perpendicular Gothic, although no Gothic decorative elements appear. This romantic interest in the chivalric past reflects a parallel movement in literature. Whereas in the century following Chaucer, England lacked a strong, distinctly national, vernacular literary or poetic practice, Edmund Spencer, who began writing in the 1570s, changed the tide. His works became increasingly inspired by a romantic look at the medieval past. In his pastoral poem *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) he employed anachronistic Chaucerian spelling, and went on to compose in the form of chivalric romance in his *Faerie Queene* (1590s). Philip Sydney's *Arcadia* (1590 ff.) reflects similar inspiration. Such poetry glorified the great feudal kingdoms, such as England and France, as opposed to Italy, with its classicism and urban commerce. Chivalric tilts and tournaments, revived and revitalized at the Elizabethan court, also celebrated the feudal past.[33] Progresses and festivals promoted the queen and brought her to the people. Tremendous artistic energy went into these events. Examples of this more austere late style, in addition to Burghley House and Hardwick Hall, include Holdenby and Wimbledon House, although Wimbledon reflects a grander, more ostentatious plan. Finally, a consolidation of the classical with Flemish and Dutch motifs occurs at the turn of the seventeenth century, making the architecture more fanciful, as seen at Montacute House.

Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire

Kirby Hall, built of local Weldon stone, was begun *c*. 1570 by Sir Humphrey Stafford. In 1575, Sir Christopher Hatton, a favorite at the court of Queen Elizabeth I, acquired the property and completed the house. The master mason appears to have been Thomas Thorpe of Kingscliffe (d. 1596), brother of the aforementioned John Thorpe (d. 1610) and father of the John Thorpe (d. 1655) who later drew a plan of it.[34] Whereas the classicism of Robert Smythson is staid and restrained, closer to Italian forms, the mannered interpretation at Kirby draws more from the exuberance of Somerset House and European Mannerism. As at Hill Hall, the most distinctive feature is the use of the colossal order. During the brief Stafford years, audacious experiments in classicism, which draw from several sources, embellish the courtyard. The overall scheme may have been inspired by illustrations of Roman triumphal arches, rich with antique ornament, in books III and IV of Serlio's *Regole generali d'architettura,* as well as in books by Shute and in French architectural pattern books. The bold and free interpretation of classical motifs is also reminiscent of caprices in the multiple courtyards at Palazzo de Tè near Mantua (1524–1534), designed by Giulio Romano for Federico II Gonzaga, the Marquess of Mantua. Although a link between the buildings has never been established, this type of late Italian mannered classicism inspires French architects of the late sixteenth century. In fact, among Elizabethan houses, Kirby Hall probably exhibits the most decisive encounter with French ideas. J.A. du Cerceau shows a fanciful façade similar to the south range of Kirby Hall in his *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (vol. 2, 1579). Philibert de l'Orme (also Delorme), in his *Le premier tome de l'Architecture* of 1567, illustrates the colossal order of pilasters at St Maur (1541–1544), a distinguishing feature of the south range of the courtyard at Kirby. Although Hill Hall also employs the colossal order, the two usages could hardly be more different. The more mannered use at Kirby will be far more influential.

Built from the start around a courtyard with a façade set off by a forecourt and a grand gateway in the style of an ornate triumphal arch with a pediment broken by a cartouche, probably influenced by Serlio, Kirby Hall has a decidedly outward focus, even with courtyards. As patrons began to embrace more visual continuity in the façades and courtyards of their houses, the bay windows customarily denoting the great hall lost popularity. Instead, the large flush windows used for the hall continue throughout the façade in an evenly spaced fashion as at Kirby Hall.

Of the surviving parts of Kirby Hall, the courtyard shows the most innovative features. The one-story south range, the principal range, contains the kitchen, the hall, a porch, and the parlor. North of that range lies a courtyard with two-story lodgings on the east and west sides. The tall, evenly spaced, windows are divided by mullions into four sections in the manner of Italian Renaissance buildings. The windows are flanked by colossal Ionic pilasters which, in turn, support a running frieze and a decorative baluster at the roofline. Innovations to the interior from the time of Christopher Hatton include a grand staircase on the west side and two two-story rounded bay windows on the south.

On the north side of the courtyard, between three bays of long windows, a projecting central entrance adds interest to the façade. It rises higher than the main façade and features three classical orders in ascending rank: Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite. The arched entry features pairs of engaged Doric columns on either side. A smaller arch stands above, filled with a full length window and topped with a broken pediment. Pairs of Corinthian columns flank this arch. A rectangular top piece with seven engaged columns of the Composite order rises above the roofline. This feature is topped by an elliptical loop with shell-shaped designs and two short ball-topped columns on the outer sides. Whereas many houses use family heraldry as a centerpiece for an entry or porch, seen first at Hampton Court with Wolsey's coat-of-arms over the inner archway of the Clock Court, at Kirby Hall, the seven columns may be a heraldic metaphor. Scholars have suggested that they refer to Proverbs 9:1, "Wisdom has built her house, she has hewn her seven pillars," denoting Kirby Hall as a seat of wisdom. Like the Palazzo del Tè, the solution is both bizarre and successful as well as distinctive; no similar design appears in either architecture or design books.

The rich classical embellishments of the inner façade on the south side of the courtyard reflect Lescot's façade at the Louvre Palace in Paris and Du Cerceau's design for Château de Charleval near Aix en Provence (1470 ff). An open loggia with evenly spaced arches occupies the lower story of the two-story façade. Six pilasters in the colossal Ionic order unite the arches below with the windows above. Whereas the outer pilasters are fluted, the central pair is carved with Italianate grotteschi designs. The capitals feature relief sculptures depicting the Labors of Hercules. The arch of the central entrance is distinguished in a most unusual way. Whereas the opening is the same height as the other arches of the loggia, the opening above is an arch that stands lower than the flanking rectangular windows. The rounded pediment is broken by a tall classical bust that rises from it. The pediments of the six outer windows on the second story alternate between triangles and half-circles. These pediments are supported by curved brackets superimposed on pilasters, devices used by Michelangelo and Giulio Romano. In the center above the roofline stands a flat rectangular top-piece with two windows topped by a balustrade stands in the center, flanked by a pair of volutes. A pair of column-like chimney pots at the outer roofline adds just the height the structure needs.

Formal gardens stood on the east side of Kirby Hall, running the length of the house and forecourt. In 1935, George Chettle, using archaeological methods, revealed the design of the stone edgings of the paths and beds – Britain’s first, but not last, serious use of science for investigating gardens, put to use for the recent restoration. Gardens served not so as much a place of horticultural display, but a place for gentlemen and ladies to stroll on even gravel paths and admire sculptures featured in square plats. Moreover, the gravel paths between beds and lawns create interesting patterns, which offer a different effect when seen from the house or the rooftop leads.[35] Of all the important Elizabethan houses, Kirby Hall shows the richest, most mannered, and sometimes audacious, use of classicism. At the same time, the interpretations are well-understood and consolidated. With sources more French than Italianate, Kirby will influence a more vigorous strain of classicism than that of Smythson.

Holdenby House, Northamptonshire

Holdenby House, like Kirby Hall, exhibits bold interpretations of classicism. The Holdenby family owned the property and a manor house of some kind from at least the fourteenth century; hence the name. Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, acquired the property in the fifteenth century. He completed the house in 1583, which he built specifically to honor his beloved monarch. Although altered subsequently, its Elizabethan form most closely resembled Theobalds, its chief rival, and Burghley House. Like these houses, it was an outwardly facing courtyard house. Actually, Holdenby had the same triple courtyard plan as Theobalds: an outer base court with a gatehouse, elaborate side entrances, and two inner courts with lodgings and staterooms. Whether Hatton built Holdenby House as a unity or whether it grew it in stages, as with Burghley and Theobalds, and if so, how, cannot be gleaned. However, Holdenby was the largest privately owned house in the Elizabethan era. Moreover, no architecture on this scale existed elsewhere in Europe outside of royalty or high ranking churchmen. It reputedly covered approximately 78,750 sq. ft (7300 m^2) – although this measurement probably included the two inner courtyards. Although considerably smaller today and altered in appearance, the surviving parts, a ground plan by John Thorpe, and eighteenth-century drawings and prints of the ruins reveal basics of the original configuration.

Based on reconstruction drawings, the exterior corners had alternating stone quoins. The projecting central sections had towers topped with ogee domes and symmetrically placed decorative chimneys and oriel windows. A bold pair of great triumphal arched openings flanked by colossal square pillars stood in the lateral walls of the forecourt, giving access to the village to the north and the terraced gardens to the south. Pediments crowned the tops, supported by curved brackets, a free interpretation of classical motifs. The elaborate gateway from the outer to inner court featured classical orders on three levels with a turret on top. Arched openings and curved niches survive from the projecting entrance that joined the first inner courtyard into the second courtyard. More than 123 oriel windows overlooked the two courtyards. The great hall dated to *c.* 1575 and measured 70 × 30 ft (21.2 × 9.1 m). It covered nearly half again the area of the hall at Theobalds and was only two feet shorter than that at Burghley House.[36] The classically inspired house represents not only a mannered interpretation of classicism, but also the competitive ostentation and pretention the queen demanded and received from her courtiers.

Wimbledon House, Surrey

The history of the Cecils at Wimbledon, a town in Surrey about six miles south of Westminster, began more modestly than Burghley House; in the end it proved equally innovative in form and more unusual, even flamboyant, in appearance. The Cecil residency began in 1549 with William Cecil's lease on the Wimbledon Parsonage, a modest Tudor style house, part of which still stands but is greatly altered. William needed a country residence convenient to London for his family while he was at court. In fact, under Mary's rule, during which his government duties were diminished, William Cecil was identified with Wimbledon rather than Burghley as his principal seat. When William began building at Theobalds in 1564, Wimbledon became less important to him; in 1575 he deeded Wimbledon Parsonage to his son Thomas.

Within the decade following his acquisition, Thomas began the new house on a site a half mile from the parsonage. Although nothing of this mansion survives, two plans survive: an undated but apparently earlier one by John Thorpe and one of 1609 by Robert Smythson. A print of 1639 by Henry Winstanley survives, but by that date the appearance of the house had changed. The Thorpe plan shows a symmetrical residence with two extended, forward-facing wings and a strong outward focus. The imposing site comes closer than any English house to the classical and Italianate taste for building houses on hilltops and exploits changing levels in the topography with terraces. The site and opulence recall the Italian Villa Farnese at Caprarola, designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Baldassare Peruzzi, and Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the work of Pirro Ligorio, Alberto Galvani, and Federigo Zuccaro. Vista was important: the house and gardens were meant to be visible from afar and the gardens also observable from within the house.[37] Wimbledon, like Burghley House, had decidedly unclassical turrets and plain walls with large windows, which hark back to perpendicular Gothic ideals, yet neither had any Gothic decorative motifs.

Innovations occurred inside as well, such as the staircases, which appear in the plan by John Thorpe. The challenge was to have compact, yet well lit, stairs. The solution at Wimbledon was to build the stairs of wood, connected with landings, around an open cage with banisters joined to newel posts for safety against falling into the central void. Thorpe shows two such staircases in slightly protruding blocks in the corners on either side of the horizontal entry hall. Wimbleton bore the date 1588 above the entrance. If the stairs were built at the same time, then they were probably the earliest datable example. Further such innovations in staircases would soon follow under James I, especially at Hatfield, another Robert Cecil property, and at Knole with renovations by the Sackvilles. Such staircases, which, as usual, led to the great chamber on the first floor, became central features of hallways and prized as status symbols by owners of late Elizabethan and Jacobean prodigy houses.[38]

Montacute House, Somerset

Montacute House in Somerset, which bridges the transition to the Jacobean style, stands with Hardwick Hall as being among the most pleasing and symmetrical of Elizabethan houses (Figs 8.14 and 8.15). Considerably more modest in size than other important contemporary prodigy houses, Montacute would be more influential. The innovative design relies on a variety of sources: Serlio, Longleat, the Elizabethan tradition of bay windows, and Flemish engravings. In spite of its eclecticism, the design is harmonious. With its whimsical incorporation of Flemish motifs, Montacute romantically harks back to castle designs of old, yet is fresh and innovative.

Sir Edward Phelips, who inherited the land from his father, began the house from scratch on a site not far from his father's house, which no longer stands. He made his fortune as a lawyer and from there embarked on a successful political career: he entered Parliament as a representative from Somerset in 1584, rose to Speaker of House of Commons, and was knighted by James I. The house marks the ascent of his career. Although no building accounts survive for Montacute House, it appears that Phelips began building around 1596 and completed it by 1601, the date carved in the doorway of the entrance.

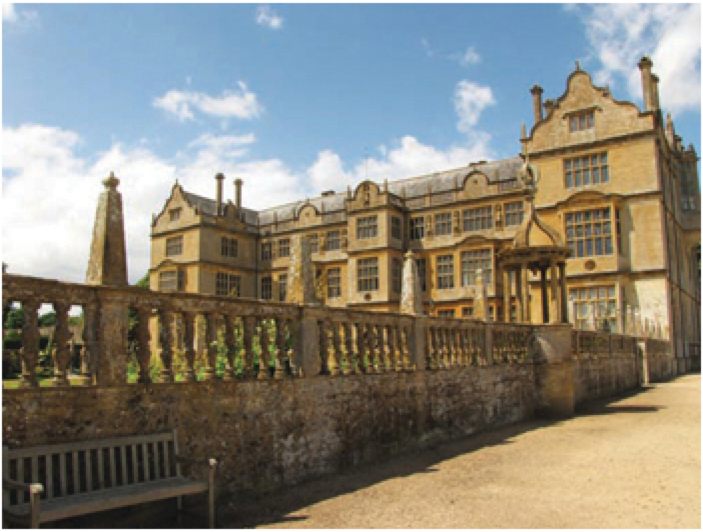

Fig. 8.14 Montacute House, Montacute, Somerset, William Arnold, east (garden) façade with garden wall, 1610 ff. Photograph: author

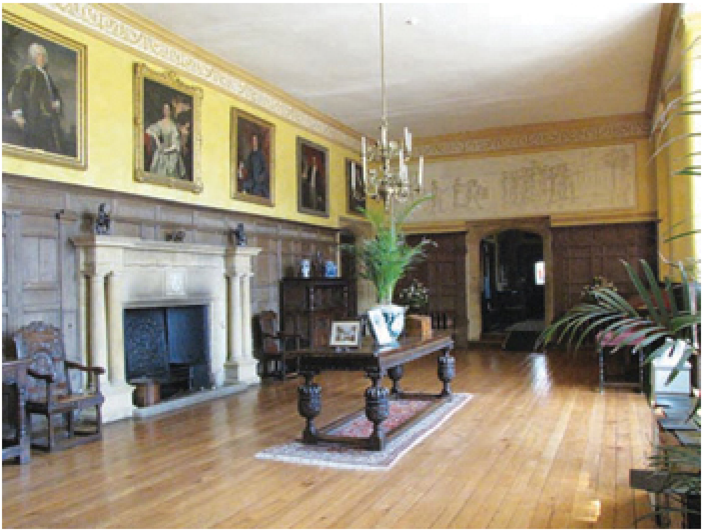

Fig. 8.15 Montacute House, Montacute, Somerset, William Arnold, Great Chamber, first floor. 1610 ff. Photograph: author

A document and stylistic evidence indicate that William Arnold, a Somerset mason, sculptor, and designer of considerable talent and creativity served as the architect. In a letter of February 1610 from Dorothy Wadham to her half-brother Lord Petre proposing Arnold for the position of architect of Wadham College at Oxford (which he received), she states that Arnold was recommended to her by her "good frend and loving neighboure Sir Edward Phelips."[39] Supporting evidence includes similar architectural details that appear in Arnold's designs for Robert Cecil at Cranborne Manor in Dorset and at Dunster Castle in Somerset. Arnold helps initiate the interest in Flemish and Dutch motifs, such as high, lobed gables, associated with the Jacobean period.

Built of honey-colored oolithic limestone from nearby Ham Hill quarries, Montacute House and the buildings that frame it exhibit absolute symmetry and a softening of rectangular forms. It also features some of the latest architectural designs, such as the unusual shape and the Dutch gables alternating with the balustrade and at either end. As with Robert Smythson's late designs, the courtyard plan disappears in favor of an outward facing design; in this case, mirror images of the E shape. The house is three stories, divided by classical entablatures. The horizontal central block with large mullioned windows is set off by two forward projecting wings four stories high with lobed gables topped with sculptures of little dogs and flanked by obelisks. A continuous balustrade reflects the window divisions on the façade and matches the balustrade on the wall enclosing the garden. Between the windows of the top story, and below the obelisks, are statues of eight of the Nine Worthies; the ninth stands in the center of the central pediment. The charming but clumsy figures stand forward in their classical rounded niches, but their classical form goes no further than their heavy Roman military armor. A porch six steps high runs parallel to the entire central block. Four free-standing lampposts shaped as columns and nearly as tall as the first story set off the simple rounded arch of the central entrance, marked by a projecting shaft with windows on the upper two stories, four panes wide and three panes deep.

The west façade resembles the east, with projecting wings, a clearly defined entrance with a large crest over the arched doorway, but without the long porch. Fanciful griffins on spiral posts and cherubs on square classically inspired engaged columns set at a right angle to the wall replace the Nine Worthies as decorative motifs. The wings, with lobed gables, project farther than on the main façade, allowing space for inward facing triangular gables. The ends of the house complement the long façades, but with a tall central rounded bay window.

The interior, like the exterior, expresses a social purpose. To the right of the entrance is a classically inspired elaborate carved wooden screen that divides the domestic side of the house on the south from the great hall on the north (Fig. 8.15). As is traditional, the hall runs parallel to the main façade, filling the northeast side. Guests entered this room through the two arched openings in the screen. A bay window with family crests overlooks the east court; a chimneypiece flanked by a pair of Doric columns with a Doric frieze above fills the center of the back wall. The door on the north side leads to a hall that runs along the west or back side and a wide stone staircase, which is decorated at intervals with shell-shaped niches, a typical feature of the architecture of William Arnold. This stair leads to the Great Chamber on the first floor.

The Great Chamber fills the north wing and is the most impressive room in the house. Again, stained glass crests are imbedded into the windows. The elaborate floor to ceiling chimneypiece of Portland stone has ionic columns that border the fireplace opening and support an ionic frieze. The family crest fills the space above, flanked by classical rounded niches, which may have contained classical sculptures, and Corinthian pilasters. Upstairs, the Long Gallery, the longest in England, stretches across the entire upper floor of the house. From oriel to oriel it measures 172 ft (52.4 m), exceeding the length of Hardwick by 5 ft (1.5 m), but not the area. Portraits once lined the walls; it also served for exercise and aerial vistas of the gardens.

The main entrance to Montacute House on the east side faces what was the road from Montacute village to Ilchester and was entered through a low walled outer court with a balustrade above divided by posts topped with obelisks. The eastmost end featured an imposing gatehouse with lodgings that stood equidistant from the two remaining whimsical little two-story pavilions capped with mock domes. These may lend a clue to the original form of the gatehouse and lodgings, as in the surviving gatehouse at Lanhydrock (1651) in Cornwall. Throughout, Montacute contains everything necessary to showcase the owner as a successful gentry lawyer, a member of Parliament, as a connoisseur of innovative architecture.

Public buildings in the age of Elizabeth

Although the greatest energy and most interesting architecture of the Elizabethan Age manifested in the prodigy houses, some civic and educational buildings of note appear, such as the Inns of Court, but the churches and monastic buildings often underwent renovating and refitting. Some monastic buildings in towns continued to provide the community with valuable services monasteries had provided; others were converted to new uses. At Reading, monastic buildings were converted into the town hall; at Chester, sailors assisted with repairs in return for space to store sails. In 1597, William Cecil endowed an Almshouse in Stamford; some of that stone building survives.[40]

Middle Temple Hall

The magnificent Middle Temple Hall, which still belongs to Middle Temple Inn, is probably the best surviving example of an Elizabethan inn hall in England and remains virtually unchanged. The Inns of Court originated in the thirteenth century as hostels, schools for training lawyers; here, their studies completed, they were also called to the bar. The original configuration of the Inns of Court resembled a monastery or a university with buildings that served similar purposes. Each had a church, dormitories for communal living, and a hall as a meeting place that resembled those of the great halls of prodigy houses. The Temple name for Middle Temple Inn and Inner Temple Inn and the neighborhood surrounding them originated with Temple Church and the Knights Templar, who founded the nearby church and used it as the headquarters of their order until the pope dissolved the order in 1312.

Middle Temple Hall was begun in 1562 (Fig. 8.16). The handsome exterior, built of brick with stone trim and quoins, is six bays long, separated by solid buttresses, with a wider bay at the west end and a towered entrance at the east end. Each section features a large square window, four panes wide and two panes tall, with a high six-light window in the west end. Many of the panes contain stained glass crests of the members. The size, 101 ft long and 41 ft wide (30.7 × 12.5 m), and size and quality of the splendid carved double hammerbeam roof hall compare with the aforementioned halls at Eltham Palace and Lambeth Palace (Fig. 8.17). Inside the entrance, a carved screen with two entrance arches fills the west end and separates the hall from the vestibule corridor. The east end is raised to accommodate the high table, where the officials sat. The high table was made from 29 ft (8.8 m) planks from a single oak tree; tradition holds that Elizabeth I gave it. The trees allegedly were felled in Windsor Forest, floated down the Thames, and installed in hall during its construction. In addition to serving as a meeting place for barristers, it has witnessed important events. Two that occurred during the reign of Elizabeth included, in 1586, the arrival of Francis Drake with fresh news of a successful expedition to the Spanish Indies. He was accompanied by colonists from Sir Walter Raleigh's settlement at Roanoke Island, Virginia (now North Carolina). In addition, the first recorded performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* took place here at the Feast of Candlemas (2 February) in 1602.[41]

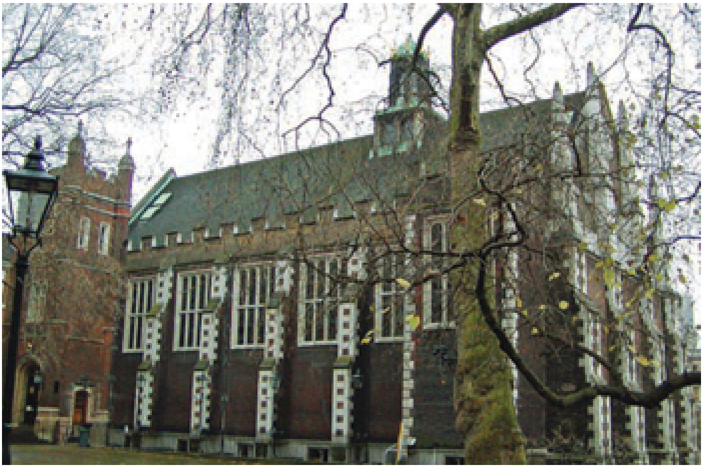

Fig. 8.16 Middle Temple Hall, London, exterior, 1562 ff. Photograph: author

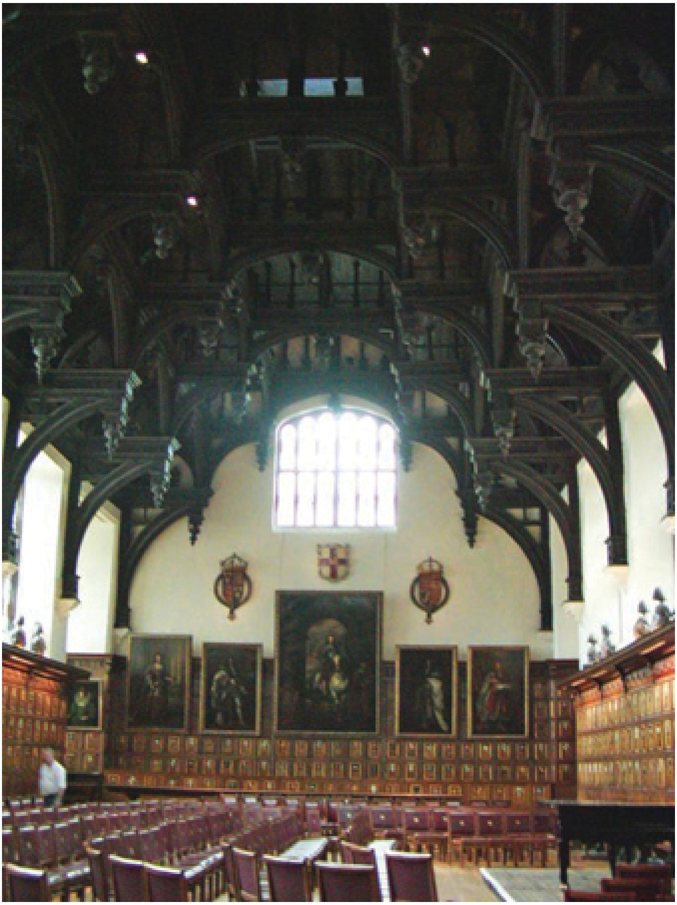

Fig. 8.17 Middle Temple Hall, London, interior 1562 ff. Photograph: author

Secular architecture and theaters

The black and white timber designs seen in Gothic buildings continue into the sixteenth century. Whereas the middle class houses remain little changed in style, often they are larger in size, as evident in William Shakespeare's birthplace at Stratford-upon-Avon, built in the sixteenth century, and the home of his wife Anne Hathaway's family at nearby Shottery, begun in the late fifteenth century (Fig. 8.18). Both structures contain additions of a slightly later date in the same basic architectural style. This type of construction also appeared in public buildings, such as Leycester Hospital (c.1450) in Warwick or Pilgrims' Rest Inn in Battle (c.1420). The most important new development in timber frame construction was the playhouse, or theater building, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, which developed parallel with, and for the purpose of, secular theater.

Theatrical performances in England began with medieval liturgical dramas, which enacted the mysteries of the faith and brought biblical stories and the lives of saints to life for the audiences. From these liturgical dramas developed secularized religious plays, or *sacra rappresentazione,* with rhymed musical scores that English performers usually enacted outdoors from wagons with drop-down sides that doubled as raised stages. Religious performances diminished after the onset of the Protestant Reformation, and in 1558, Elizabeth I forbade them. Meanwhile, vernacular dramatic performances developed. In the 1520s, in addition to performances of masques at court, humanist scholars began to study ancient plays. By the 1580s, a sophisticated group of playwrights had coalesced with the purpose of composing accessible dramas for the public stage, moving from serious religious dramas and masques, or short, lighthearted courtly spoofs, to in-depth studies of character, secular history, and comedy. The playwrights and companies of actors also grew from rag-tag, ignorant groups to skillful and respected performers and playwrights who received support from courtiers. The queen herself had a company who performed at court. With the increased sophistication and complexity of masques and larger secular theatrical productions, larger performance spaces became necessary. Productions moved to great halls, gardens, the courtyards of inns, and sporting rings.

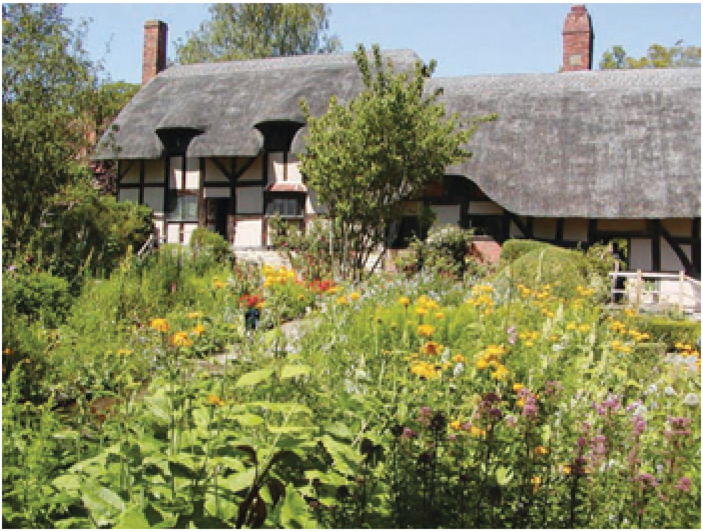

Fig. 8.18 Shottery, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, Anne Hathaway's Cottage, begun late fifteenth century. Photograph: author

By 1560, the English traditions of staging theatrical performances outdoors moved to some indoor spaces. By 1575, permanent theaters that initially doubled as bear or bull-baiting rings – open-air, amphitheater-like polygonal structures, some with a partial roof – had appeared in the London area, usually outside the city gates. Bankside, or Southwark, across the Thames at the foot of London Bridge, an area already full of dubious leisure activities, including gaming dens and brothels, attracted the largest number of theaters. In 1567, John Brayne opened the first playhouse, the *Red Lion*, east of London. Little is known about it, including how permanent the structure was. In 1596, James Burbage, Brayne's brother-in-law, established a more permanent structure, called simply the *Theatre*, northeast of the city and the *Blackfriars'* Theatre on the outskirts of London near Ludgate Hill and Bridewell. By 1623, thirteen public open air theaters operated in the London area. All shared the common characteristic of a raised, thrust stage surrounded on three sides by the audience.

The *Rose* Theatre, built in 1587 by Philip Henslowe, a local business man, was the first theater in Bankside, Southwark, followed by the *Swan*, the *Globe*, and others. On Norden's *Map of London* (1593), the *Rose* and the adjacent *Bear Garden* are correctly placed with respect to each other, but are crudely drawn. The representation of both as circular – the *Bear Garden* was polygonal – was due merely to artistic shorthand necessary for reducing so many buildings to a tiny scale. Timber construction would hardly allow a truly round building, although the *Rose*, with 14 sides and measuring about 72 ft (22 m) in diameter, seems to have felt circular, if one is to believe the description in *Tom Tell Troth's Message* as "the Bankside's round-house." The *Rose*, the foundations of which have been found beneath modern buildings on Bankside, was home to many of the first productions of William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe.[42]

Blackfriars' Theatre

In 1596, James Burbage bought the dissolved convent of the Dominican friars, or "Blackfriars" as the English nicknamed them, and moved his theatrical operations there. Although it was demolished in 1655, it remains the enclosed theater about which the most is known. Research has shown that the rectangular performance space had a thrust stage with a balcony overhead, probably used for minstrels or performers. The audience sat on benches in the foreground, in a raised area facing and along the sides, and in a balcony above. A few seats were also available on stage. The roof was hammerbeam and the lighting would have been by torches and/or candelabras. A copiously researched re-creation of the building, which opened in 2001, serves the American Shakespeare Center in Staunton, Virginia (fig. 8.19).

The Swan Theatre, Southwark

The *Swan* Theatre, which no longer stands, was also among the first theater buildings in the London area. The first mention of it is in 1594, when the Lord Mayor protested plans to build a theater on property at Paris Garden Manor that Francis Langley, a petty court official, had purchased in 1589. The date of construction is uncertain, but the appearance is known from a sketch of *c*. 1596 made by Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641) after a sketch sent to him by his friend, a Dutchman named Johannes de Witt. This drawing is the only surviving contemporary depiction of the interior and shape of the exterior of an Elizabethan public theater. Although the sketch implies a thatched roof and a round structure, it was polygonal. It contained a covered, thrust platform stage. Two doors lead from the rear stage into a backstage area. A covered seating area along the walls, or a gallery, which appears to be on three levels, nearly encircles the stage.

The Globe, Southwark

The origins of the more famous *Globe* Theatre, gleaned from written descriptions, stage directions, and various maps of London, are more elusive. In 1599, following a quarrel with the landowner, Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, sons of the recently deceased James Burbage, dismantled the *Theatre*, brought the timber to Bankside and, built a new, permanent building that became the most outstanding theater in London and the first dedicated exclusively to professional theatrical performances. Carpenter Peter Smith built the theater with input from professional actors, some of whom, including William Shakespeare, shared ownership with the Burbages.

The form of the *Globe*, like the *Rose*, was an open-air, polygonal amphitheater. The actual dimensions are unknown, but evidence suggests that it measured about 100 ft (30 m) in diameter, with the capacity to hold about 3000 spectators, seated and standing. Some scholars believe the mathematical proportions of the theater may reflect Roman architect Vitruvius' theory of the correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Inside, three levels of partially covered tiered galleries for seating higher paying spectators encircled the walls up to either side of the stage and a pit in front accommodated the standing audience. Action took place on a partially roofed stage. The stage itself consisted of a level platform raised about 5 ft (1.5 m) off the ground, measuring about 43 ft wide and about 28 ft deep (13.1 × 8.5 m) and extending about halfway into the yard. A pair of columns supported the roof, which covered about two-thirds of the stage, much as in the Swan drawing. The back wall of the stage had two or perhaps three doors that led into the backstage area and a balcony above, which actors and musicians probably used. The stage floor had several trapdoors and the ceiling, called the "heavens," was painted brilliant blue with clouds, constellations, and figures of the zodiac. It also concealed trapdoors for flying devices.

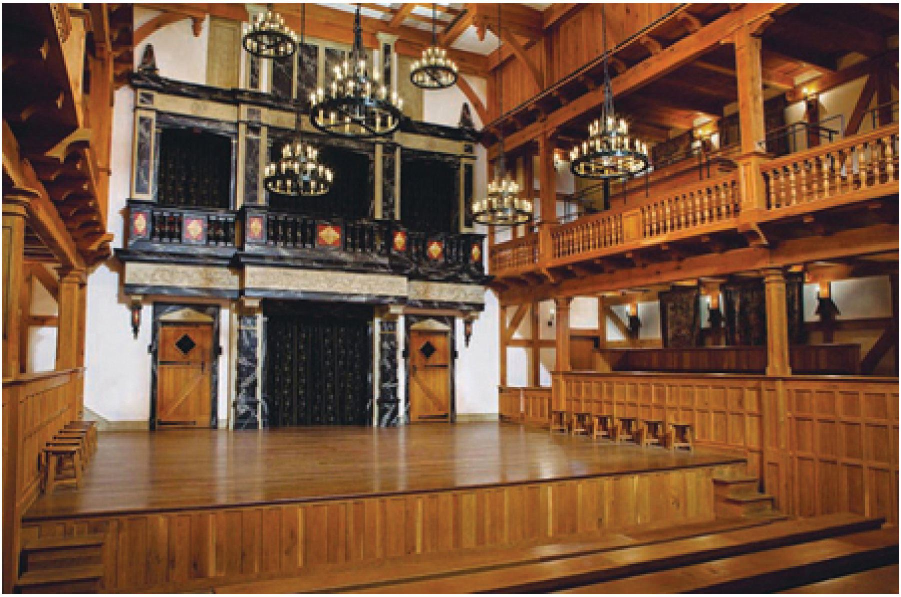

Fig. 8.19 Blackfriar's Theatre, London, original begun in 1596; reconstruction, 2000, Staunton, Virginia, USA. Photograph: courtesy American Shakespeare Center, Staunton, VA

The essence of drama also changed with Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Surely the round form of this theater, at least in feel, was so designed and named to express its purpose: to reflect all aspects of the worldly human condition. The exterior sign of the *Globe* depicted Hercules holding the globe of the world on his shoulder. Probably for this reason, when, on 29 June 1613, the first *Globe* Theatre burned to the ground, after two cannons fired during a performance of Shakespeare's *All is True*, now usually called *Henry VIII*, ignited the thatch of the roof, Ben Jonson worded his lament: "See the world's ruin."[43] The reconstructed Globe Theatre in London, built in 1995, was modeled after the first Globe (Figs 8.20 and 8.21). The building itself, along with the research behind its design and construction, gives great insight into the architecture of sixteenth-century theaters and into timber frame construction in seasoned oak.

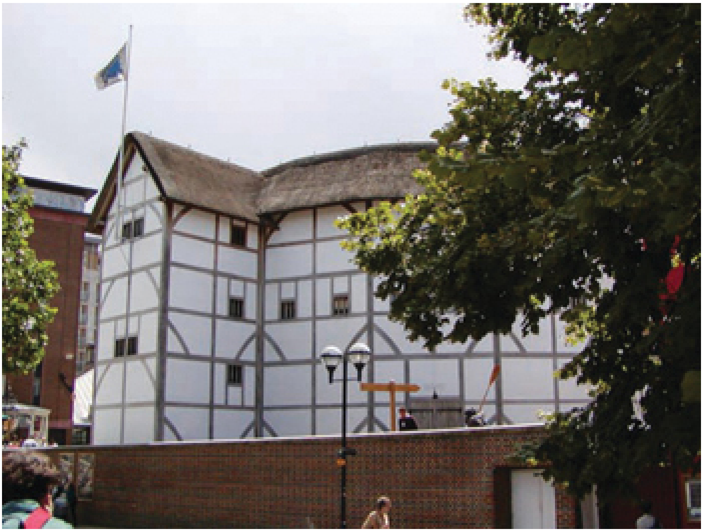

Fig. 8.20 The Globe Theatre, exterior, Southwark, London, original 1599; burned 1613; reconstruction, 1995. Photograph: author

Within a year of the fire, another playhouse of the same name was rebuilt on the original foundations with a tiled rather than thatched roof. Edmond Howes, a contemporary writer, described it as "… builded in a far fairer manner than before."[44] This contemporary comment and others beg the question of what changed, and point to interior modifications. The second *Globe* appears both in a preliminary sketch and an engraved map of London by Wenceslaus Hollar showing a panoramic view of the cityscape from single viewpoint of the tower of St Saviour in Southwark (now Southwark Cathedral). These illustrations show the polygonal exterior and a double gable, or an M-shaped, cover for the thrust stage. No further description of the interior survives. Recent research into sixteenth-century building and joining methods, engineering capabilities, and stage directions for plays written for performance in the second *Globe* has convincingly argued that the stage roof lacked the obstructive supporting posts on the front of the stage that the first *Globe* had and that the double gabled roofline that Hollar indicates could feasibly have been supported by a timber double truss, rafter, and tie-beam system that extended forward from the back wall.[45] To have a stage covered with such a roof would have been a triumph on many levels. Like the octagon tower at Ely, the Chapter House at York, and hammerbeam ceiling at Westminster Hall, this roof would have been another engineering marvel in timber frame construction that not only would have looked "fairer," but also would have given the actors more freedom and the audience an unobstructed view. Theater, then, gave the English not only a rich part of their literary tradition, but also inventive architectural forms that will develop further in the mind and practice of Inigo Jones during the reign of James I.

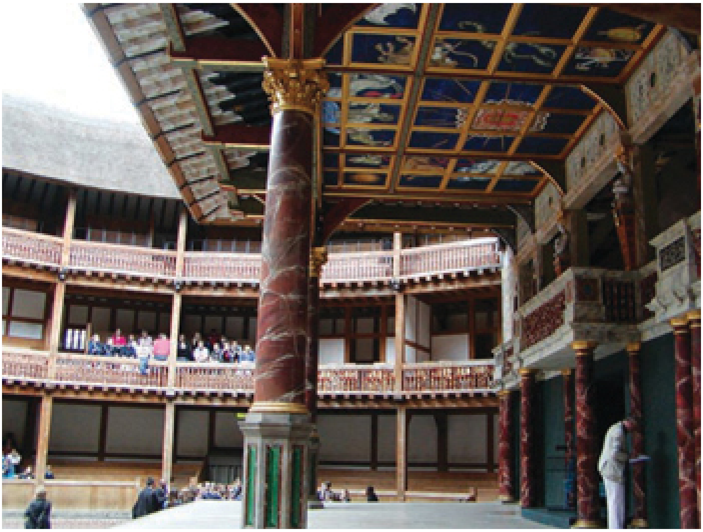

Fig. 8.21 The Globe Theatre, Southwark, London, interior, original 1599; burned 1613; reconstruction, 1995, Photograph: author

Elizabethan painting: the portrait

Innovations in Elizabethan art extended to painting, especially portraiture, which dominated the art market. Portraits also gained popularity among people outside of the court circle, including the landed gentry and merchants, again with the primary purpose of touting their elevated social status. Framed life-size panel portraits, produced by both English and foreign artists, filled the growing number of long galleries of the wealthy to document rank, appearance, and rites of passage. Artists continued to develop miniature portraits for a more private audience, usually the elite. In the hands of Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, portraits became more individual and more engaging. These artists also introduce new materials and new compositions that might include narrative elements and allegories, giving insight into contemporary lifestyles, politics, and ideals. Not until the eighteenth century did independent paintings of landscapes, seascapes, flowers, still lifes, and genre subjects that developed in seventeenth-century Calvinistic Holland to embellish middle class homes find their way to England.

In sixteenth-century England, the portrait artist usually was perceived as a trained artisan or craftsperson. The perception of the artist as a creative individual who used his or her own intellect and could work independently (rather than in collaboration) in their own distinctive styles was the exception. By the sixteenth century in Italy, however, artists and the value of their individuality and creativity elicited more respect, as immortalized by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists*, published first in 1550 and republished, enlarged, in 1568. Likewise, in the north of Europe, Dutchman Karel van Mander recorded valuable information about artists in his *Het Schilder-boeck* (*Book of Painters*) published in Haarlem in 1604. Thus, more is known about individual artists and their styles on the continent than in England, where most painters have remained anonymous and most works were still done in collaborative workshops. Furthermore, the English valued the subject of a painting and the status that it touted more than which artist made it. Therefore, English portraits were often copied or even ordered in multiples.

The private audience

During the 1570s, the art of limning, or the painting of miniature portraits, introduced during the reign of Henry VIII by Lucas Horenbout, Levina Teerlinc, and Hans Holbein, achieved a new level of artistry and sophistication in the hands of their Elizabethan successors. The typical miniature, usually round or oval, averaged about 1.5–3 in (3.8–7.6 cm) in diameter. Although small, miniatures were not necessarily less expensive. In addition, the related art form of cameos of the queen and others set in jeweled boxes and lavish lockets became stylish. Like religious medals, cameos, lockets, and miniatures symbolized the sacred nature of the subject. Cameos, a specifically Elizabethan development, also reflected the interest in ancient literature. Roman historian Pliny the Elder (d.79 AD) described Roman emperors wearing cameos with their insignia. The wearing of the cameo image of the queen could refer to this ancient passage. A number of portrait cameos survive from the Tudor period, particularly ones of the queen, which leads to the supposition that organized workshops existed to produce cameos. Some portraits of courtiers with close ties to the queen include cameos of her image: Sir Christopher Hatton, a favorite, holds one on a chain; Lord William Burghley, her chief minister, wears one on a chain on his hat. These works of the 1580s coincide with the late period of the queen's life, when her likeness solidifies into an iconic, ageless image and promotes the growing cult of the Virgin Queen.

The miniature portrait, like the cameo, was sometimes worn as jewelry. Like cameo, the miniature also held an intimate connotation.

At least three scenes from Shakespeare's plays shed light on the original use of these tiny portraits. In *Twelfth Night,* Olivia speaks to Viola, who is in disguise, saying: "Here, wear this jewel for me. 'Tis my picture/Refuse it not, it hath no tongue to vex you." (Act 3, Scene IV). Mentions also occur in *Hamlet* and *Merchant of Venice*; all imply an intimate or symbolic loyalty between the subject and the beholder.[46] The most gifted painters of miniature portraits in the age of Elizabeth are Nicholas Hilliard and his pupils, especially Isaac Oliver.

Nicholas Hilliard

Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619), who trained as a jeweler in Exeter with his father and in London with Robert Brandon, the queen's jeweler, brings English portraiture to a new level. Although much of his fame lies in his talents as a painter of miniatures, several life-size, half-length portraits are also attributed to him. Around 1570, Elizabeth appointed him court goldsmith and miniature artist. His earliest known painting of the queen is a miniature dated 1572. Hilliard, following in the footsteps of Italian theorists Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo da Vinci, and Giorgio Vasari, and Dutchman Karel van Mander, was the first English artist to write about painting. His *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning,* written around 1600 but not published until 1912, states that he followed Hans Holbein's method of miniature painting. Hilliard may, in fact, have studied with Holbein and perhaps also with Levina Teerlinc. Even so, his style owes little to Holbein. For Holbein, a miniature was an easel painting reduced to a small scale. Whereas Holbein had captured the reserved character of the English, the miniature, especially in the hands of Hilliard, exhibited a sense of intimacy, spontaneous animation, and subtlety. In his own words, Hilliard sought to capture "… [the] lovely graces, witty smiles, and those stolen glances which suddenly like lightening pass, and another countenance taketh place."[47] Such intimate glimpses lead the way toward the more genial, even coy, portraits of seventeenth-century artists Samuel Cooper, Peter Lely, and Joshua Reynolds.

Hilliard introduced new techniques. His flawless technical dexterity, heightened by his knowledge of metal-based pigments, appears in his gold calligraphy and in the fine facial features and details of costume. Unlike most English artists, who used an azurite blue pigment, he imported from Venice the sumptuous ultramarine, made from lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, and favored by the Italians. Hilliard's linear painting style, exceedingly intricate technique, and distinctive "carnation," or flesh-colored pigment, stand out against the rich ultramarine blue background. He also introduced the oval format and allegorical compositions to the art of miniature. By the turn of the century, his reputation had not only spread to France, but he was the first English painter to generate a following. His pupil Isaac Oliver rises to nearly equal prominence. This pair of artists dominates the miniature market into the reign of James I.[48]

Nicholas Hilliard: Elizabeth I

Hilliard's first of several miniatures of Elizabeth I set the stage for further representations of the queen, both in miniature and in life size scale easel paintings. This miniature of *c.* 1572 (Fig. 8.22), painted on vellum mounted on a playing card, shows her in three-quarter view looking to her left and may be the one he describes in his treatise. Hilliard writes that the queen wished to be depicted without shadow, which, of course, meant fewer lines; therefore she chose to sit in bright sunlight to facilitate that effect. The sitting for this painting, he states, was in "the open alley of a goodly garden."

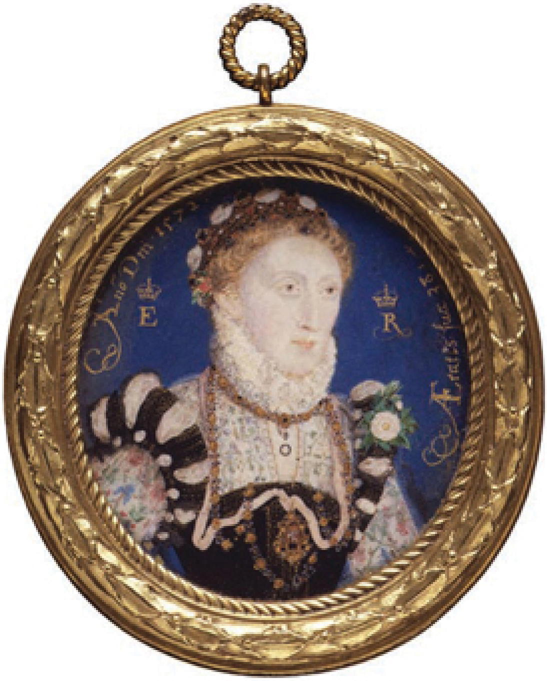

Fig. 8.22 Nicholas Hilliard: Miniature Portrait of Elizabeth I, *Watercolor on vellum laid on card, National Portrait Gallery, London,* c. *1572. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

Nicholas Hilliard: Sir Walter Raleigh, c. *1585*

Hilliard's oval portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?–1618), who funded and authorized the first English settlement in America on Roanoke Island in 1587, gives a typical example of Hilliard's ability to capture appearance as well as personality – a trait less apparent in his portraits of the queen. Raleigh's arrogant and impetuous nature radiates in the image (Fig. 8.23). His face appears in three-quarter view and turned to the left, with his slightly downturned crystal blue eyes turned slightly to the right, made more brilliant by the ultramarine background. His large, lace-trimmed, white ruff accentuates his curly black air and neatly trimmed beard, which, along with his roguish gaze, gives him the appearance of quite a dandy – which indeed he probably was. Raleigh, who had been a royal favorite, enraged the queen by secretly marrying Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of her ladies-in-waiting. Elizabeth returned the insult by assigning him to a lengthy imprisonment in the Tower of London.

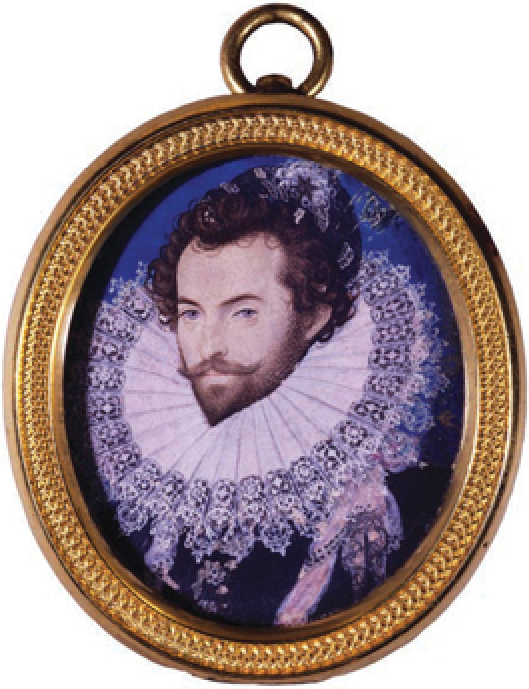

Fig. 8.23 Nicholas Hilliard: Miniature Portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh (Ralegh), *watercolor on vellum, National Portrait Gallery, London,* c. *1585. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

Nicholas Hilliard: A Young Man Leaning Against a Tree Among Roses c. *1588*

With *A Young Man Leaning Against a Tree Among Roses*, Hilliard introduces a tall oval format, but uses the shape only once (Fig. 8.24). Tall and handsome, with curly brown hair, and the budding moustache of a youth, the young man appears full length – another first in a miniature – leaning against the trunk of a tree encircled by white rose bushes. Here Hilliard's foray into allusion is at its height, for although Hilliard gives more information than the usual bust, the appeal of this image lies primarily in its intensely appealing mystery. The young man stands, legs crossed, with his hand on his heart. He wears the queen's colors of black and white: white leggings, a black and white doublet, a wide lace-trimmed ruff, and a black cape, which he has slung rather nonchalantly on his left shoulder. The garden setting, unusual in Elizabethan portraits, is equally mysterious. His identity is uncertain, although some believe him to be Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, painted *c.* 1585–1595; for others, he has come to personify the tragic hero of Shakespeare's romantic sonnets. Regardless, like contemporary English poetry, the painting is mysterious and open-ended, a feature that Hilliard introduces to English portraiture.

Isaac Oliver: Portrait of a Young Man Seated under a Tree c. *1590*

Isaac Oliver, like his teacher Nicholas Hilliard, breaks with the confines of the traditional miniature bust to create a larger, more complex composition in a rectangular format with his *Young Man Seated under a Tree* (Fig. 8.25). The painting, in style, subject, and setting, owes much to Hilliard. As with Hilliard's portrait of a mysterious young man, this figure also is shown full length and well-dressed. Rather than standing, he sits against a tall, straight tree with a walking cane resting against him. His relaxed posture creates a diagonal, which energizes the composition. He wears a tall black hat and a rich costume that includes a yellow and black jacket with a flat white lace color, short pants with lace-trimmed white cuffs, and long stockings. He turns his head in a three-quarter view to meet the gaze of the viewer. Unlike Holbein and Hilliard, Oliver models the face with shadow.[49] In the background on the right is a classically-inspired prodigy house and formal garden, complete with classical arcades. Again, like poetry, the appeal lies is in the mystery.

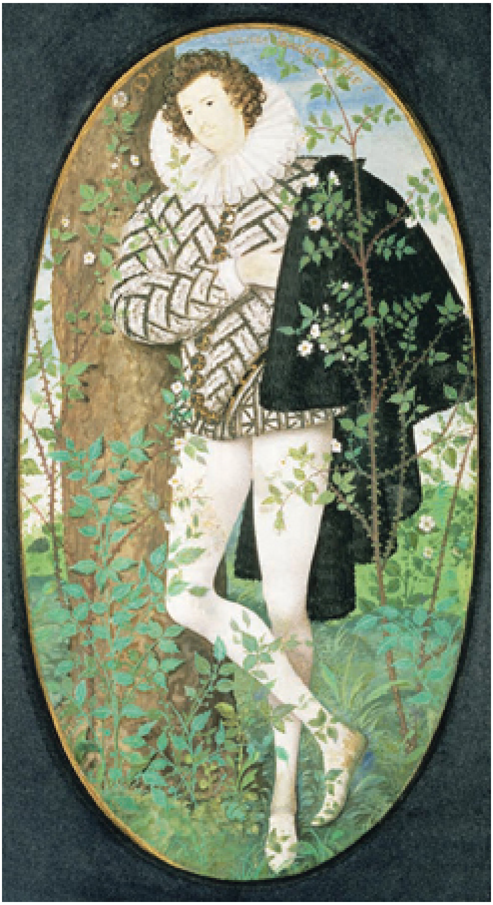

Fig. 8.24 Nicholas Hilliard: Miniature Portrait of a Young Man Leaning Against a Tree Amongst Roses, *possibly Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, watercolor on vellum laid on card (5.4 × 2.8in; 13.7 × 7 cm), Victoria & Albert Museum, London,* c. *1587. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

Elizabethan portraits for display

Life size panel portraits, or easel paintings, served the opposite purpose of intimate miniatures. They were public images, meant to display social position. As with Italian Mannerist painters such as Agnolo Bronzino, the artists painting for the English market accomplished this goal through rich costume, posture, and the luster of expensive gems. However, English portraits generally lack the energy and the three-dimensionality of their Italian counterparts. In fact, some English portraits are quite flat and formulaic, which lends an almost abstract quality. Unlike Bronzino's over-riding emphasis on glittering fabrics and mask-like, haughty faces, the English portraits generally maintain a sincerity that costumes do not overshadow. With the demise of religious iconography in painting, allegorical meanings and hidden symbolic messages, still extant in continental works, transfer into English portraits, often overtaking copious physical likeness. As with devices in literature, architecture, and fashionable emblem books, they reflect the Elizabethan love of contrivance and allusion and they demand interpretation.

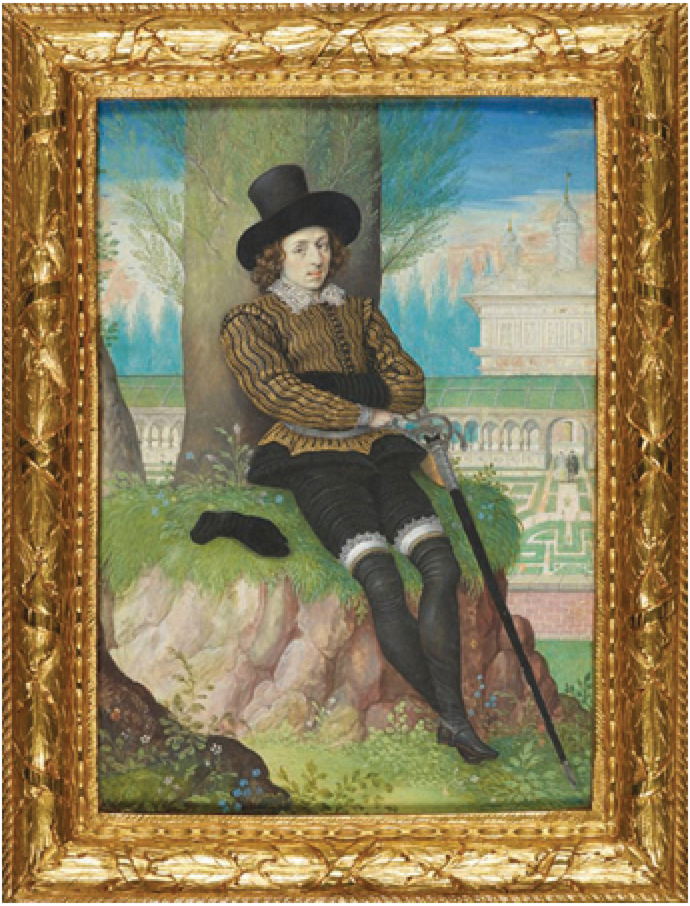

Fig. 8.25 Isaac Oliver: Miniature Portrait of a Young Man Seated under a Tree, *watercolor on vellum laid on card, Buckingham Palace, London,* c. *1590. Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2015*

Especially during the middle through the late years of Elizabeth's reign, collecting and displaying portraits played an important role in the development of the prodigy house, as an increasing number of nobles built grand homes with long galleries and the cult of the queen reached its peak. The English were obsessed with genealogy, especially the newly ennobled, who wished to establish dynasties and enhance their positions of distinction.[50] This obsession fed the desire for portraits in various forms and the popularity of galleries in noble houses in which to display them. Moreover, long galleries not only held images of family members, but also, with obsequious permission sought and granted, they could include sets of long deceased monarchs, friends of high position, and even the queen herself. For this reason, portraits of Queen Elizabeth and other important figures existed in several variations and copies, some good, some not.

The question of authorship looms greater in England than in Italy, where more often artists were sought by reputation. Some artists in England are known through signatures, documents, or stylistic similarities, such as Englishmen George Gower, Nicholas Hillard, Isaac Oliver, and foreigners Federigo Zuccaro and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Regardless of national origins, artists working in England did conform to specific demands of English taste. Most Elizabethan portraits, however, are by anonymous artists or are workshop pieces with several hands involved.

George Gower: Self-Portrait, *1579*

Among the handful of known native-born portrait artists of the Elizabethan period is George Gower. His self-portrait, in which he presents himself as an artist, is groundbreaking: no previous or contemporary English artists are known to have made a life-size self-portrait on panel or to portray themselves as an artist. The convention of the independent artist's self-portrait began on the continent, possibly with Jan van Eyck's *Man in the Red Turban* in the 1420s and definitely was in place by the 1490s, as is apparent in several self-portrait busts by Albrecht Dürer, who shows himself as high born. By the late sixteenth century, artists had begun to add the tools of the trade, as seen in the self-portraits of Catharina van Hemessen (1548), Gerlach Flicke (1555), and Sofonisba Anguissola (1556). Gower shows himself in half-length against a shallow dark background, with much space dedicated to the inscription and family crest in the upper right. He uses line rather than light and shadow to define his figure, which lends an abstract quality to the work. His body turns to the right, but he faces out in a three-quarter view. Gower wears the black clothing and white ruff of a gentleman as he holds his paintbrush in his right hand and his palette in his left. Nicholas Hilliard even states in his *Treatise on the Arte of Limning* of 1600 that his position as an artist ranks higher than his status as a gentleman, a bold claim in an era when artists were still largely regarded as working class artisans.[51] In 1581, Gower was appointed Sergeant Painter to the queen, a duty that mainly entailed decorative painting and heraldry. Gower, who held the post until at least 1596, was the first Sergeant Painter to specialize in portraiture.

Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and Younger

In 1563, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (*c.* 1520) arrived in London from Bruges as a religious exile. He was a painter of modest fame, although his work as a printmaker was known throughout Europe. In London he found a compatible community of expatriate artists, including painters John de Critz I (*c.* 1551–1642) and Lucas de Heere (1534–1584) and cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). He brought with him a son, Marcus (b. 1561/2–1635). In 1571, the widowed elder Gheeraerts married Suzanna Critz, a sister of John de Critz, a portrait artist at the Tudor court. Gheeraerts the Elder left London in 1577. His son remained, however, and in 1590 married another Critz sister, Magdalen. Trained by his father and perhaps also a pupil of Lucas de Heere, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger would become the most distinguished and most fashionable portraitist of the 1590s. He continued to move in royal circles after Elizabeth's death, quickly gaining the favor as court painter to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I.

In addition to being a court favorite, Gheeraerts the Younger was an innovator. He introduced canvas to England as a medium for large paintings, a practice already established on the continent, which was especially useful for the life-size, full length portrait, which regained popularity, especially after he reintroduced it with portraits of the queen. Gheeraerts the Younger, like Gower, also produced a self-portrait, which survives only in a print copy by Wenceslaus Hollar (1644). He adapted the genre of the family group portrait. Other than in dynastic portraits of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Sir Thomas More, this convention was all but unheard of in England. Finally, he was the first in England, outside of artists working in miniature, to place his subject before a landscape, a convention that rapidly gained popularity and continued for generations.[52] His superior draughtsmanship and his delicate and sometimes surprisingly loosely applied painting give fabrics a tactile quality, with shimmering satins and starched lace ruffs. Depending on the commission, his faces vary from the nearly flat and formulaic to hauntingly sublime. Without compromising the integrity of his work, Gheeraerts knew how to please a patron, and he worked for some of the most prestigious: Sir Henry Lee, the royal pageant master; William and Robert Cecil, royal counselors; Robert Sidney and his wife, Barbara Gamage, and of course, the queen herself.

WILLIAM CECIL, 1ST BARON BURGHLEY

Elizabeth's trusted and capable advisor, William Cecil, may be second only to Elizabeth in the number of surviving portraits. Several are attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger or to his father-in-law, John de Critz, whose styles are related. Most show Cecil in old age set against a shallow space, turned to the right in three-quarter view. His serious, yet thoughtful, porcelain-like face contrasts with the rich, dark fabric of his clothing. The most dramatic of these portrays Cecil in a deep red velvet clothing and cape – probably a red lake pigment– with a steady gaze that meets the eyes of the viewer. The white silk lining of the cape complements his tall white ruff. He wears a heavy gold and jeweled chain of office, with alternating Tudor roses and a large medallion. Hatfield House owns two portraits of Cecil, both of which bear his crest in an upper corner and show him holding his staff of office. One portrait is three-quarter length with no background; the other is full length with Cecil seated in a chair. Gheeraerts' engaging portraits of Cecil set a standard for other high ranking ministers to follow.

PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN THOMAS LEE, 1594

Although Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger is known to have painted for Sir Henry Lee, the queen's champion and the master of ceremony for her annual Accession Day celebrations, only a small bust portrait of Lee by Gheeraerts survives. The more famous and revolutionary portrait of a member of the Lee family is that of Thomas Lee, a portrait for which Henry Lee may have helped formulate the complex symbolism. Thomas had served as a commanding officer in the British army that attempted to subdue the Irish, whom the English disdainfully regarded as barbarians who adhered to the equally degenerate Roman Catholic religion. Thomas stands tall in the foreground against a landscape with a spear in his right hand, a helmet cupped in his left elbow, and a shield on his back. He faces the viewer square-eyed, flaunting his shockingly bare feet and legs. Alluding to his former military service, he wears on his upper body the imagined costume of an Irish soldier, while the armor and bare legs allude to the Roman hero Mucius Scaevola, to whom the Latin inscription on the tree makes reference. Thomas had been suspected of disloyalty to Elizabeth; in 1594, he traveled to London to prove this claim false. Lee implies that he, like the Roman hero, is loyal, even when surrounded by his enemies.

This painting exemplifies many of Gheeraerts' innovations that influence English portraiture for generations to come. This full length portrait is among the first to use canvas support or to place a figure in a landscape setting. Gheeraerts' late style shows an unusual softness, with tactile fabrics and the use of bright colors with soft light and shadow for modeling the figure, all rare in England. Finally, the complex symbolism in the painting is an early example of royal practices being embraced by a courtier, and, as with contemporary literature and late portraits of the queen, it captures the imagination of the viewer, for it begs interpretation.[53]

Gheeraerts and family groups

MARCUS GHEERAERTS THE YOUNGER: ANNE, LADY POPE WITH HER CHILDREN, 1596

In the 1590s, Gheeraerts was among the first to embrace the convention of the family group portrait, which appears to have first emerged in early sixteenth-century Italy with such artists as Raphael, Agnolo Bronzino, and Sofonisba Anguissola. In this portrait of 1596, Gheeraerts portrays a family group centered on a visibly pregnant Anne Pope, who, just a year before, had married Sir William Pope of Wroxton. The three children that she embraces – Thomas, Henry, and Jane – are offspring of her first marriage to Henry, third Baron of Wentworth. The boys still wear skirts – not yet “breeched”, or put into breeches. Her new husband may have commissioned the painting to celebrate Anne’s fertility and new family; moreover, since pregnancy was dangerous, the portrait also records her likeness, should she die in childbirth. Whereas the subject of a pregnant woman might seem indecorous, in sixteenth-century England, the European reluctance to portray pregnant women did not exist; in fact, quite the contrary. Numerous portraits of pregnant English women were done, especially between 1580 and 1630. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger did several. The fecundity of the mothers would perpetuate the family lines. It is ironic that both the increasingly frequent portrayal of pregnant women and the obsession with lineage coincided with the reign of a childless, unmarried woman, with no living, legitimately born siblings, whose heir was undetermined until almost the end of her life. Perhaps both obsessions were fed by anxiety about the royal succession.

MARCUS GHEERAERTS THE YOUNGER(?): BARBARA GAMAGE, LADY SIDNEY AND HER SIX CHILDREN, 1596

In a group portrait attributed to Gheeraerts, Barbara Gamage, Lady Sidney of Penshurst Place, also appears in the role of the fecund wife and nurturing mother. Barbara, in the early stages of pregnancy, stands surrounded by her six children. She touches her two young sons. William, the older son is the central figure; however, his early death would make the younger son, Robert, the heir. The daughters stand in two pairs, with the elder sister in each pair repeating their mother’s nurturing gesture with a younger sister. Gheeraerts shows his gifts here for the fine handling of fabric and the sensitive portrayal of children. In spite of their lavish costumes, Gheeraerts' children, like those of Titian and Bronzino, retain their individuality and child-like innocence without a trace of sentimentality.[54]

Images of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth I

Painting during the reign of Elizabeth solidified the alliance of art and power that her father, Henry VIII, so boldly and successfully initiated and exploited. Before the dawn of photography, few monarchs sat for or authorized as many portraits as did Elizabeth. Apparently her visibility mattered to her. As a female head of state reigning without a husband, Elizabeth had much to prove. Thus, in the first twenty years of her reign, Elizabeth led annual summer progresses through the countryside, making herself highly visible and carefully orchestrating the image she presented to the public. In her later years, with progresses less frequent, her image was produced even more profusely and purposefully.

Elizabeth's portraits served less to record her physical appearance than to promote the strength and mystique of her monarchy. Whereas the image of the king as powerful and commanding conveyed readily and understandably, to portray a woman as the reigning monarch presented a challenge. How does an artist close the dichotomy between the traditional portrayal of a woman as feminine and pure and the depiction of a monarch as strong and dependable? Rather than envision herself as tough, aggressive, and necessarily masculine, as Holbein had instituted for her father, Elizabeth took advantage of her femininity, but at the same time promoted the abstract principle of authoritative rule by presenting herself as a commanding iconic figurehead. Later images would include allegory and symbols. Her portraits also served a moral function. By portraying herself as an upstanding ruler, she encouraged her subjects to act virtuously.

The image of the queen changed over the course of her reign. Her early portraits stressed maidenly promise and sometimes served as part of marriage negotiations. Around 1570, as she reached the ages when childbearing was unlikely, then impossible, portraits of her began emphasize her purity and virginity, the integrity and fairness of her reign, and her imperialistic ambitions. These virtues compensated for her unmarried status, which otherwise could be perceived as a shortcoming. Iconography increased in complexity and the background became more vital to the meaning of the painting. The veiled iconography of religious paintings shifted from promoting Christian dogma to monarchial propaganda, from the bygone cult of the Virgin Mary to the emerging cult of the Virgin Queen. Literary references shift from immortal goddess to everlasting monarch.

After the stunning victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588, along with concerns with her aging, not only did her face and body become more mask-like, abstract and iconic, but they spoke to different political and religious circumstances. Elizabeth increasingly drew attention away from her face due to the inevitable ravages of time and perhaps disfiguring scars from smallpox. Thus, not only do her portraits record the image she wished to project, but they also document her wardrobe and her long, slender hands, a feature of which she was most proud. Sometimes she dressed in foreign fashions, as the occasion demanded. For instance, in 1582, she sent a portrait of herself dressed in the French manner to Catherine de'Medici. Colors also carried symbolic value. She often wore her official colors of black and white, as did her champions at tiltyards, actors for a masque in her honor, and obsequious nobles seeking her favor.

The control over production and distribution of portraits of the queen was not entirely successful. Unlike her father, brother, sister, and continental monarchs, Elizabeth never appointed an official portrait artist who could have facilitated image-control. Hans Eworth, Mary's official portraitist, acted as the unofficial portrait painter until Elizabeth abandoned him. In 1563, Burghley issued the first in a series of proclamations attempting to control the copying of images of the queen by restricting production to those who held a license. This idea was never adopted and subsequent legislation failed to be fully effective. Thus, Elizabeth's public image never fully belonged to her.[55] The queen did sit for portrait artists, although the sitting with Hilliard was the only one recorded. Artists who portrayed her included George Gower, Federigo Zuccaro, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Nicholas Hillard, Isaac Oliver, and many whose identity is unknown. In the hands of these artists, the public persona for Elizabeth develops into mythic proportions.[56]

Allegory of the Tudor Succession, c. 1572

Among the relatively early portraits of Queen Elizabeth is an allegory that continues the iconographic theme of legitimacy and succession of the Tudor line first seen in Holbein's mural for Whitehall (Fig. 8.26). This painting, which the National Museum of Wales attributes to Lucas de Heere (1534–1584), emphasizes Elizabeth's Tudor lineage and her role as the bearer of peace and prosperity. Henry VIII sits enthroned in the center beneath a large canopy open to landscape in the background; his son Edward kneels beside him to receive the sword of justice. Mary, left, appears chained to her husband, Philip of

Spain, followed by the allegorical figure of Mars, god of war, who emphasizes the conflict during her reign. Elizabeth, in the right foreground, holds hands with allegorical figure of Peace, who tramples the sword of discord, while Plenty follows with her abundant cornucopia. The inscription along the bottom of the painting shows that the work was a gift from Francis Walsingham: “The quene To. Walsingham. This. Tablet. Sente. Marke. Of. Her. Peoples. And her. Owne. Contente.” The inscription around the frame summarizes the meaning of the painting:

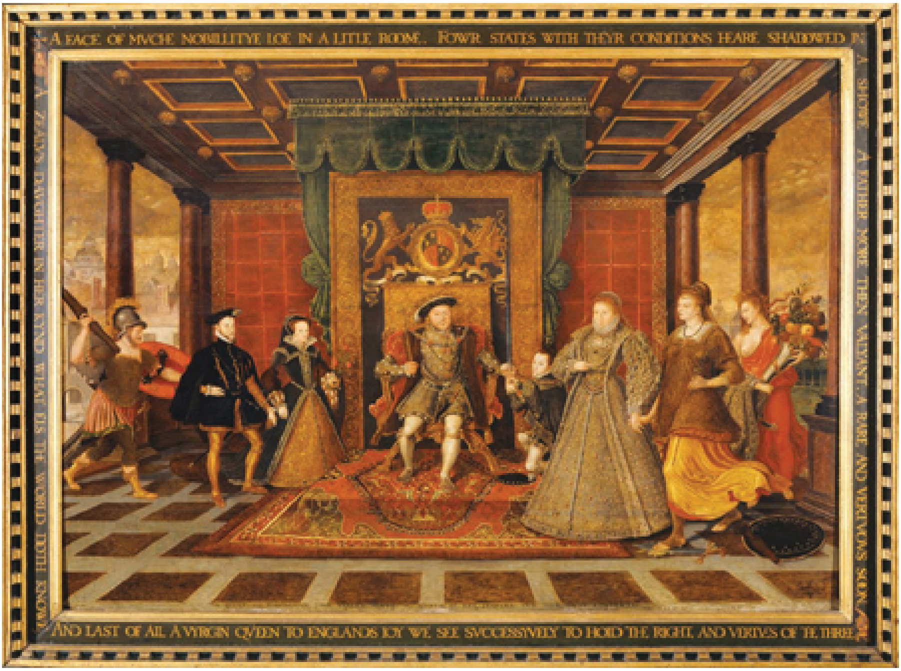
A FACE OF MVCHE NOBILLITYE LOE IN A LITLE ROOME. FOWR STATES WITH THEYR CONDITIONS HEARE SHADOWED IN
A SHOWE A FATHER MORE THEN VALYANT. A RARE AND VERTUOUS SOON
A ZEALUS DAUGHTER IN HER KYND WHAT ELS THE WORLD DOTH KNOWE
AND LAST OF ALL A VYRGIN QVEEN TO ENGLANDS IOY WE SEE SVCCESSIVELY TO HOLD THE RIGHT, AND VERTVES OF THE THREE

Fig. 8.26 Lucas de Heere, Allegory of the Tudor Succession, *oil on panel, National Museum, Wales,* c. *1572. Photograph: National Museum, Wales*

> A face of muche nobillitye loe in a litle roome. Fowr states with theyr conditions heare shadowed in. A showe a father more then valyant. A rare and vertuous soon. A zealus daughter in her kind what els the world doth knowe. And last of all a vyrgin queen to englands joy we see successyvely to hold the right, and vertues of the three.

The dissemination of the image reflects its blatant propagandistic purpose. Subsequently the image was issued as a print. Prints, after all, were one of the most influential of all art forms because of their abundance, affordability, and accessibility. A later similar painting (*c.* 1590s) reflects the print rather than the painting, with updated clothing.[57]

Federigo Zuccaro. Elizabeth I and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester

Among the rare Italian artists in Elizabethan England was Federigo Zuccaro. A letter of 5 March 1575 from Chiappino Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona, verifies the visit, stating that Zuccaro was to serve the queen and the unnamed recipient of his correspondence, presumably Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. These paintings do not survive, but they are known through two-color stipple engravings, copied from the preliminary drawings and printed in 1773 by Simon Watts (Figs 8.27 and 8.28). A well-known patron of the arts and a favorite of Elizabeth's, Dudley had a reputation for being vain, arrogant, and deeply interested in his own image. He also owned one of the largest painting collections in England, some of which were by Italian artists. Furthermore, at the time of the letter, Dudley was within a few months of receiving the queen while on progress at Kenilworth Castle. This letter and other documents give a window into the length of time Zuccaro was in England. He arrived late in 1574 and was back in Italy by the fall of 1575. While in England, Zuccaro painted full length portraits of both the queen and Dudley. Zuccaro could have painted a few other portraits while in England, but the short time frame limits the amount he could produce.

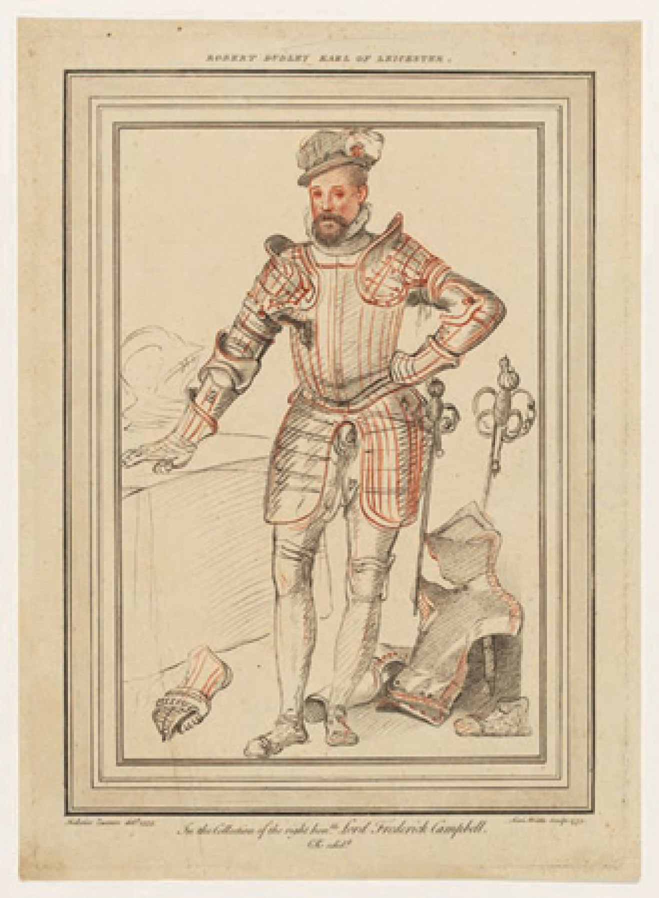
ROBERT DUDLEY EARL OF LEICESTER.
In the Collection of the right hon.ble Lord Frederick Campbell.

Fig. 8.27 Simon Watts after Zuccaro, attr.: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, *stipple engraving printed in two colors, National Portrait Gallery, London, original drawing, 1575, published 1773. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

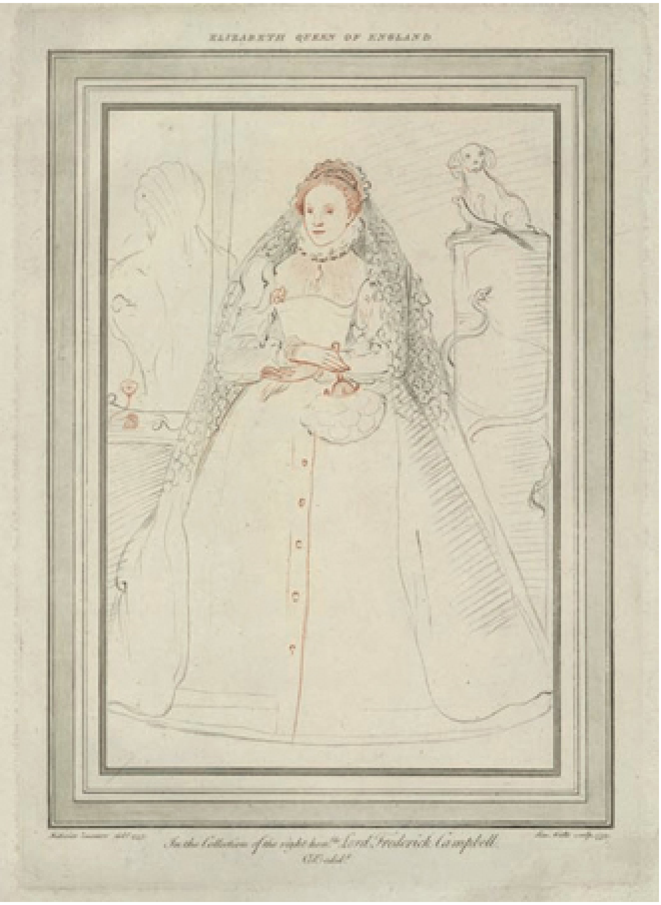

Fig. 8.28 Simon Watts after Zuccaro, attr.: Queen Elizabeth I, *stipple engraving printed in two colors, National Portrait Gallery, London, original drawing 1575, published 1773. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

The drawing of Dudley (Fig. 8.27) is more finished than that of the queen. He stands in a swaggering contrapposto position, with eyebrows raised and eyes slightly downcast to his left. His left hand rests firmly on his hip and his right on a cloth covered table. He wears a full suit of armor, except for the helmet; instead a cap is lightly sketched in. Additional pieces of armor, a gauntlet, and a sword are scattered at his feet. The posture, facial expression, and costume corroborate Dudley's propensity toward arrogance and narcissism; thus, Zuccaro seems to have aptly captured his personality. A full length panel of Dudley similar to the drawing is reported to have been lost during World War II, although photographs survive.

The soft, sublime full-length drawing of Elizabeth reveals her regal position but little of her personality (Fig. 8.28). She stands in a shallow space meeting the viewer's eyes with full face and crosses her hands at the waist with her long fingers, which hold a fan, fully visible. Her almost conical pose resembles the demure straightforward pose of Christina of Denmark and reflects the admiration Zuccaro expressed for Holbein, whose work he saw in England. The pose also follows Titian's portrait of Isabella of Portugal, but unlike continental portraits, the English at this time rarely included windows or other open space in the background. Emblematic images appear at the sides, sketched in rather randomly. Symbols, especially in an incomplete work lacking the established religious context, are difficult to interpret. As in religious paintings, the dog could represent fidelity; the ermine, purity; and the snake that climbs the column, prudence. Since both Elizabeth and Dudley face slightly left, the portraits were probably not intended as pendants. Moreover, decorum would not have allowed for Dudley to have been paired with the queen.[58]

The Darnley Portrait *of Elizabeth I*

The *Darnley Portrait*, named for a previous owner, is among the most beautiful and most important surviving portraits of Elizabeth I, for it establishes her official public image (Fig. 8.29). It In 1557 Giovanni Michiel had reported to the Senate and the Doge in Venice that, "… her face is comely rather than handsome, but she is tall and well formed, with good skin, although swarthy; she has fine eyes."[59] The painting reflects such description and portrays her more lifelike than most of her later portraits, although, in 1562, Elizabeth survived a severe case of smallpox that apparently left her scarred. Significantly, the concept of an ageless Virgin Queen begins here.

Elizabeth faces right in three-quarter view and in three-quarter length. Appearing youthful and flawless, solemn and remote, her erect posture gives her a regal air. She wears a doublet with a lace ruff collar, which conceals any suggestion of breasts or other feminine attributes; in fact, except for the design of the fabric, she appears rather masculine. Her accessories include a double strand of pearls pinned on her bodice to her right, a symbol of virginity. The ostrich feather fan emphasizes her beautiful hands and elegant long fingers. Her high office appears in the Order of the Garter jewel that hangs from her belt below her right arm, the delicate crown of pearls on the back of her head, and the jeweled gold imperial crown sits on a table to her left.

Although the painting has been variously attributed, recent technical analysis reveals that several hands worked on it, as occurred in the anamorphic painting of Edward VI, attributed to Scrots. In fact, current scientific studies of Tudor portraits reveal that English workshops regularly employed several painters who specialized in particular details, such as faces, clothing, heraldry, and landscape, which supports the theory that English portraits served less as physical likenesses than as symbols of status.

The *Darnley Portrait*, workshop piece that it may be, still establishes the royal image of Elizabeth, for the face pattern that resulted from the sitting for this portrait recurs with slight variations for the rest of her life. With little change in the flesh tones, her face, which is clearly worked from a face pattern, appears distinctively English. Pigment analysis has revealed considerable fading in the original red lake pigment; thus, the queen's pallid face, set off by the prominent white ruff, would have been far rosier.

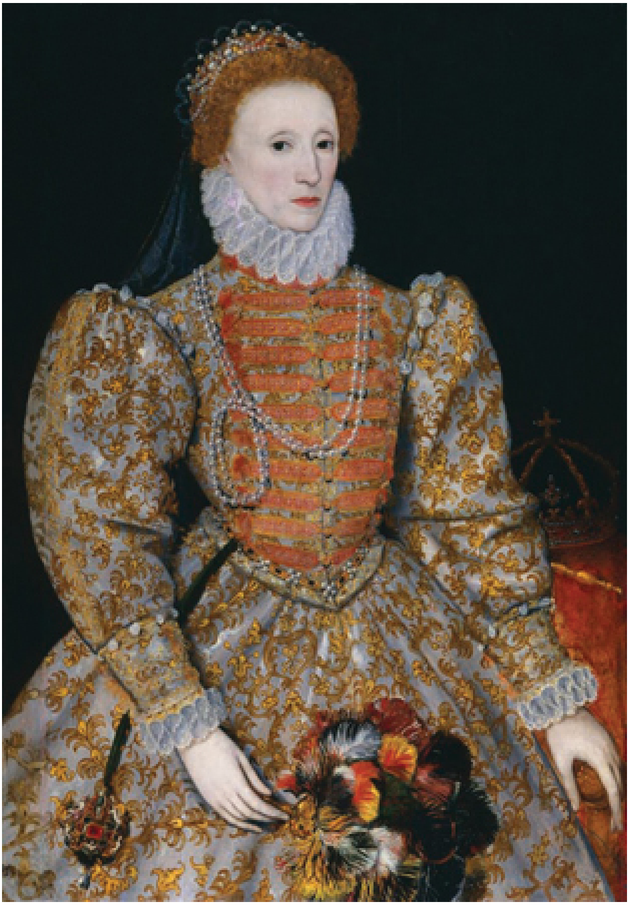

Fig. 8.29 Unknown continental artist: The Darnley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London,* c. *1575. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

Whereas the face appears to have been rendered by an English artist, the handling of the fabric and clothing, rapidly painted, appears Flemish. Some of the ornamental fabric fasteners, or froggings, on the bodice are incomplete. Haste and changes also appear in the positioning of the hands, which prevent her from actually gripping the ostrich feather fan in her right hand. Chemical analysis reveals that the golden brown design embroidered on the dress would have been crimson, maybe with a trace of purple.[60] Thus, English shop pieces extended even into the highest circles.

The tradition of the Sieve Portrait

The portraits of the queen with a sieve mark a turning point in English portraiture. As Elizabeth entered her 40s, with diminished chances of marriage and child bearing, her portraits emphasized her virtues and the development of her cult. Unlike the Henrican allegorical portraits, the English love of allegory in literature first appears in painting in a non-dynastic role and focuses on the queen alone. In 1572, a painting of Queen Elizabeth shown in the guise of the Roman Vestal Virgin Tuccia holding a sieve was advertised for sale. The sieve alludes to a motif from Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity* from "*Il Trionfo*", which recounts the story of the Vestal Virgin Tuccia, who successfully carried a sieve full of water from the Tiber to her temple to verify her virginity. Although the 1572 painting has disappeared, two other similar works remain, both painted in 1579.

The earliest surviving sieve portrait, called the *Plimpton Sieve*, is attributed to George Gower, who became Sergeant Painter to the queen. Elizabeth stands on the left side in a three-quarter view that reflects the posture of the *Darnley Portrait* and holds a sieve in her left hand. She wears a rich red gown with golden highlights, indicating velvet. Threads of gold gather her white silken sleeves. The heavily jeweled bodice has an embroidered panel that trims the neckline and extends down the flat front of her dress. Pearls loop along the neckline. She wears a small jeweled crown in the back of her head from which flows a veil trimmed in pearls, another symbol of purity. An open window appears behind her to the left that reveals a globe and the Italian inscription "*tutto vedo & molto mancha*" (I see all and much is lacking). The inscription may refer to Elizabeth's imperial mission as explorers she sponsored were beginning to sail to new lands. Her coat of arms appears on the right above a quotation from Petrarch that celebrates her chastity and indicates that the Virgin Queen is beyond the reach of lovers.

The other more sophisticated surviving sieve painting is dated 1583 (Fig. 8.30). Now an incongruent companion among a multitude of gold-backed altarpieces in the Pinacoteca in Siena, the painting was discovered in 1895 rolled up in the attic of the Palazzo Reale in Siena, a property of the Medici family. The work clearly bears the style of a northern artist, but the attribution varies even within labels in the museum. Stylistic similarities and an inscription on the base of the globe support an attribution to Quentin Metsys, a Netherlandish artist whom the queen admired. In 1577, Elizabeth had, without success, negotiated with the Carpenters' Guild in Antwerp for his triptych of the Burial of Christ, which verifies both that she held his work in high esteem and that religious subjects were not extinct in England. However, if Metsys painted the portrait, he worked from a face pattern without a sitting: Elizabeth and Metsys probably never met. The painting was also attributed to Federico Zuccaro.[61]

In the *Siena Sieve Portrait*, Elizabeth occupies the center of the painting and faces left. She wears her royal colors: a black dress trimmed in white embroidery at the cuffs, a platter-style white ruff, and a white cape with a stiff top that also resembles small fairy wings. Her straight, triangular bodice, which gives no evidence of the curves of femininity beneath, comes to a point at her impossibly small waist, which is emphasized by a gold and jeweled beltline. A double strand of huge pearls drapes across her chest, looping on her right side and nearly touching a jeweled pendant on her left. A small crown sits on the back of her head. Her left hand holds a sieve. To the right, a scene of merriment and dancing men appears in the distant background. As a virgin, however, Elizabeth has turned her back on them. One of the gentlemen to the right of Elizabeth may be Sir Christopher Hatton, whose family badge depicting a white hind (or female deer) is faintly discernable on his cloak. If correctly identified, Hatton may have commissioned this portrait from Metsys, whom he could have met in 1573 while on a trip to Antwerp.

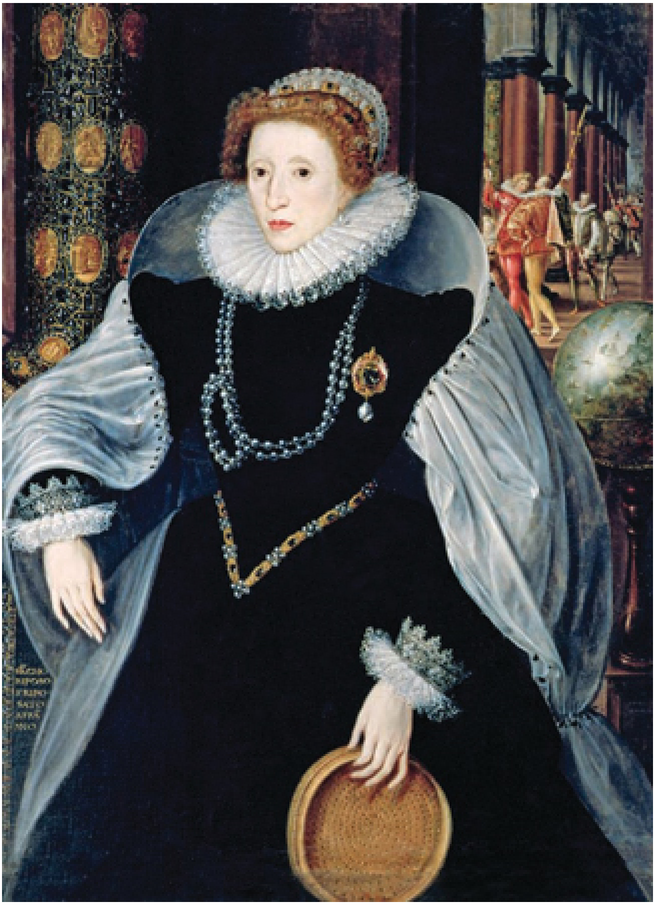

Fig. 8.30 Unknown artist: Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in Ceremonial Costume, *also called* The "Sieve" Portrait, *oil on canvas, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy, 1583. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

In addition, symbols of the British Empire surround the queen, which reflect the growth of English maritime imperialism. To her left and behind her, a globe partially in shadow shows Europe and the sea with ships heading west; this may represent Elizabeth's desire to expand exploration into the New World. She rests her left arm against a column decorated with gold medallions that resemble classical cameos encircled by classical vegetal designs. The stories depicted in the cameos include Dido and Aeneas, which implies that Elizabeth, like Aeneas, would sacrifice marriage in order to found a powerful empire. Similar symbolism recurs in portraits of her in the 1580s and 1590s, especially the Armada Portrait.

The Armada Portrait, *1588/9*

The *Armada Portrait* glorifies the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the queen who directed the troops as the divinely appointed heroine (Fig. 8.31). At Tilbury, on the eve of the naval battle, Elizabeth gave a rousing speech that inspired her sailors, the underdogs, to victory. She said, “I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king – and of a King of England too”.[62] This painting, which exists in three versions, is most often attributed to George Gower. Like the artist, the patron also is uncertain, although it may have been naval hero Sir Francis Drake – a reasonable assumption given the subject.

The queen sits in the foreground, closed in tightly by a a table with dark green cloth and deep red tapestry with embellishments showing semi-nude classical figures. Two flanking windows show the pivotal naval battle. To the left, the English fire ships sail before the wind to meet the Spanish, filled with flaming combustibles to break the enemy formation. To the right, the fleeing Spanish fleet slams against the rocky coasts of Scotland and Ireland.[63] Although seascapes never enjoyed the popularity in England that they did in Holland, some later English paintings of ships do exist.

Typical of her late portraits, the queen’s face appears pallid and mask-like. Her light-colored dress with large sleeves and the characteristic cinched waist and flattened chest make her look more like a man in armor than a woman. The large cape behind her shoulders attaches like armor, but stands open to focus attention on her stomach, surely a direct reference to the speech at Tilbury. One of the main changes in the image of the queen is the increased size of her ruff. Its whiteness contrasts with the darkness of her attire, giving the impression that her head is encircled by a halo. Typical of Tudor portraits, the queen wears no crown, but a large jeweled crown is prominently displayed on a table to the left, just beneath the window showing the sea battle. Instead, her lavish use of pearls symbolizes her purity. Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, gave her the six-strand pearl necklace she wears, his last gift to the queen. Her right hand rests on a globe, with her fingers touching the Americas. Within a year, a child, Virginia Dare, would be born to English parents at the English colony established in at Roanoke Island, Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh. Indeed, at this pivotal moment in English history, Elizabeth was indeed the supreme sovereign of the land and the seas.

Nicholas Hilliard

Nicholas Hilliard, appointed the queen’s painter after 1570 and best identified as a miniaturist, is known to have painted large works, but none is documented for certain. Two half-length portraits of Elizabeth have been consistently attributed to, or at least associated with him: the *Phoenix Portrait* and the *Pelican Portrait.* Stylistic considerations and extensive recent scientific analysis support the association with Hilliard. The style of these works and others associated with Hilliard exhibit a preference for the flat, linear image and blocks of color and surface pattern that Hilliard himself states that the queen preferred. These paintings and later ones inspired by them are more symbolic representations of the monarch than physical likenesses. They emphasize her position and her regal – if haughty – bearing.

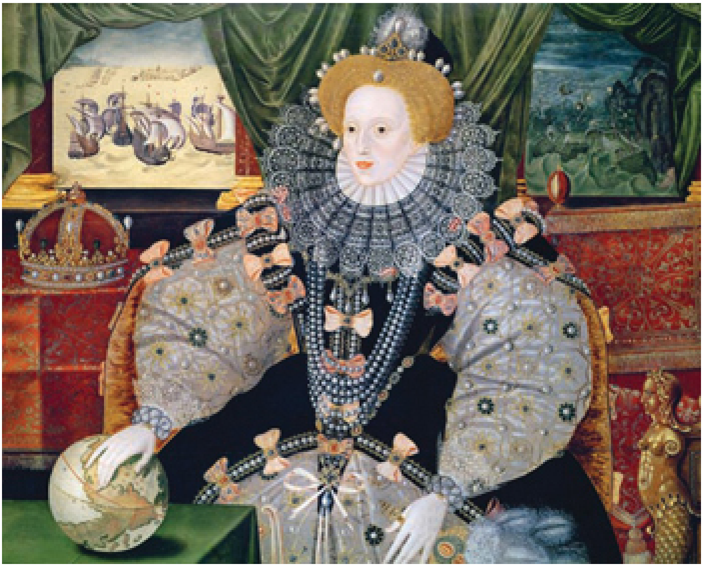

Fig. 8.31 George Gower (1540–1596), attr.: The Armada Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on panel, Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, 1588/9. Woburn Abbey/© Bridgeman Images*

These works mark the beginning of the use of the official face pattern, which Hilliard probably created and which circulated in copies. The iconic image portrays the queen as a stiff, stylized two-dimensional figure with rich costumes, exquisite jewelry, and symbolic attributes. The flat style and imagery draw to mind icons of the Virgin Mary and other religious subjects, purged from English churches but still familiar in the minds of her older subjects. During the last years of her life, her portraits will reflect Hilliard's "Mask of Youth". In addition, these two paintings closely follow Elizabeth's triumph over two plots – the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and the Ridolfi Plot of 1571– to replace her with her cousin Mary Queen of Scots and her excommunication by Pope Pius V. Using unique imagery, some of which previously had been reserved for the Virgin Mary, Hilliard emphasizes the queen's positive attributes and those of her reign. In so doing, he brings the exploitation of art in the service of monarchy, begun by her father, to a higher level.

The Phoenix Portrait *of Elizabeth I* c. *1572–1575*

The *Phoenix Portrait* of Elizabeth I receives its name from the jeweled phoenix on the center of her bodice, situated below the boss-style rose jewel on her neckline and above her upraised hand (Fig. 8.32). This mythical, unique bird, reborn out of ashes, symbolizes rebirth. In the 1570s, the phoenix becomes associated with the queen, who was unmarried and beyond her childbearing years, as assurance that the dynasty would regenerate. Elizabeth, facing left, holds a red rose, once associated with the Virgin Mary as a rose without thorns and for her charity, but also a royal emblem.

This portrait also draws interest because Elizabeth's wardrobe accounts describe this dress. This heavily embroidered gown, called a French Gown, with large sleeves and completely covered with intricate gold embroidery and pearls, shows Elizabeth's infatuation with foreign fashions. She wears a heavily jeweled choker-style collar with a cameo pendant that bears resemblance to collars her father, Henry VIII, wore. Her wide, low, square neckline embellished with jewels and pearls trims her tight fitting, flat bodice that ends at her impossibly narrow waist, accentuated by a pearl belt that is attached to a full skirt. The unusually high ruff, which emphasizes her elegant long neck, has fine lace along the edge and elaborate blackwork embroidery. She wears a delicate jeweled crown with a fine transparent veil through which her curly red hair is visible. The changes made to the position of the eyes, mouth and nose, evident beneath the paint surface when viewed in ultraviolet and infrared photography, suggest that the artist began this portrait before the *Pelican Portrait.*[64]

Pelican Portrait *of Elizabeth I,* c. *1572–1580*

The *Pelican Portrait,* also associated with Hilliard, derives its name from a pendant of a pelican on the breast of the bodice of her elaborate costume (Fig. 8.33). The queen faces right, forming a mirror image to the Phoenix Portrait. The pelican often appears over crucifixes as a symbol of charity and redemption, for when no other nourishment was available, the self-sacrificing mother pelican reputedly would feed its young from its own flesh and blood. This imagery, associated with the selfless sacrifice of Christ, was transferred to the queen. Further imagery appears in the pair of closed imperial crowns above each shoulder. On the left, the crown is above a Tudor rose; on the right it is above a fleur-de-lys. Together they symbolize her dynastic claims to the thrones of both England and

France.

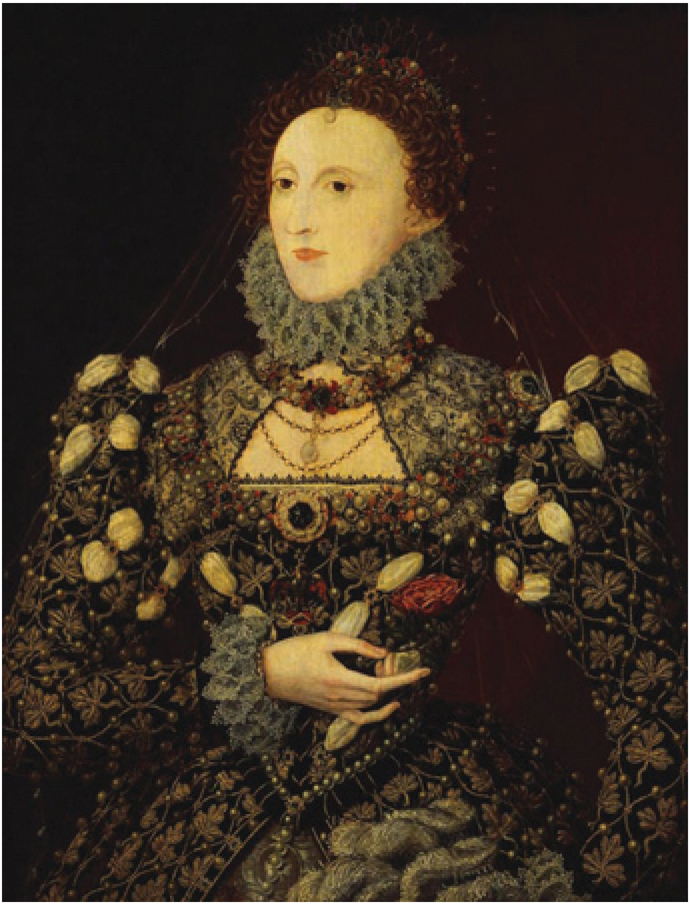

Fig. 8.32 Nicholas Hilliard: Phoenix Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, oil on panel, National Portrait Galley, London, 1574. © National Portrait Gallery, London*

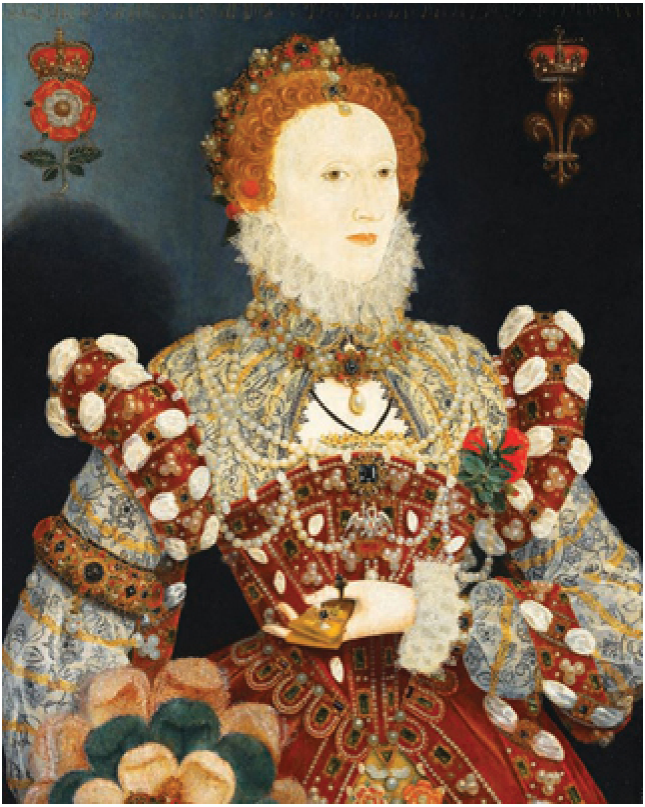

Fig. 8.33 Nicholas Hilliard: The Pelican Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on panel, Walker Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool,* c. *1574. Photograph: © Bridgeman Images*

Recent technical studies at the National Portrait Gallery in London have revealed interesting facts that concur with Hilliard's writings and practice and thereby support the attribution to him. For example, paint analysis shows that originally the background was a dark reddish purple rather than the blue that is visible today. Paint colors are not always stable. The present blue background is actually an under layer. Analysis also reveals that the highlight of the pelican jewel is actually silver leaf, sealed with a transparent glaze to prevent oxidation, rather than the usual white, a technique for highlights Hilliard recommends. Also, the touches of bright green are from copper carbonate or green verdigris, which, although Hilliard warns against its foul smell, he occasionally uses sparingly.[65]

Elizabeth I: Rainbow Portrait. c. *1590–1600s*

This work, one of the most refined of all of her portraits, displays perhaps the most extensive use of subtle symbolism of any painting of her (Fig. 8.34). Although unsigned, the painting is most often attributed to either Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger or to his brother-in-law, Isaac Oliver, pupil of Nicholas Hilliard, as the face pattern conforms to Hilliard's mask of youth. Lord Chancellor Robert Cecil commissioned the painting, probably for the occasion of Elizabeth's visit in 1602 to Hatfield House, where the painting remains in the possession of the Cecil family. On that occasion, a "shrine to Astraea" was featured in the entertainment. Contemporary poet and politician John Davies, who was then in Cecil's employ, may have inspired or even designed the iconographic program, as his tribute to the queen entitled "Hymns to Astraea" incorporates much of the same imagery.

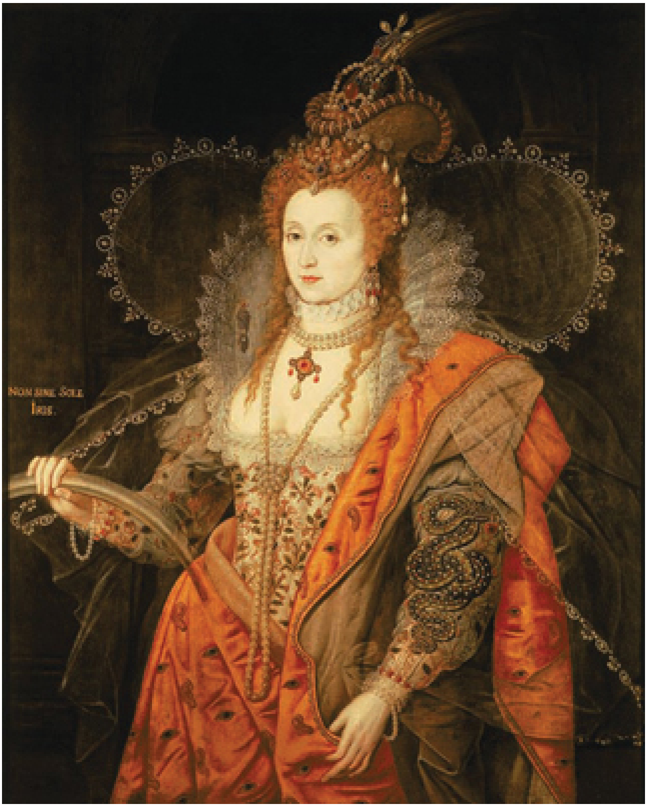

Fig. 8.34 Isaac Oliver: The Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on panel, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire,* c. *1600. Hatfield House/© Bridgeman Images*

The bodice of Elizabeth's fanciful dress incorporates an embroidered pattern of English flowers – roses, pansies, honeysuckle, cowslips, and more – that could designate the queen as Eternal Spring. The sleeve, the most intriguing aspect of her dress, prominently features an embroidered with a snake, a symbol of wisdom, with a heart pendant in its mouth. The eyes, ears and mouths embroidered on the orange silk lining of the coat dress may confirm her wisdom – that she hears and sees everything and speaks prudently. The costume also includes a transparent veil and fairy wings, hair ornaments, a large ruff, and an elaborate headpiece topped with a jewel-laden crown featuring pearls, a symbol of virginity, and a crescent moon, which could characterize her as both a strong ruler and a celestial virgin goddess. The larger symbolism, however, is in the rainbow that she holds, which implies also the sun, the source of the light to make a rainbow. The inscription, "non sine sole Iris" (No rainbow without the sun), confirms the queen as the herald of peace.[66]

Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger: Queen Elizabeth, Ditchley Portrait, c. *1592*

By the 1590s, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger had attracted the attention the English aristocracy, including Sir Henry Lee, who commissioned him to paint the first, finest, and largest, life-size, full-length portrait of the queen. As Master of the Ordnance, and the queen's champion, he had held much of the responsibility for her ceremonies and public presence. In 1590, Henry Lee, by then a widower, retired from service under pressure from the queen. He had offended her by living openly with his mistress, Anne Vavasour, who had served the queen as a lady-in waiting. To appease her, he hosted her in his home and commissioned a portrait in her honor and portraits of his family members to hang in his home at Ditchley in Oxfordshire (Fig. 8.35). This innovative work cemented Gheeraerts the Younger's reputation. With this painting, he revived the full length, life-size portrait, which had been introduced by Scrots during the reign of Henry VIII and adopted by Holbein. The painting is also groundbreaking in that the practical-minded young Gheeraerts painted on canvas rather than on panel, which drastically reduced its weight, aided in its portability, and facilitated the ease of hanging it. As with maritime Venice, where decades earlier Titian began painting on cotton canvas, which is also used for the sails of ships, the seafaring nation of England would also have had a ready supply of the fabric.

The Ditchley Portrait echoes the perpetually youthful face and composition of Hilliard's prototype. The queen faces left as she stands on a map of England, with Ditchley in Oxfordshire, home place of Henry Lee, beneath her feet. As with Hilliard's works, the painting incorporates symbols to celebrate Elizabeth's divine powers: the sky appears dark on her left, her sinister side, and light on her right, where she looks to the dawn of the future. The olive branch in her left hand and the sheathed sword at her feet proclaim her to be the herald of peace. The painting once had a unique sonnet inscribed on the right, but since it has been cut down 3 in (7.5 cm) on each side, the final word of each line is missing. This poem, insofar as it can be reconstructed, also praises the queen's virtues.

The queen wears an enormous brilliant white satin gown that flows over a wheel farthingale petticoat and dominates the painting. The centers of the six-petaled floral design of the brocade fabric hold jeweled ornaments that each vary in design: some have groups of four pearls, others, oval rubies, and still others, rectangular sapphires. The full sleeves and long, pointed, armor-like bodice, which, as usual, hides any semblance of a feminine form, bear the same design. A large white lace ruff with a pink rose pinned to the left side accents the pallor of her face. The almost transparent fairy wings behind have delicate lace tips and jewels along the edge. A small, cap-like crown of rubies and pearls set in gold with a jewel and pearl apex sits at the peak of her head. Gheeraerts emphasizes Elizabeth's famously long fingers by placing decorated brown leather gloves in her left hand and in her right, a Chinese fan that attaches with a coral-colored ribbon to the waistband.

In addition to the ornaments on her costume, Elizabeth wears a pearl, gold, and cut gemstone triple-strand choker necklace with a jeweled pendant and long ropes of pearls, with one strand knotted in front and three more draping to her waist from behind the ruff. Enormous tear-drop pearls decorate her wig and serve as earrings. In addition, the queen wears in her left ear a tiny gold armillary sphere, a navigational instrument that gives the coordinates of stars, which could be a symbol of wisdom; the armillary sphere was also Lee's personal emblem when he fought in the annual tilts that celebrated Elizabeth's Ascension Day. The similarity of Elizabeth's white dress with the clothing of the Virgin Mary, whose image was now banished from English churches, and her celebratory Ascension Day with the feast days celebrating the Virgin, moreover, were no accidents. Elizabeth, especially as she aged, assumed much of the ceremony and symbolism of Christendom's most revered female virgin saint.

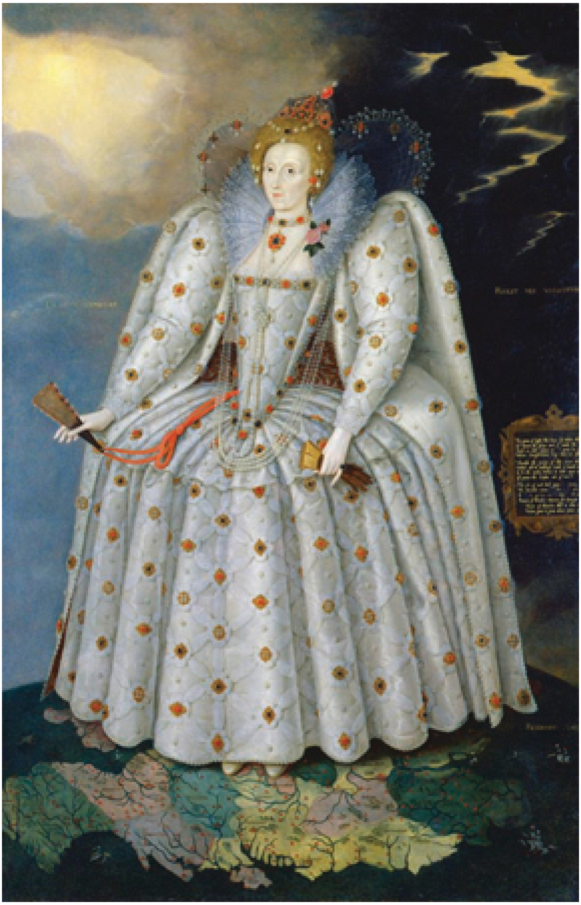

Fig. 8.35 Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger: Ditchley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, London,* c. *1592. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

The idealization of the queen as an immortal goddess increased as Elizabeth aged. At the same time, the mask of youth established in the *Darnley Portrait* and propagated by Nicholas Hilliard also became universal. Gheeraert's rendering of Elizabeth's face appears formulaic, flat, and expressionless, probably heavily dependent on a face pattern. Her deep-set eyes, slightly sunken temples, and wig ever so slightly betray her age. In spite of being among the first portraits in England to show any semblance of chiaroscuro (the use of light and shade to model a figure), this painting remains anachronistic in its overall flatness. Unlike the naturalism, soft shading, three-dimensionality, and spatial recession characteristic of many continental portraits, especially Italian ones, the flatness favored by the English denoted a different purpose, that of heraldry, and perhaps a reality beyond the here and now. Elizabeth, by 1592, was nearly 60 years old. She reputedly fought the ravages of time with lead-based white make up, heavy rouge and lipstick, and wigs in reddish colors unknown to nature. Sometimes she fell under the weight of her robes and needed a cane to mount stairs.[67] A few first-hand written accounts of her appearance in her old age exist. In 1598, Paul Hentzner, a German lawyer who saw her at Greenwich Palace, wrote a personal impression of the queen. The bearing and clothing he described, less the black mantle, bear a strong resemblance to the Elizabeth of the Ditchley Portrait. He wrote:

> Next came the Queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, as we are told, very majestic. Her face oblong, fair but wrinkled, her eyes small, yet black and pleasant, her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow and her teeth *black* (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar). She had in the ears two pearls with very rich drops. She wore false hair and that red. Upon her head, she had a small crown, reputed to be made of some of the gold of the celebrated Luneburg table. Her bosom was uncovered, as all English ladies have it till they marry, and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels. Her hands were small, her fingers long and her stature neither tall nor low. Her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging. That day, she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and, over it, a mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads…As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, or Italian.[68]

With the increasing fashion among the nobility for collecting portraits to embellish the galleries in their prodigy homes, copies of portraits were often made, sometimes by the same studio. Using face patterns, which circulated among artists, a studio would reproduce variations of portraits for a market ready to receive them. More than any other painting, the Ditchley portrait was copied for the galleries of various well connected nobles. Among them, three-quarter length copies are in the collections at the Palazzo Pitti and Blair Castle (now in the British Government Collection). Bust length copies, some of which are early seventeenth-century but may be post-mortem, are held at Blickling Hall, Wimpole Hall, the Elizabethan Gardens in Manteo, North Carolina, and Burghley House, Lincolnshire, which holds the best of these.

Elizabeth: Coronation Portrait c. *1600–1603*

The *Coronation Portrait* of Elizabeth I, archaic and formulaic, with its closed space and frontal view, was once considered an early image of the queen; recent conservation has proved otherwise (Fig. 8.36). With thinly applied paint and hasty workmanship that shows the background overlapping her hair in places, scholars now hypothesize that it was painted for display in a ceremony, perhaps even for the queen's funeral procession. The clothing and instruments of office could have been assembled for a lady's maid to model for an artist. A brooch with a coat-of-arms holds her ermine trimmed robe of cloth of gold, reworked from her late sister's coronation.

The format recalls the first of royal portraits, that of the young Richard II in Westminster Abbey and raises the question of whether the anachronistic style was a deliberate revival of the medieval idea of divine monarch.[69] Like her predecessor, Elizabeth appears remote and expressionless, holding the instruments of her authority, both secular and religious: a scepter and orb. She wears a large jeweled crown with a cross on top, unusual in Tudor portraiture. The queen's black eyes return the viewer's gaze, suggesting her royal power. Even at the end, Elizabeth appears as she would have wished: young, petite, and maidenly, bathed in white and gold against a black background, her official colors, all of which would perpetuate the image of Elizabeth as ageless, eternal, and the architect of England's rebirth.

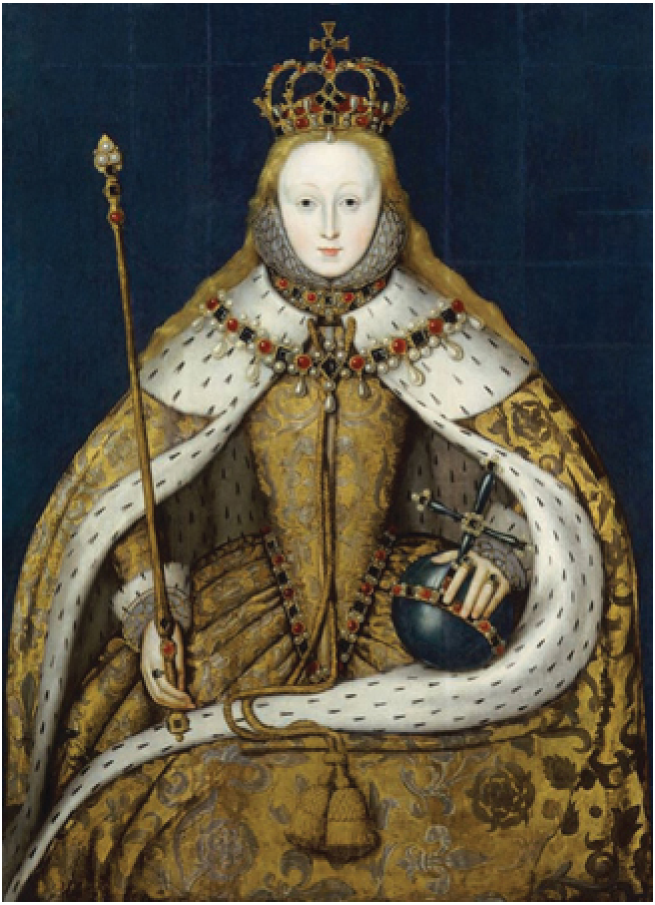

Fig. 8.36 Unknown English artist: Coronation Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London,* c. *1600–1603. Photograph: courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London*

Conclusion

The reign of Elizabeth, England saw immense changes in every sphere: religious, political, social, economic, military, cultural, and artistic. England not only had achieved politically stability, but now was the strongest nation in Europe. Having defeated the powerful armada of the Spanish Habsburg king, no European nation dared to challenge the English preeminence in military power. The English population was also more educated and more cosmopolitan in their outlook than ever before. Although perhaps behind Spain and Portugal initially in matters of exploration, England's ships also sailed distant seas. England was the first European nation to attempt settlement in the New World with families for economic gain, rather than through military conquest. Economic prosperity during Tudor times, in spite of wars and religious upheaval, achieved a greater level than at any time since the Roman occupation. Under Elizabeth, the Church of England, so infamously established, stood strong, promoting a theology that took a middle ground between Catholic and Calvinist. The tenets of faith embraced the two sacraments recognized by the Protestants – Baptism and Eucharist, rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and allowed the clergy to marry. The organization and governance, with bishops, dioceses, and liturgical ceremony, however, reflected Catholic practices. The queen, like her father Henry VIII, took charge over religious matters and embraced the title Defender of the Faith, issued by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII, as a dynastic directive that still survives.

In the arts, under the helm of Elizabeth, and with her encouragement, English literature and theater achieved an all-time high. Spencer, Shakespeare, Sidney, and Wyatt emerged as literary geniuses while Shakespeare and Marlowe transformed English theater. Their dramatic works and those of other dramatists not only brought about a new secular theatrical genre, but their performance needs also gave rise to new building types unique to England. In spite of the dearth of royal patronage for the visual arts, England established a national identity in that arena as well, thanks to the continued patronage of the newly-expanded nobility. Although much of the visual art that appeared in English homes was by foreign artists, the taste of the English especially shone in the development of portraiture. The unique social structure of England spawned distinctive architectural forms and styles of in the houses and gardens of the nobles that were more English in inspiration, workmanship, and design. In spite of religious unrest and the threat of civil strife, no Tudor monarch gave English nobles and their castles domestic military authority; as a result, castles faded from the architectural scene in favor of unfortified manor houses. Under Elizabeth, the form changed from inward facing courtyard houses to outward facing, classically-inspired manor houses surrounded by formal gardens and hunting grounds. Such houses would continue to dominate the social and architectural scene in England for generations to come and inspire practices in the English colonies, most notably in America.

Death bells tolled for Elizabeth on 24 March 1603. By this point, as the queen had lost the desire to live, so too the golden age of Gloriana faded. Elizabeth was buried with her grandparents, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, and half-sister Mary in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey. Deeply antagonistic in life, the half-sisters rest together for eternity in a double tomb. Her heir, James I of England, commissioned Maximilian Colt, a Flemish-born Huguenot sculptor living in London, to make his first major monument in England: the lavish recumbent effigy of Elizabeth. No such remembrance was sculpted of Mary. The Latin inscription at its base translates, “Partners both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in the hope of one resurrection.’”[70]

In spite of Elizabeth’s waning last decade and her refusal to name an heir, a smooth succession occurred and a new dynasty was established: the Stuarts. Her cousin, James VI of Scotland, took the helm as James I of England, which united England with its old enemy Scotland. Although the first settlement attempt at Roanoke Island failed, the nation was poised to become a world empire. Four years into his reign, the first permanent English colony in America was established about 150 miles (*c.* 240 km) north of the Elizabethan settlement. Situated inland from the Chesapeake Bay, the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia and the James River upon whose banks it once thrived were named in honor of the king. The nearby Elizabeth River honors his daughter. Additional successful English colonies in other parts of coastal America would soon follow.

With the death of Elizabeth, most of what was still medieval about art and architecture in England had drawn to a close. Art in England during the reign of James continued along the diverse classical lines of the late Elizabethan era. Alongside this eclectic and exuberant variety of classicism, a more staid and systematic classicism appeared with Inigo Jones and was solidified by Christopher Wren. In painting, portraiture continued to reign supreme, with the court of James preferring Flemish artists. With James, a new age built on Elizabeth’s accomplishments. The arts took a new course that followed the European artistic movements more closely, yet all the while maintaining a distinctive English flavor.

Notes

1 Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1992), chap. 2, 71–80; Maurice Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven, CT, 2007), 30–4.

2 John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, Shelley Lockwood, ed. (New York, 1997), chap. 5, 92–3 and chap. 7, 97–9; Baldissare Castiglione, *The Courtier*, trans. George Bull (New York, 1976); John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (London, 1963), 18–21.

3 Neil Cuddy, “Dynasty and Display: Politics and Painting in England 1530–1630,” in Karen Hearn, ed. *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (New York, 1996), 15–16. Cooper mentions status and function of the gentry and nobility. Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT, 1999), chap.1, 34; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (New Haven, CT, 1993), chaps 3 and 4; Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson*

and the Elizabethan Country House (New Haven, CT, 1983), 3; John Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (New York, 1967), *ad passim.*

4 Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture* (New Haven, CT, 2009), x–xii; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 21–8; William Alexander McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley, CA, 1977), *ad* passim; David Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens, GA, 1990), 55–7; Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago, 1989), 102; Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 50ff; Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud, 1998), 33ff.

5 Edward Chaney, "Henry VIII's Tombs: plus catholoque que le pape?". *Apollo* 134 (1991): 238, n. 25, mentions that the classical revival began with the early Tudors and was suppressed under Elizabeth, but he does not tie the revival to Wolsey nor he does develop the idea. Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, 7; Mark Girouard, "Elizabethan Architecture and the Gothic Tradition". *Architectural History* 6, (1963), 23–4; Friedman, *House and Household*, 75–9; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 20–7, 35–8, 72ff; 162; Nellist, *Architecture*, 176; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance: 1485–1649* (Berkeley, CA, 1997), 26–7.

6 Howard, *Building*, 115–17.

7 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 149–51. Now a garden building, originally the Holbein Porch was the entrance porch to Wilton House and is the only surviving part of the Tudor mansion.

8 Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven, CT, 2005), 49–50, 145; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 98, 102.

9 Henderson, *Tudor House*, 90–2; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 263.

10 This decorum, originating with Roman architect Vituvius (first century AD), appears in the Roman colosseum (*c.* 70 AD). In the fifteenth century Italian theorist Leon Battista Alberti, uses this system in his Palazzo Rucellai in Florence (*c.* 1450) and in his book on architectural theory of 1452, *De re aedificatoria* (*Ten Books on Architecture*). Other Italian Renaissance architects follow this lead.

11 Paul Drury, *Hill Hall: A Singular House Devised by a Tudor Intellectual* (London, 2009), vol. 1, 1–8, 180–1, 271–8, and *ad passim;* Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 176–7.

12 Friedman, *House and Household*, 73–9, 84, 102; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 82–3; *Elizabethan Architecture*, 378–80.

13 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 58–63; Airs, *Country House*, 42–5, 184; Cooper, *Gentry*, 91; Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste,* 55–6; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 48–9, 54; *Elizabethan Architecture*, 163–65, 182–5, 378–80 and figs 181–2; Joan Thirsk and M.W. Barley, *Agrarian Houses in England and Wales, 1500–1750* (Cambridge, 1990), 21–3; Neil Cuddy, "Dynasty and Display: Politics and painting in England 1530–1630", in Hearn ed., *Dynasties*, 15.

14 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 60–4; Pamela Marshall, *Woolaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Nottingham, 1999), 5–10 and 47 *ad passim*; Friedman, *House and Household*, 85, 96–7; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 21–22, 232, and pl. 20; Airs, *Country House*, 184–5; Thorpe drawings in Cooper, *Gentry*, 33; Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, 51–4; Drawings held by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Friedman, *ad passim*; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 81–108. British architectural library, RIBA., London, Smythson I/25 (1) [plan]; Smythson I/25 (2) [perspectival elevation of NW projecting arm]; University of

Nottingham Library; Pamela Marshall, *Wollaton Hall: An Archaeological Survey* (Nottingham, 1996) 30–39, 48–54, 68–74, 10, *ad passim*.

15 Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, 4th edn (London, 2004), 4–6; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 144–62; David N. Durant and Philip Riden, *The Building of Hardwick Hall* (Chesterfield, 1980–1984), vol. 1: xiii–xiv and *ad passim*; Nicholas Cooper, "Hardwick Hall", in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, Tim Ayers, ed. (London, 2008), 244–5.

16 David N. Durant and Philip Riden. *The Building of Hardwick Hall. Part I: The Old Hall*, Chesterfield. Derby: Derbyshire Record Society, 1980, Part 1: xiii–xiv and *ad passim*; Girouard, *Robert Smythson* and *Hardwick Hall*, *ad passim*.

17 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 64ff; Cooper, *Gentry*, 34; Airs, *Country House*, 187; Durant and Riden, I: xxv–xxvi; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 144–62, 192–8; *Hardwick Hall*, 81–90; *Elizabethan*, xix, 56; Rosalys Coope, "'The Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration". *Architectural History* 29 (1986): 51; Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, 87–8; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 1 and pl. 1.

18 Girouard, *Robert Smythson*; *Elizabethan Architecture*, 222–3, 275, 336, fig. 441a, 378, and 386.

19 Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 286–94

20 Cuddy, "Dynasty and Display", 16; Pauline Croft, ed. *Patronage, Culture, and Power: the Early Cecils, 1558–1612* (New Haven, CT, 2002), *ad passim*.

21 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 185–90; "Gothic Tradition", 25, 27 and 28, fig. 3; Jill Husselby, "The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House", *Patronage, Culture, and Power: the Early Cecils, 1558–1612*, Pauline Croft, ed., (New Haven, CT, 2002), 21–45; John Summerson, ed. *The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose, for the Walpole Society, I966) 3, 23, 30, 35, 47, and 61, and plates 27 A&B; Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 60; 67–72; Cooper, *Gentry*, 311–13; Buxton, 58–59.

22 Mark Girouard, "Elizabethan Architecture and the Gothic Tradition". *Architectural History* 6, 1963, 23–7; *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven, CT, 1978), 93; *Smythson*, 71; *Elizabethan*, 186; Husselby, "The Politics of Pleasure", 27–8, 32–5, 41 and figs 20–1; Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D'Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's "De Cardinalatu"* (Rome, 1980), 9–11, 79–91 and *ad passim*; David Watkin, *English Architecture*, rev. edn (London, 2001), 85–6.

23 Henderson, *Tudor House*, 26–9, figs 28 and 29; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*, 32–3; *Elizabethan Architecture*, 186–8; Rosalys Coope, "'The Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration". *Architectural History* 29, 1986, 53.

24 Girouard, *Country House*, 30; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 46–7.

25 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 23–32, 185. The screen and paneling in the hall at Burghley came from the Abbey of Tongerloo, Belgium in 1830. Husselby, "The Politics of Pleasure", 38 and fig. 11.

26 John Summerson, "The Building of Theobalds, 1564–1585". *Archaelogia* 97 (1959): 107–26 at 108; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 18, 190–1; Malcolm Airs, "'Pomp or Glory": The Influence of Theobalds", in *Patronage, Culture, and Power: the Early Cecils, 1558–1612*, Pauline Croft, ed. (New Haven, CT, 2002), 3; Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, MA, 1999), 29; Howard, *Building*, 142–4.

27 Airs, "'Pomp or Glory"', 107–26; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 6, 18, 187–9.

28 Henderson, *Tudor House*, 26–9; figs 28 and 29.

29 Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT, 2005), *ad passim*; Cuddy, "Dynasty and Display", 16; Coope, "'The Long Gallery'", 52–3.

30 Henderson, *Tudor House*, 26–9, 85; figs 28 and 29. One range remains at Burghley House.

31 Paula Henderson and Jill Husselby, "Location, Location, Location! Cecil House in the Strand". *Architectural History* 45 (2002), 172.

32 Henderson and Husselby, "Location, Location, Location!", 159–93; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 25–7, 85, 163–4, figs 9, 27, and 190; Howard, *Building*, 141 and fig.75.

33 Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 23–4, 40–3, 50.

34 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 177–9; Summerson, *Book of Architecture*, 2, 4, 13, 28, 30, 37, 81–3; Jennifer S. Alexander and Kathryn A. Morrison, "Apethorpe Hall and the Workshop of Thomas Thorpe, Mason of King's Cliffe: A Study in Masons' Marks". *Architectural History* 50 (2007): 59–94, especially 62–4.

35 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 178–81; Howard, *Building*, 37; Cooper, *Gentry*, 88; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England; Northamptonshire,* 2nd edn, Bridget Cherry rev. (New Haven, CT, 1974), 279–84; Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 48–9; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 65, 218; John Sales, "Garden Restoration Past and Present". *Garden History* 23(1) (1995): 4; John H. Harvey, "The Society Comes of Age". *Garden History* 12(1) (1984): 5.

36 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 191–6 and fig. 214; Summerson, *Book of Architecture*, 8, 12, 26, 30, 38, and 93–4; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 64–5 and fig. 80; Airs, "'Pomp or Glory'", 6–7.

37 Caroline Knight, "The Cecils at Wimbledon", in *Patronage, Culture, and Power: the Early Cecils, 1558–1612*, Pauline Croft, ed. (New Haven, CT, 2002), 47–66; Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 70–5; *Book of Architecture,* 23, 26–9, and 77; Friedman, *House and Household*, 91; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 125.

38 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 81, figs 75 and 76, 369–71; Airs, *Country House*, 77; Malcolm Rogers, *Montacute House* rev. edn (Swindon, 1997), 11–13.

39 Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 22–33, 90–5, 389–92; Rogers, *Montacute House*, 14–17, 40–4; 53–7; and Coope, "'The Long Gallery'", 51.

40 Howard, *Building*, 144–5.

41 Two of the Inns, which still exist from the fourteenth century, are the Inner Temple and Middle Temple; no Outer Temple ever existed. The other two remaining Inns are Grey's Inn and Lincoln Inn. John Schofield, *The Building of London: From the Conquest to the Great Fire* (London, 1993), 115–16; "Middle Temple Hall", History, Middle Temple, http://www.middletemple.org.uk/about-us/history/middle-temple-hall/ (accessed 1 February 2014).

42 John Guy, *Tudor England* (New York, 1988), 427–9.

43 Elizabeth Girr, *Shakespeare's Globe* (Reading, 1998), 15–21; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642* (Cambridge, 1991), 45–6 and *ad passim*; John Orrell, *The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe* (Cambridge, 1983), 158; Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford, 1966), vol. 6, 180–2; Kristine A. Ayers, "No Pillars on Stage: An Examination of Globe II", (unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, Mary Baldwin College, 2007), 13–15; Frances A. Yates, *Theatre of the World* (Chicago, 1969), 112–35; Clifford Davidson, *Drama and Art: An Introduction to the Use of Evidence from the Visual Arts for the Study of Early Modern Drama* (Kalamazoo, 1977), 128.

44 Michael Dobson and Stanley W. Wells, eds, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (New York, 2001), 74.

45 Kristine Ayers, "No Pillars on Stage", 6–7, 15, 42–7 for Globe II; Andrew Gurr, "Shakespeare's Globe: A History of Reconstruction", in *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, eds (London, 1997), 27–38 for Globe I.

46 Roy Strong, *Gloriana. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 2003), 30; Christopher Lloyd and Vanessa Remington, *Masterpieces In Little: Portrait Miniatures from the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London, 1996), 39.

47 Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets". *Representations* 15 (1986): 57–97; Kenneth O. Morgan, ed. *The Oxford History of Britain,* rev. edn (Oxford, 1999), 320; Strong, *Gloriana*, 30.

48 Susan Foister, "Native and Foreign Practice", (paper presented at Courtauld Institute Research Forum, "Tudor and Jacobean Painting: Production, Influences and Patronage", at National Portrait Gallery, London (3 December 2010); National Portrait Gallery, London, Susan Foister, "Native and Foreign Practice," http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/tudor-and-jacobean-painting-production-influences-and-patronage-december-2010/extended-abstracts-and-videos/native-and-foreign-practice-distinctive-or-different.php (accessed 18 October 2011); Lloyd and Remington, 31–34.

49 Height: 5.3 in (13.5 cm) × width: 2.9 in (7.3 cm); Lloyd and Remington, *Masterpieces*, 86–7, cat. 20.

50 Karen Hearn, *Marcus Gheeraerts II: Elizabethan Artist* (London, 2002), 41–2, 48–50 (NPG L231).

51 Karen Hearn, in Heard, ed, *Dynasties*, 107–8, cat. no 57; Nicholas Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Art of Limning* (*c*. 1600), A.F. Kinney and Linda Bradley Salamon ed. (Boston, MA, 1983), 15–17; Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford, 2012), 60. This portrait is held in a private collection.

52 Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London, 1969), 28–30.

53 Hearn, *Gheeraerts*, 9–13; Tabitha Barber, "British School: Elizabeth I (The Ditchley Portrait)", in Hearn, ed. *Dynasties*, 86–7. Scaevola is best known from the ancient Roman historian Livy's *History of Rome from its Foundation*.

54 Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean*, 28–30; Hearn, *Gheeraerts*, 21, 57.

55 Hearn, *Gheeraerts*, 41–51. The attribution to Gheeraerts is based on a letter from Robert Sidney.

56 Susan Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I", in *The Myth of Elizabeth,* Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, eds (New York, 2003), 182–92; Strong, *Gloriana*, 20–1, 36 and *ad passim*; Marion Wynne-Davies and S.P. Cerasano, *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance* (Detroit, 1992), 6.

57 Strong, *Gloriana*, 41–3; Erna Auerbach, "Portraits of Elizabeth I", *Burlington Magazine* (June 1953): 202; Hearn in Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 73–4, cat. no. 29; Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power", 174–6.

58 Strong, *Gloriana,* 71–7, 86–90, has attributed the work to de Heere; Karen Hearn, however, regards the attribution as speculative. Hearn, in Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 81–2, cat. no. 35; Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power", 185–6.

59 Hearn, in Hearn, ed., *Dynasties,* 152–3, cat. nos 99 and 100; Roy Strong, "Federigo Zuccaro's Visit to England in 1575". *Journal of the Warburg and*

Courtauld Institutes 22 (1959), 359–60; Strong, *Gloriana*, 85–9.

60 Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1999), 19.

61 Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 153, no. 100; Strong, *Gloriana*, 81, 85–9; Sally Marriott and Catherine Daunt, "Conservation and Gallery Talks," National Portrait Gallery, London, Queen Elizabeth I (NPG 2082), 2 December, 2010; National Portrait Gallery, London, "Queen Elizabeth," http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait.php?locid = 4&page = 1&rNo = 7 (accessed 18 October 2011).

62 Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 89–90; Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power", 187–90.

63 "Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech," July 1588, British Library, London, Ms. Harley 6798, f.87, http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item102878.html (accessed 1 February 2014).

64 The three *Armada Portraits* are at Woburn Abbey; in the collection of Mr Tyrwhitt-Drake; and in the National Portrait Gallery, London, a version that has been cut down along the sides. Strong, *Gloriana*, 131–133; Tabitha Barber in Hearn, ed. *Dynasties*, 88, cat. no. 43.

65 Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1998), 22–7; Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power", 177–79; National Portrait Gallery, London, "The Phoenix and the Pelican: two portraits of Elizabeth I, *c.* 1575," http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/the-phoenix-and-the-pelican-two-portraits-of-elizabeth-i-c.1575.php (accessed 18 October 2011).

66 Libby Sheldon, "Texture and Original Appearance: New Discoveries and Re-evaluation of Tudor and Jacobean Painting Practices", (paper presented at Courtauld Institute Research Forum, "Tudor and Jacobean Painting: Production, Influences and Patronage", at National Portrait Gallery, London, 3 December 2010), http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/tudor-and-jacobean-painting-production-influences-and-patronage-december-2010/extended-abstracts-and-videos/colour-texture-and-original-appearance-new-discoveries-and-re-evaluations-of-tudor-and-jacobean-painting-practices.php (accessed 1 February 2014); "The Phoenix and the Pelican: two portraits of Elizabeth I, c.1575." National Portrait Gallery, http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/the-phoenix-and-the-pelican-two-portraits-of-elizabeth-i-c.1575.php (accessed 1 February 2014).

67 Pauline Croft, in *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils 1558–1612* (New Haven, CT and London, 2002), plate I and plate VII, attributes the *Rainbow Portrait* to Isaac Oliver or Gheeraerts, pl. I, and the *Ermine Portrait* to Nicholas Hilliard, fig. VII. Auerbach concurs, in "Portraits of Elizabeth I" 201, fig. 40; Strong, *Gloriana*, attributes the *Rainbow Portrait* to Gheeraerts (1595–1600), 157–61; 178, fig. 172, and the *Ermine Portrait* to William Segar (1585), 113–15, fig. 113. John N. King, "Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43(1) (1990): 30–74 concurs, with particular mention of the Rainbow p. 60, fig. 4; René Graziani, "The 'Rainbow Portrait' of Queen Elizabeth I and Its Religious Symbolism", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 247–59, also accepts Strong's attribution. Daniel Fischlin, " Political Allegory, Absolutist Ideology, and the 'Rainbow Portrait' of Queen Elizabeth I", *Renaissance Quarterly* 50(1) (1997): 175–206, is non-committal on the *Rainbow*; he does not mention the *Ermine*.

Catherine de' Medici also used the rainbow with the motto "It brings light and serenity". See also Roy Strong, *Cult*, 46–52; Strong, *Gloriana*, 157–60; Doran, "Virginity, Divinity, and Power", 190–1.

68 Tabitha Barber, "British School: Elizabeth I (The Ditchley Portrait)", in Hearn, ed. *Dynasties*, 89–90, cat. 45; Hearn, *Gheeraerts*, 12, 32–3; Strong, *Gloriana*, 135–41; Maurice Howard, "Art and the Reformation", in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, Tim Ayers, ed. (London, 2008), 234; Jane Geddes, "Ideas and Images of Britain 600–1600", in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, Tim Ayers, ed. (London, 2008), 40; Strong, *Cult*, 54; Strong, *Gloriana*, 19.

69 Paul Hentzner, Britannica Historical Documents, "A Description of Elizabeth I & Her Court at Greenwich, from Journey into England", Sources of British History, http://www.britannia.com/history/docs/hentzner.html (accessed 1 February 2014); *Paul Hentzner's Travels in England, during the reign of Queen Eliz*abeth, trans. Horace, Earl of Oxford (London, 1797), 17–18; American Libraries Internet Archives, https://archive.org/details/paulhentznerstr00hentgoog, (accessed 1 February 2014). This document was translated into English from the Latin, *Itinerarium Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae, cum Indice Locorum, Rerum atque Verborum*.

70 Catherine Daunt, "Gallery Talk," at the National Portrait Gallery, London, 3 December 2010; Cooper, Tarnya, "Miniature of Elizabeth I in her Coronation Robes", in S. Doran ed, *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum* (London, 2003), 42–3 (nos 28 and 29); Strong *Gloriana*, 37–8; Queen Elizabeth I, Tudor and Jacobean Database, National Portrait Gallery, (National Portrait Gallery 5175) http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw02070/Queen-Elizabeth-I?LinkID=mp01452&role=sit&rNo=2 (accessed 1 February 2014).

71 Westminster Abbey, "Royals and the Abbey: Burials," http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/royals/burials/elizabeth-i (accessed 29 August 2010).

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